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MEMOIRS

OF

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE:

WITH

Copious Historical Illustrations

AND

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. V. ARNAULT, C. L. F. PANCKOUCKE AND COUNT SEGUR.

By W. HAMILTON REID.

PRECEDED BY

A SKETCH OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, GILBERT, AND PIPER,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1826.

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PREFACE.

In ushering these Memoirs of the Life of Napoleon Bonaparte into the world, we have not confined ourselves to the splendid work of M. V. Arnault, but in order to furnish a copious and faithful narrative, public, political and private, have availed ourselves of every species of information afforded by different authorities, from the commencement of the career of the departed Hero, to the closing scene of his last hours at St. Helena.

It is an undoubted fact, that the greatest light has been thrown upon the character and conduct of this extraordinary personage, subsequent to his exile to St. Helena in 1815, and the communications since made by his faithful attendants, and various generals in France and elsewhere, have now received the stamp of unquestionable authority.

Acting upon the justice of the maxim that requires the *hearing of both parties*, we have preferred the translation of the Memoirs of Napoleon from several French writers of eminence, to any others. To avoid the imperfections inseparable from hasty publications, which have been promoted by the avidity of the public for every thing relative to Napoleon Bonaparte; to render our Memoirs as select as possible, we have waited for the assistance of all the best informed publications on the Continent, especially *Victoires*,

Conquêtes, Desastres, Revers et Guerres Civiles des Francais, de 1792, a 1815; par Une Société Des Militaires et de *Gens de Lettres, Paris, C. L. F. Panckoucke, Editeur,* 1818.

To this Work, consisting of twenty-six octavo volumes, a number of French Generals and superior Officers have actually contributed; and the Editor may justly boast of "*actions of eclat,* remarkable and curious facts, traits of bravery and generosity, *les mots heureux des chefs et soldats;* the history of each regiment, and in fact, of every thing honorable to the French in all parts of the world where they have fought."

Without pretending to distinguish the numerous particulars that have made their first appearance in an English dress, in these Memoirs, suffice it to refer to Bonaparte's plan of operations for the army of Italy, in page 70;—the gallantry of Major Henriod, 367, (suppressed in the French bulletins); the battle of Maida, 426; the strong position of Somo Sierra, 508; affairs of Lugo and Corunna, 518; battle of Raab, and desperate affair of the Square-house, 549; the siege of Soissons, 639, &c. &c.

For the fidelity of the English version, the Translator throws himself upon the candour of the public; and begs their excuse, if he should occasionally be found speaking as a Briton.

In fine, we trust that the grand object of our undertaking, to furnish a copious narrative of the Life of Napoleon, public, political, and private, has been obtained to the utmost extent of the limits prescribed; and that the *Citizen,* the *Soldier,* and the *Man,* have

been faithfully exhibited. Napoleon, if not great in his beginning, was great in his career—great in his fall; but never so great as his patience and magnanimity have shewn him in his captivity. "It was during the years of a dreary and hopeless exile, that his mind, whose element was action, whose health depended on incessant and boundless exertion, left to prey upon, and eat into itself, at length seemed to rekindle: hence it was fortunate that the impetuous exuberance of his ideas forced him to have recourse to the dictation of his Memoirs; for in this manner his statements came warm and fresh from his powerful and original mind, stamped with that innate freedom, boldness, and energy of his character, and utterly divested of any symptom of painful and anxious elaboration. To the future historian their value is incalculable; with regard to the Memoirs themselves, no history can ever supersede them."

The chronological order observed in our narration, it is presumed, will materially assist the reader in preserving the coherence and connexion of events. The facts herein recorded, need not the brilliant fancy of the poet, nor the artful skill of the rhetorician; the simple detail, and the narrative unadorned, are quite sufficient to interest the attention of the reader through a series of events, without a parallel in the annals of the world.

Since a considerable portion of these sheets were put to press, much additional light has been thrown upon the history and campaigns of Napoleon, especially his disastrous retreat from Moscow in 1813. We

particularly allude to the interesting volumes of General Philip Count Segur's History of Napoleon's Expedition to Russia, and, "A History of the French Revolution, translated from the French of A. F. Mignet."

The sale of the French editions of Count Segur's work, even in France, has been immense; and in England it has been noticed, as "displaying great talent, fascinating, and exciting strong sensations amongst all readers, whether Frenchmen or foreigners."

The movements of the French and Russian armies, their battles, marches, &c. as related in the body of these Memoirs, generally correspond with the accounts given by Count Segur. Mere narrative therefore in our Supplement is very brief, in order to make way for the more interesting anecdotes, personal traits, and private feelings of Napoleon, during his reverses; such as few persons had the opportunity of witnessing, except those military characters employed about his person, or partaking of his confidence. Count Segur presumes, "that in these details of that prodigious genius, and those gigantic feats, nothing can be too minute, as otherwise we should never have known the extent to which human strength, glory, and misfortune, may be carried."

Some trivial discrepancies in the narrations given by Count Segur and his predecessors, may probably occur, for which the candour of the liberal reader will make due allowance.

THE TRANSLATOR.

MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAP. I.

*Remote and proximate Causes of the French Revolution in 1789—Deficiency in the Finances—Depravity of the upper, and wretchedness of the lower Classes—The Notables—Duke of Orleans—Parliament of Paris—States General—*Cour Plénière*—M. Neckar—National Assembly—Adjournment to a Tennis-Court—Marshal Broglio—Insurrections—Destruction of the Bastille—The King forcibly brought from Versailles—Flight of the King to Varennes—The Constituent Assembly—Treaty of Pilnitz—Massacre of the Third of September—Retreat of the Duke of Brunswick—Execution of the King—The Tenth of August—The Reign of Terror—Death of Marat, Robespierre, Danton, and others—The Girondists—Charlotte Corday—Marat—Federals in the South of France—The Mountain Party—The Brissotines—Insurrections at Lyons, Marseilles, &c.—Siege of Toulon—Bonaparte not the Representative of the Revolution—Benefits conferred by him on France.*

A CONCISE sketch of the situation of public affairs in France anterior to the commencement of the French Revolution, will enable us more justly to appreciate the genuine character of Napoleon Bonaparte. This is in some measure indispensible, as the effects of popular

and party prejudice have led too many to associate his name with those of persons with whom he never united, and to mix up his acts with numerous atrocities and sanguinary scenes perpetrated long before his political existence. Hence it has been by no means uncommon to speak of him, not as the person who *stopped* the course of the French Revolution, but as one of its *first* authors and abettors.

This revolution, which broke out in 1789, was by no means a sudden burst of patriotism or public feeling. Its causes and progress, though hidden from the superficial and the *many*, were long expected and watched by the discerning *few*. The opinions and writings of philosophical men in all former ages, contained in them the *seeds* of liberty: those in the early part of the last century may be said to have *sowed* them. Writers less speculative than Voltaire, Rousseau, and Raynal, occasioned that seed to *germinate*. The well-established works of the authors first mentioned, may be allowed to comprise the source, or rather the philosophic light which, by means of the unfettered press, has been conveyed and diffused by an infinite number of channels through all parts of Europe, and most of its foreign dependencies.

For the more immediate causes of this revolution, we need look no further back than to the ruinous state of the French finances; a disorder of long standing, but chiefly augmented and aggravated by expensive wars. The proximate symptoms of a revolution were understood by every man conversant in accounts; they were visible to the common beholder, in the shocking depravity of the higher ranks; and above all, in the wretched, hopeless, and desperate condition of the lower orders.

Twenty-four millions sterling were found to be insufficient to pay the expences of the government; the treasury was greatly in arrear. It afforded but small consolation to know how much money was wanted, when

the means of raising it could not be devised. It mattered but little, whether the new finance minister was a banker or a broker: the people of France had *so long opened their pockets, that they began to open their eyes.* Monsieur Calonne, who had so often abused M. Neckar as a bungler in figures, was at length obliged, though reluctantly, to disclose the fatal embarrassment of the exchequer. To keep back the *evil day,* such expedients were contrived among some of the branches of the royal family, as would disgrace a set of swindlers. But while the nation was beggared, M. Calonne in particular, is said to have paid himself well.

But when, to extricate the nation, the Notables were called together, a reform in the civil government was as much their object as the raising of money. Twelve of the leading men among them, beside La Fayette, who had imbibed the principles of freedom in America, had a CONSTITUTION in view, when they first met. The burden of the minister's song to the National Assembly, was Taxes! taxes! taxes! to which they as regularly replied, Retrenchments, and nothing but retrenchments. Among the items of this kind, the General La Fayette pointed out the expence of the Bastille: he also put the abolition of *Lettres de Cachet* to the vote, when every nobleman present, except one, voted for their continuance.

Reading, it has been stated, was never so fashionable in France as in the years 1787 and 1788. Rousseau's *Social Compact* was in the hands of almost every one. Travellers of erudition resorted to Paris in greater numbers than usual, drawn thither by the rumours of philosophy being about to take up arms in defence of truth. The evening parties of men of fashion were not spent as they were in other countries, in gaming and drinking, but in the discussion of political subjects. Diversity of opinions, and contradictions in reasoning, only served to sharpen the desire to continue or renew the argument.

The Duke of Orleans, by means of his enormous wealth, communicated a powerful impulse to the rising spirit of the times. He gave dinners and suppers to the new reformers; he collected at his table all that was learned, all who had experience in the polity of nations; he also instituted a club of *savans*, into which the learned of any nation might be introduced by two members, where such discussions took place, as obliged the king to send an express order for its discontinuance, under pain of royal displeasure.

At this period the company in the coffee-houses talked politics louder than ever had been known before, in spite of the *mouchards*, or spies, planted about every place of public resort, to report to their employers what they had heard or seen.

The Notables, who were convened at Versailles in February 1787, having been urged by government as far as they possibly could go, the business of the nation, or rather that of taxation, was now referred to the parliament. They were called upon to enregister two taxes which had been granted, without which they could not have the form of law necessary to put them into execution. The edicts submitted to the parliament of Paris, instead of being received, were thrown out with a kind of reproof to the Archbishop of Thoulouse, then minister, for expecting that parliament would consent to lay fresh taxes on the people, already overburthened.

A royal mandate was now issued for bringing the parliament before the king at Versailles, where a *bed of justice*, as it was called, was held; here the clerk of the parliament was compelled to enregister the two edicts, by an *order of state*. The court, now full of resentment, banished the parliament to Troyes, and *Lettres de Cachet* were issued against every one of the members. During their exile it was thought they would reflect at leisure; repent of what they had done, and promise obedience;

but this was not the case: their inflexibility after their return to Paris was carried higher than before: they would not permit the Count D'Artois to style his brother their Sovereign; one of the members of the parliament saying, "this was the organ of the law, and the law knew no master."

But although the power of the king had been thus set at defiance, his majesty was not willing to proceed to extremities: he sent a message to the parliament, that he would meet them on the Thursday following. He came to Paris early on the day appointed, hoping his presence would soften his opponents. All was in vain: he took his leave, assuring them that as they conceived the constitution demanded so much, he would issue orders for calling a STATES-GENERAL.

One part of the character of Louis XVI. was his want of consistency and resolution. He was persuaded by his courtiers and flatterers to break his word, and instead of calling the States-General, he adopted another expedient, till then unheard of. This was to form a new constitution by the advice and assistance of his ministers; and include an ancient council, called a *Cour Plénière*, or Full Court. The parliaments in the provinces cried out against this, and that of Brittany sent up a deputation to protest against it as illegal. Every man of these was committed to the Bastille.

On the 8th of May, 1788, this *Cour Plénière* was to commence its operations. Public curiosity was raised higher than ever. Two regiments of German and French guards surrounded the parliament-house while the members were debating; but the members were not to be starved into compliance: they contrived to get mattresses into the house to sleep upon at night. The severe strictures passed upon this new constitution, and the execrations thrown upon the framers of it, had such an effect upon M. Lamoignon, that he cut his throat.

At length, it being found necessary to withdraw the troops, or oblige them to act, orders came to the commandant to break open the house and seize the members. The president and seven others were sent to different prisons.

M. Neckar was now recalled into office, which he accepted only upon condition that the States-General should be actually called. An assemblage of this kind had not taken place since the year 1614, and they resolved to vote in chambers apart; viz. the Nobles by themselves; the Clergy by themselves; and the Commons, or *Tiers Etat*, or Lower House, in like manner.

In the mean while the *Tiers Etat* saw the contumely with which they would be treated by the other two orders, and were accordingly prepared to treat them with equal disdain.

On the 1st of May, 1789, it was announced by proclamation in the principal squares and streets of Paris, that the king would receive the deputies from the States-General *by their orders, separately*, the next day, in the *Salon D'Hercule*, preparatory to his meeting them in general assembly. The Clergy were presented at eleven o'clock, the Nobility at one, and the Third Estate at four in the afternoon.

After considerable delay and agitation, it was resolved by the *Tiers Etat*, that the two orders of Nobility and Clergy be considered only as the deputies of two corporations, or classes of men; that they can have no deliberate voice on a national concern, but in conjunction or coalition with the nation's representatives: "that having been invited to assemble in this house, we do consider ourselves the representatives of the nation; and that our assembly in future be styled THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY." The resolution was put, and carried; and the members immediately took the constitutional oath—"We promise and swear, to fulfil with zeal and fidelity the functions with which we are charged."

As a matter of great triumph, no sooner had the third order assumed the new title of National Assembly, than they were joined by a body of seceders from the court, both nobility and clergy. The Duke of Orleans, the Marquis de la Fayette, and M. Mirabeau, were among the most zealous in forming this junction.

The king's party soon found it necessary to deal as severely with the new National Assembly as they had done with others that preceded them. Accordingly one morning, when the members came to the hall, they found the doors shut, and the guards posted there to oppose their admission. This also proved a fruitless measure: it was proposed to adjourn to a *tennis-court* in the vicinity, and there hold the session. As soon as they met there, they took an oath, "Never to separate but in case of death, till they should have accomplished the object of their mission from their constituents, viz. that of establishing a constitution." This occurred on the 20th of May, 1789. A flimsy excuse was made by ministers for this exclusion; and the next day the doors were opened. The Assembly afterwards not only refused to separate by the command of the king, but voted the person of each deputy inviolable. In the mean while the troops, when ordered to fire upon the people, had several times refused to draw a trigger.

For some time previous to the famous 14th of July, 1789, the hostile ministry chosen by the king had entered upon their functions. Marshal Broglio, who had been called to command the numerous troops in and about Paris, it was understood, had orders to act discretionally. As soon as this was known, the whole population of Paris seemed determined to arm in their own defence; the camp round Paris was observed to be in motion. The Prince de Lambesq, with a body of German cavalry, rode into the Place de Louis Quinze, and with a menacing attitude, announced by the mouth of two of

his trumpeters, that he had orders to disperse all the groups of people in that place, or in the garden of the Tuilleries. An elderly man answered one of the heralds, in a manner which occasioned the trumpeter to ride back, and tell the prince he had been insulted by a citizen. On this the prince rode up to the old man, and struck him with his sword. This circumstance, slight as it may appear, was regarded as an attack upon the citizens of Paris, and the cry of "To arms! to arms!" reverberated from street to street, like the repeated claps of thunder amidst surrounding hills and woods. In an instant the whole city was in confusion; a mixture of rage and dismay was upon every countenance. The play-houses, the churches, and even the shops, were shut up. The immense crowds that had repaired to the place where the offence was given, showered stones upon the German dragoons, who had now a regular order to fire upon the populace. But on the report of this firing, six companies of French guards left their station, and with their hats on the points of their bayonets, signified to the people they had nothing to fear from them. In fact, they joined them, which compelled the cavalry to retreat. The Paris militia was immediately organized, and formed almost as soon as the fable described the army of Cadmus. To remain on the defensive they thought a loss of time, and the general execration of the prison called the *Bastille,* pointed it out as the proper place to commence hostilities. All Paris was now in one general insurrection; every man, old or young, armed himself with some weapon or other; musquets, pikes, hatchets, hammers, &c. Among the leaders of this attack were a few veterans of the French guards. A formal summons was sent to M. De Launay, the governor of the Bastille, who smiled at it. The parley on this occasion was short, and was no sooner over, than a discharge of artillery was played off by the citizens, and soon answered by the garrison with

a murderous effect. However, this, so far from discouraging the people, only seemed to excite a contention among them, as to who should be foremost in the post of honour.

The well-known treachery of the governor, after this, in letting down the drawbridge, and inviting a deputation of the citizens, and then butchering them, as soon as it was known without, also redoubled the ardour of their brothers in arms, who continued firing and throwing all kinds of missiles over the walls, insomuch, that in an hour or more, the besieged, despairing of relief, desisted from further opposition, and that dire abyss of slavery was entered by the triumphant citizens. Every hiding place was searched, and such wretched beings, or rather such ghostly spectres, were dragged out of them, as both affrighted the eyes and melted the hearts of the exploring liberators. Not so with M. De Launay, the commandant, he was immediately put to death, and his head carried on a pike through the streets, as were those also of Deflesselles the mayor, and the *Prevot des Marchands,* who were put to death on the Place de Greve. Broglio, as soon as this day's business was over, fled in disguise, and was never after seen in France. In fact, the whole ministry was broken up, even before all the members had time to assemble. Foulon and his son fell into the hands of the angry victors: these, and M. De Crosne, lieutenant of police, were all that suffered death on this occasion in a summary way.

During this time the National Assembly, sitting at Versailles, were informed of what had passed by a messenger, before the intelligence had reached the court, who were also at Versailles.

To relieve the embarrassments of the state without imposing fresh taxes, patriotic gifts were liberally offered by all classes of citizens, by corporations, as well as individuals. The clergy also, beginning to see the utter

impossibility of long retaining the immense treasures and revenues of the church, with an awkward grace, began by offering the church plate which was not necessary for divine service.

The 1st of October, 1789, was a day as memorable as any in the annals of the French Revolution, on account of the king and queen being forcibly taken from Versailles by the populace, and conveyed to Paris. This singular procession was formed of a number of women, to the amount of more than five thousand, armed with different weapons, who were followed in regular order by the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, with several detachments of the city militia. In the evening the Marquis de la Fayette, at the head of 20,000 militia, likewise marched to Versailles. On Tuesday morning the king's body guards fired on the Parisians, and five or six women were killed. The regiment de Flandres was also drawn out to oppose this torrent, but on being ordered to fire, they all clubbed their arms, and with a shout of " Vive la Nation!" went over to the Parisians. Many of the guards were killed or made prisoners. When it was understood that the king and queen were coming to Paris, the people began to assemble from all parts of the town, whilst the streets were lined by several thousands of the militia. Their majesties and the royal family arrived about eight in the evening, having been six hours travelling twelve miles. From the Town-house they were conducted to the palace of the Tuilleries, which was totally unprepared for their reception. Very shortly after this, the National Assembly had the king's permission to remove to Paris, and occupied the new Senate-house, fitted up for them on the terrace of the garden of the Tuilleries.

On the 18th of April, 1791, when the royal family were preparing to go to St. Cloud to pass some days, a report was spread that the king intended to fly from the country.

The royal carriages were immediately surrounded by the populace. M. La Fayette drew out the national guard, but they refused to act. The king went to the Assembly and complained: he was answered respectfully by the president, and continued his journey.

The intended flight of the king and his family from Paris had long been suspected; but on the morning of the 22d of June, 1791, this suspicion was realized: they set off about eight in the evening of the 21st, but were discovered and stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris in the course of a few days. The king acknowledged that his intention was to proceed to Montmedy which being a fortified town, would secure him and his family from insult.

About this time the war minister announced to the National Assembly, a great assemblage of French emigrants on the frontiers, and that the emigrant army had been reviewed by the Prince of Condé.

The Assembly commenced the year 1791, with a decree announcing the termination of its session, which was to take place as soon as it had finished the discussion of a list of constitutional articles.

Unfortunately for the king, when he went to Varennes, he left behind him a memorial, in which he protested against every act that he had before sanctioned during what he termed his captivity.

A considerable calm succeeded these events; but towards the close of the summer, a convention took place at Pilnitz in Saxony, between the Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia, for the purpose of concluding a league for the invasion of France, the new modelling of its government, and the partition of some of its fairest provinces among these powers.

On the 30th of September the National Assembly, since known by the name of the Constituent Assembly, dissolved itself, and gave place to the succeeding Legis-

lative National Assembly, elected according to the rules prescribed by the new constitution. This assembly was opened by the king on the 7th of October.

In March 1792, the Emperor of Germany died suddenly, but his successor made no secret of his intentions to act upon the treaty of Pilnitz; and in December following, he ordered Marshal Bender to march for the protection of the Elector of Treves, who, with other small powers near the Rhine, had been threatened by France for the shelter afforded by them to the royalists and French emigrants. On the 20th of March following, war having been declared against the Emperor Leopold by the French, they entered the Austrian Netherlands in April, in three bodies.

The King of France soon after refused to sanction a decree against refractory priests; and in the course of a few days his brothers and the Prince of Condé were deprived of the rights of French citizens, and their property confiscated.

About the 25th of July, the combined armies of Austria and Prussia entered France under the Duke of Brunswick, whose threatening manifesto denounced the most dreadful vengeance against the French nation; but this invasion terminated in defeat and disgrace.

On the 10th of August the palace of the Tuilleries was attacked by the Parisian populace, where, in a most sanguinary conflict, in which no quarters were given, the Swiss guards were totally destroyed. The king and queen escaped across the gardens to the hall of the Assembly, where a decree was passed, declaring the executive power suspended, and summoning a National Convention to meet on the 20th of September. The king and queen in the mean while were committed close prisoners to the Temple.

The most daring of the wretches that took a part in this massacre, were of the lowest classes of the inhabi-

tants called *Sans Culottes*. Besides the Swiss soldiers in the palace, for the murder of whom some pretence might be offered, the fury of the mob was directed even against the porters of the coffee-houses and hotels, who passed under the general appellation of Swiss.

Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and others, like dregs in a violent fermentation, now rose to the top of the state vessel. Robespierre, surrounded by assassins, coolly dictated lists of proscription, while domiciliary visits took place in every direction amidst the silence of the night. Not content with these terrible engines of despotism, the prisons were forced, and the nonjuring priests massacred without ceremony.

On the 3d of September another dreadful massacre took place in Paris. The different prisons were visited, and all the prisoners charged with offences against the state, butchered without distinction. The slaughter continued from seven o'clock on Sunday evening till daybreak on Monday. The Princess de Lamballe was among the sufferers on this occasion. A few days after this, a report having been circulated that the French Assembly meant to re-establish the king, or place another in his stead, the Assembly, at the suggestion of M. Chabot, took a solemn oath of detestation of all kings. War had now commenced against the King of Sardinia, who had previously joined the coalition, and the French General Montesquiou, sent against him, was uniformly successful.

On the 1st of October, 1792, after suffering extremely from famine and sickness, the Duke of Brunswick's army began its retreat from Champaigne; and by the 18th, the Austrians and Prussians had completely evacuated France. The celebrated battle of Jemappe was fought by General Dumourier on the 6th of November; on the 14th he made his triumphal entry into Brussels; and before the end of the year, the whole of the Austrian

Netherlands, with the exception of Luxembourg and Liege, was in the hands of the French. A decree of the National Convention which followed this event, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the Scheldt, was one of the avowed motives of the war that broke out afterwards between England and France.

The month of January, 1793, was distinguished by the trial, condemnation, and decapitation of Louis XVI. immediately after which M. Chauvelin, the French ambassador at our court, was ordered to leave the country in eight days; and on the 1st of February the French National Convention passed a decree, declaring the Republic at war with the King of Great Britain and the Stadtholder of Holland.

Marie Antoinette, queen of France, was brought to trial, or rather to hear her doom pronounced by the Revolutionary Tribunal, in the October following; and on the 16th of that month, taken in the same manner as the other victims of this dreadful tribunal, on a cart, with her hands bound, accompanied by a constitutional priest in a lay habit, and escorted by the military. She was executed on the Place de la Revolution, where Louis had so recently suffered, and ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step.

The reign of terror seemed now to be at its height. At the head of the faction of the Cordeliers were Hebert, Ronsin, and Anacharsis Clootz, the self-styled orator of the human race. In the beginning of March the table of the Rights of Man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape, and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the Republic. This was sufficient to rouse the jealousy of Robespierre. Couthon declared in the Convention, that "virtue and *ferocity*" should be the requisite order of the day; and on the 25th of March, Hebert, Ronsin, Clootz and others, were brought before the Revolutionary Tri-

bunal, and condemned to the guillotine. But what excited amazement still more, was the arrest of Danton, and several others, charged with plotting a revolution for the restoration of monarchy!

At two in the afternoon of the 2d of April, sixteen of these deputies had sentence of death pronounced upon them, and within three hours were conveyed in carts to the place of execution. Danton's superiority had long rankled in the breast of Robespierre, whose revenge was now glutted. However, it was remarked, that in the short space of two years, almost every individual of the principal actors of the 10th of August, were brought to an untimely end. Danton and Westerman, the former who directed, and the latter who executed the counsels of the insurgents, perished on the same scaffold.

The Princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. was another victim of this mock tribunal. No witnesses were called against her. She admitted she accompanied her brother in his flight to Varennes; and after a few more questions, by no means tending to a just crimination, was condemned. She was executed the last of twenty-six persons who suffered on the same day.

Scarcely had Robespierre ascended the summit of power, when the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. After the proscription and immolation of hundreds to his own safety, tortured by ceaseless suspicion and remorse, his couch became a bed of thorns. He was continually haunted with the apprehensions of approaching death, and seemed only to hear the cries and groans of the victims he had sacrificed.

On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l'Oise, a member of the Conventional Assembly, had the courage to demand, that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should again be established, and that no member should be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal but in consequence of a decree passed

by the Assembly itself, instead of an order from the Committee of Public Safety, where Robespierre and his vile instruments, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This motion was carried before the tyrant could recover from his surprise. He however continued to attend the sittings.

On the 27th of July, Billaud Varennes complained to the Assembly, that the armed force of Paris was entrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot, said he, was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him? Robespierre! He then proceeded to recount, with energy, his acts of blood and oppression, and accused him without reserve, of harbouring an infamous design of making himself dictator. "I proclaim, I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre!" Bursts of applause resounded from all parts of the hall. Robespierre, here reddening with fury, darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed, "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" Loaded with universal imprecations, he was not suffered to speak. His arrest was moved for and carried, and he was guarded by proper officers to the prison of the Luxembourg. Robespierre and his accomplices were declared outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief. Henriot, who with his partisans had taken up arms, was soon obliged to take refuge in the Hotel de Ville. Here, being vigorously attacked by a party of the Conventional guard, headed by Bourdon de l'Oise, in the last agonies of wild despair, they attempted to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth, but which only shattered and disfigured his countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead on the spot. Henriot, while haranguing the populace at a window, was thrown out by their desire. Robespierre and his party were conveyed to the Revolu-

tionary Tribunal, merely for the purpose of identifying their persons; then taken to the place of execution, and in the evening of the 28th of July, to the number of twenty-one suffered in the Place de la Revolution, amidst the loudest and most general exclamations of joy. The eyes of the spectators were mostly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghastly picture of blood, mingled with dust, and covered with wounds. Robespierre, who was executed last, remained on the scaffold wholly speechless and petrified with horror. He died at the age of thirty-five. Couthon was a miserable cripple, but with an uncommonly engaging countenance.

On the 24th of October the accused Deputies of the Girondist party were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and declared guilty of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. Valaze, one of the Deputies, after hearing his sentence, stabbed himself in the court. On the 30th of October, twenty-one of these Deputies were conveyed to the Place de la Revolution, and there executed, singing the Marseillois, or national anthem, all the way. General Houchard, accused of not cutting off the retreat of the British forces in West Flanders, was the next who suffered. The veteran General Luckner, the astronomer Bailly, the first Mayor of Paris, the accomplished Barnave, and Rabaut St. Etienne, also perished in the same manner.

The Duke of Orleans, who had borne the fantastical name of Philip Egalité, fell a sacrifice to his new connections on the evening of the 6th of November, unpitied and unmourned. Two days after, Madame Roland was brought to the scaffold. This celebrated female, accused of being attached to the Girondist party, suffered death with a heroism that extorted admiration even from her ferocious and unmanly enemies.

It should have been mentioned, that the outrageous

proceedings of the Mountain party necessarily produced a considerable re-action, and which was fatal to Marat, one of the most violent of these incendiaries. Charlotte Corday, enthusiastically attached to the Gironde party, in the beginning of July this year (1793) proceeded from Caen in Normandy, to rid the earth of a monster, and to devote her own life to what she considered the salvation of her country. She got access to Marat at Paris, stabbed him in his bath, and was tried and executed within the course of a few days. Marat's corpse, with his bloody shirt, were carried in procession through the streets, in the same manner as had been observed with Lepelletier, although the heat of the weather had inflated his body and features to a most frightful degree.

The assassination of Marat, so far from inspiring the ruling faction with any apprehensions of sharing the same fate, instigated them to the commission of new crimes, and prompted them to still greater excesses. The Mountain party, the sanguinary revolutionists of the 10th of August, were now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one called the "Committee of Public Safety," and the other the "Committee of General Security." The members ought to have been changed every month; but the Convention, intimidated by an armed mob, had entrusted these committees with the fatal power of imprisoning and judging its members! Any deputy, therefore, denounced by them as a traitor, would have been sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was the anti-chamber of death, and the very threshold of the grave. The Mountain faction sacrificed on the same scaffold the royalist and the republican. Under them, even moderation became a crime. If a father afforded any support to an accused son; if a daughter wrote to her mother from a dungeon, the Revolutionary Tribunal doomed them to the scaffold. Besides, the extermination of the Christian faith was

encouraged by a public decree, and a kind of metaphysical paganism recommended in its place.

Those ecclesiastics who had seats in the Convention at this gloomy period, publicly abjured their creed. The Archbishop and Clergy of Paris renounced the Christian religion, declaring that they owned no temple but the sanctuary of the laws; no God but liberty; no gospel but the constitution. In a word, safety from proscription was no where to be found but in the armies; hence multitudes repaired thither for protection.

Whilst France was thus verging upon ruin, parties in the Convention seemed only anxious for the extermination of each other. In March, the Girondist party saw reason to change the mildness of their measures; this gave the Mountain party a fatal pre-eminence. While the Girondists were impeached by some of the sections, they in their turn impeached Marat; but he was acquitted. The Brissotines proposed to make the same use of the Parisians against the Girondists, as they had formerly done against the king, and to remove the Convention from the capital. This was not effected: however, they surrounded the hall of the Assembly with an armed force, and succeeded in putting upwards of ninety deputies under arrest. Thus Paris assumed to itself the whole powers of the French republic; and the Mountain party came into power by preaching liberty, and by violating its fundamental principles.

Brissot and some deputies escaped, and endeavoured to kindle the flames of civil war; but the north of France adhered to the Mountain party in the Convention, while the department of Lyons declared these to be outlawed. Marseilles and Toulon followed the unfortunate example of Lyons, and entered into a confederacy since known by the appellation of federalism. The department of Calvados was first in arms against the Convention; but

before the end of July this insurrection was subdued. Lyons was attacked on the 8th of August, and many hundreds of its citizens suffered by the guillotine. The victorious monsters, weary of the slow operation of this machine, at last murdered their prisoners by multitudes with grape shot.

On the 24th of August the town of Aix was taken, and the Marseillois surrendered. But the leading people of Toulon entered into a negotiation, and submitted to Lord Hood, under condition that he should preserve the town and shipping for Louis XVII. and that he should assist in restoring the constitution of 1789.

The negotiation having been formally concluded, on the 28th of August fifteen hundred men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of Fort Malgue, by means of a detachment under Captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On this, the French ships were warped into the inner road, according to agreement, and the Spanish admiral having joined next day, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road; after which one thousand Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the garrison. Rear-Admiral Goodall was appointed governor.

Finding that several of the forts were overlooked and commanded by the adjacent hills crowned by redoubts, the cross fire from which seemed to interdict all approach, a new fort was constructed at Malbosquet, encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Aigulette, and at Balaguer; —this last was termed the grand camp by the English, and Little Gibraltar by the French. These redoubts were all defended by heavy artillery taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships. A body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Roussillon, entered the lines soon after, under Brigadier-General Pignatelli, and more were daily expected; a considerable detach-

ment from the army of the King of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, was also sent to the succour of the garrison.

The besieging army of the French was placed successively under Generals Cartaux and Dugommier; but the reduction of the place was effected, in a great measure, by the superior skill of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose military *debût* may be said to have been made at this siege, and which, as we have now brought the outline of the French history down to the period of his appearance upon the theatre of war, will be detailed more at large in its proper place.

Thus, from the period at which our retrospect commences, we have seen France first under Louis XVI.; afterwards subjected to a successive and various change of constitutions under the Notables, the National, the Constituent, the Legislative Assemblies, the Reign of Terror, the Directory, the Council of Five Hundred, &c. &c. and all before Bonaparte had emerged from his native obscurity. In the course of this work, a mere statement of facts would be sufficient to shew the folly and injustice of calling Napoleon a *revolutionist!* "He!" said the eloquent Abbé de Pradt; "he the representative of the Revolution! The Revolution broke the bonds of union between France and religion; he renewed them by his concordat with the Pope. The Revolution created two classes of clergy hostile to each other; he united them. The Revolution overthrew the temples of the Almighty; he restored them. The Revolution profaned St. Denis; he purified it, and offered expiation to the ashes of kings. The Revolution subverted the throne; he raised it up. The Revolution banished from their country the nobility of France; he opened to them the gates of his palace, though he knew them to be his irreconcileable enemies, and for the most part enemies of the public good; he

re-incorporated them with the society from which they had been separated.

This *representative of a revolution* (which is distinguished by the epithet anti-social) brought from Rome the head of the Catholic church, to anoint his brow with the oil that consecrates diadems. This *representative of a revolution* (which has been declared hostile to sovereignty) filled Germany with kings, advanced the rank of princes, restored superior royalty, and re-constructed a defaced model. This *representative of a revolution* (which is condemned as a principle of anarchy,) like another Justinian, drew up, amidst the din of war and the snares of foreign policy, those codes which are the least defective portion of human legislature, and constructed the most vigorous machine of government in the whole world. This *representative of a revolution* (which is vulgarly accused of having subverted all institutions) restored universities and public schools, filled his empire with the master-pieces of art, and accomplished those amazing and stupendous works, which reflect honour on human genius; and yet, in the face of the Alps, which bowed down at his command; of the ocean, subdued at Cherbourg, at Flushing, at the Helder, and at Antwerp; of rivers, smoothly flowing beneath the bridges of Jena, Serres, Bourdeaux, and Turin; of canals, uniting seas together in a course beyond the controul of Neptune; finally, in the face of Paris, metamorphosed as it is by Napoleon,—he is pronounced to be the agent of general annihilation! He, who restored all, is said to be the representative of that which destroyed all! To what undiscerning men is this language supposed to be addressed.

CHAP. II.

The Family of the Bonapartes, and their situation in Corsica—Cardinal Fesch—Madame Bonaparte—Birth of Napoleon—Remarks on his Name—His Acquirements—School of Brienne—Pichegru—Ridiculous Tales and Anecdotes of Napoleon in his Youth—His Retreat at Brienne—A severe Disciplinarian—His partiality for Heroic Games—Fortress of Snow, attacked and defended with Snow-balls—A Regiment formed of Flint-stones—Anecdotes—Estimates formed of Napoleon's Abilities by his Tutors and others—Narrowly escapes drowning—Anecdote—Admitted into the Artillery—Mesdames Colombier—General Paoli—Bonaparte appointed Commandant of the National Guard in Corsica—Commands an unsuccessful Expedition against Cagliari—Makes a fruitless Attack upon Ajaccio—Is banished from Corsica, and embarks with his Family for France.

CHARLES BONAPARTE, the father of Napoleon, was of a noble family as well as his spouse, a woman of remarkable beauty and sound judgment. He was at first intended for the law, and had cultivated his mind by studies adapted to his future profession. But called upon by the danger of his country, he quitted the long robe for the sword, and distinguished himself under Paschal Paoli.

The Genoese, in 1769, having ceded Corsica to France, this island was attacked by the Count de Vaux, and was obliged to yield to the force of discipline, always superior to numbers, and Paoli for the first time took the route to England.

Charles Bonaparte remained in Corsica, and conciliated

the esteem of the French and the affection of his compatriots, by the good qualities he possessed. In 1776, Corsica having sent a deputation to the King of France, selected from the three orders of the states, Charles Bonaparte appeared at Versailles as deputy from the *noblesse*. A short time after he was nominated judge and assessor of the tribunal of Ajaccio, and he thus re-entered the career for which he was originally intended. He was tall, handsome, aud well made. Educated at Rome and Pisa, it was at the latter place he studied the law: he possessed great spirit and energy. It was he, who, on its being proposed to submit to France, in the public assembly of Corsica, delivered a speech which electrified the whole country, when he was not more than twenty years of age.

When the island was conquered by the French, he wished to come to England with Paoli, but was prevented by the superior influence of his uncle, the Archdeacon Lucien. At this period there were two French generals in Corsica, so inimical to each other, that by their quarrels they formed two parties: M. De Marbeuf was of a mild and popular character, the other, M. De Narbonne Pellet, was remarkable for his haughtiness and violence.

M. De Marbeuf was much beloved in the island. Charles Bonaparte being sent as a deputy from the Corsican *noblesse* to Versailles, was consulted on the dispute between the two generals: the warmth of his exertions obtained a triumph for M. De Marbeuf. Young Napoleon, then about ten years of age, accompanied his father to Paris. The Archbishop of Lyons, nephew to Marbeuf, thought it is duty to wait on the deputy, and thank him for the service he had rendered.

On young Napoleon's being placed in the military school of Brienne, the Archbishop gave him a special recommendation to the family of Brienne, which resided there the greatest part of the year. Hence, the friendly

demeanour of the Marbeufs towards the children of the Bonaparte family—" calumny has assigned another cause, to the dishonour of his mother; but the simple examination of dates is fully adequate to prove its absurdity."

Old M. De Marbeuf, who commanded in Corsica, lived at Ajaccio, where the family of Charles Bonaparte was one of the principal in the place. Madame Bonaparte being the most fascinating and beautiful woman in the town, it was very natural for the French general to frequent her house in preference to others. Charles Bonaparte died at the age of thirty-eight, of an habitual induration of the heart. He had experienced a temporary relief during one of his visits to Montpelier, and was interred in one of the convents there. When Bonaparte, twenty years after the death of his father, was solicited to erect a monument to his memory, he declined it, as a matter of no importance. Louis Bonaparte, however, without the knowledge of Napoleon, had the remains of their parent disinterred, and removed to St. Leu, where he paid the wished-for tribute to his memory.

Charles Bonaparte, through life, had been the very reverse of devout; he had even written some anti-religious verses: but at the period of his death, Napoleon observed, " there were not priests enough in Montpelier for him." He formed in this respect a striking contrast to his brother Lucien, the Archdeacon of Ajaccio, who died at a very advanced age, surrounded by the members of his family, giving them philosophical counsel and patriarchal benedictions. The Archdeacon's prudence and economy re-established the affairs of the family, which had been much deranged by the extravagance of his brother.

Charles Bonaparte married Mademoiselle Letitia Ramolini, whose mother, after the death of her first husband, married Captain Fesch, an officer in one of the Swiss regiments which the Genoese usually maintained in the island. Cardinal Fesch was the issue of the second

marriage, and was consequently step-brother to Madame Bonaparte.

Whilst the war was carried on by the Corsicans against the French, Madame Bonaparte shared the fatigues and dangers of her husband, who was an enthusiast in the cause of his country. In his different expeditions she frequently followed him on horseback, whilst she was pregnant with Napoleon. She possessed extraordinary vigour of mind, joined to considerable pride and loftiness of spirit. She was the mother of thirteen children, though a widow at the age of thirty. Of these, only five boys and three girls lived, all of whom became conspicuous characters during the reign of Napoleon.

In 1767, when the Corsicans took up arms to resist the subjugation of their country to the yoke of France, who had purchased the island of its old masters the Genoese, the father of Napoleon first quitted the gown for the sword, and under General Paoli, who was godfather to his eldest son Joseph, fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of his country.

While this contest continued, Madame Bonaparte, the mother of Napoleon, was constantly flying from town to town, and from village to village, to avoid the French, dreading nothing so much as falling into their hands. After repeated changes of place, she was delivered of Napoleon, her second son, two months after the Corsicans had given up the struggle. Those who believe in the great influence which the situation of the mother has upon the offspring, during the state of pregnancy, may attribute the active and enterprising spirit of the son, to the restless life led at this period by the mother. Pius VII. was excessively struck with the circumstance, when it was related to him in the year 1801, by the French ambassador.

This circumstance also occasioned Madame Bonaparte to be compared by her friends to Latona, the mother of

Apollo and Diana, till a gentleman brought with him from England, as a present for her, a print from Mr. West's picture of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, shewing her children as jewels. This, as according more strictly with her circumstances, occasioned her former name of Latona to be changed to that of the MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

This most distinguished and interesting of the Bonaparte family, their late venerable mother, retained till her death great remains of beauty, and was as dignified in adversity as she was moderate in prosperity; her thoughts and feelings for the last few years of her life had but one sole object—the prisoner of St. Helena, whose pride she reproved in the days of his glory; whose fall she lamented, more as the child of her affections, than as the sovereign of a mighty empire. Lady Morgan, in her Picture of Italy, observes, "We saw much of this excellent lady, and fancied we could trace in her energy and force of character, the source from whence her extraordinary son derived his talents. On visiting her, we observed pictures of all her handsome children, (and where we generally found her spinning, with her prayer-book beside her): there were four of them kings when they sat for her, with the emperor, their brother, at their head—'You see,' said she one day as I was looking at Napoleon's picture, 'when my son Napoleon sat for me I made him lay aside his crown.'"

This remarkable woman paid the debt of nature at Marseilles in the decline of the year 1822. The evening preceding her death, she called together all her household. She was supported on white velvet pillows; her bed was a crimson damask, and in the centre hung a crown decorated with flowers. The whole of the apartment was lighted in grand style. She called her servants one after another to her bed-side, where they knelt and kissed her extended hand, which was shrivelled, and covered

with a profusion of rings. To her chief director of her finances, Juan Barosa, she said, "Juan, my blessing go with thee and thine."—To Maria Belgrade, her waiting-woman, she said, "Go to Jerome, he will take care of thee. When my grandson is emperor of France he will make thee a great woman."—She then called Colonel Darley to her bed-side; he had attended her in all her fortunes, and in Napoleon's will, he had assigned him a donation of 14,000*l.*—"You," said she, "have been a good friend to me and my family. I have left you what will make you happy. Never forget my grandson, and what he and you may arrive at, is beyond my discerning; but you will both be great."—She then called in all her junior servants, and with a pencil, as their names were called, marked down a sum of money to be given to each. They were then dismissed, and she declared she had done with the world, and requested water. She washed her hands, and lay down upon her pillow. Her attendants found her dead with her hand under her head, and a prayer-book upon her breast. Thus perished the mother of one who had been a meteor on earth, and a blazing star to direct others. Her chief heir is her grandson, who, it is said, will ultimately receive an immense fortune. To her seven children, still living, namely, Joseph Bonaparte, Lucien, Louis, Jerome, Eliza, Pauline and Caroline, and to Hortensia, daughter of Josephine, she bequeathed to each and every one of them the sum of 150,000 scudi, 37,000*l.* sterling, making in the whole 300,000*l.* And to her brother, Cardinal Fesch, she left a superb palace, filled with the most splendid furniture and varieties of every description.

Napoleon himself, speaking of his mother during his exile in St. Helena, said, "she was a woman of courage and of great talent, more of a masculine than of a feminine nature, proud and high minded. He added, "She is capable of selling every thing, even to her

chemise, for me. I allowed her a million a year, besides a palace, and giving her many presents. She is very rich."

When seen by the Duke of Hamilton and another gentleman at Rome in 1819, she was still the remains of a fine woman: her manners were dignified and commanding, and her deportment such as people would expect to find in a queen. She saw but little company; her table was splendid though private, and devoid of ostentation.

Joseph Napoleon, Grand Electeur, the eldest of the family, was originally intended for the church, on account of the influence possessed by that friend of the family, Marbeuf, Archbishop of Lyons. He went through the regular course of study; but when the moment arrived for his taking orders, he refused to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. He became successively King of Naples and of Spain, but is now a citizen of the United States. He married Miss Julia Clary, who resides at Brussels as Countess of Survilier.

The other brothers of Napoleon were Louis, Lucien, and Jerome. The first was distinguished as Grand Constable of France, and afterwards King of Holland. Since the restoration of the Bourbons, he has assumed the title of Count St. Leu.

Lucien, Napoleon used to say, had passed a turbulent career in his youth. At the age of fifteen he was taken to France by M. Semonville, who soon made him a zealous revolutionist and a clubbist. Through his marriage contrary to the wishes of Napoleon, and not according in other respects with his views, he forfeited a crown, and took refuge in England. He resided in Worcestershire during a considerable period of the late war; but he evinced his sincere attachment to his brother, by throwing himself into his arms on his return from Elba, when his prospects were by no means so flattering as they were when Lucien had quitted him. He has now a

princely residence at Rome, to the vicinity of which he has been in a measure confined ever since his brother's abdication subsequent to the battle of Waterloo.

Jerome Bonaparte, the youngest brother, was made King of Westphalia in 1807, and in the same year married to Catherine, daughter of the King of Wirtemberg by his first wife, Caroline of Brunswick. He now resides in the United States of America.

Maria Annunciade Carolina, youngest sister to Napoleon, born March 25, 1788, married Prince Murat, afterwards King of Naples.

Maria Anna Eliza, another sister, became Great Duchess of Tuscany, Princess of Lucca and Piombino. She is since deceased.

Maria Paulina, a third sister, was married to the Prince Borghese, Duke of Guastalla.

Napoleon was born about noon on the 15th of August, on the day of Assumption in the year 1769, or, as some have asserted, in 1768. His mother, who was possessed of great bodily energy, wished to attend mass, on account of the solemnity of the day, and being taken ill at church, was delivered on her return home before she could be conveyed to her chamber. The child, as soon as it was born, was laid on the carpet, an old fashioned article representing at full length the heroes of fable—this child was Napoleon.

M. V. Arnault, speaking of the birth of Napoleon, observes, whether this occurred on the 5th of February, 1768, or on the 15th of August, 1769, is a question which has been already agitated, and to which some persons affect to attach importance; but it is one of the least interesting in history. As we cannot draw any solid conclusion from it, we do not think it necessary to bestow so much labour in its investigation, as if its explanation could serve to establish any right. Napoleon, in pretending to be eighteen months younger than he really

was, it is said, was to make himself appear to have been a Frenchman born. Corsica did not belong to France, neither was reputed to be a part of the kingdom till the month of June, 1769. Is this supposition admissible? Napoleon, endowed with a mind eminently just, could he believe that he could obtain his end by such an ineffectual alteration? Was he to be informed, that of all the circumstances that might give him the character of a Frenchman, the date of his birth was the least essential, as the children always belong to the country of the parents; and that he could be no other than a Corsican, even after the re-union of Corsica with France, and that only because he was born of a Corsican father and mother? It is in his life altogether, and not in his birth, that we must look for his titles of naturalization. If during the course of his life all his faculties had not been consecrated to the interests of France, Napoleon would have been less a Frenchman than Maurice Count Saxe, who was naturalized by victory at Fontenoy.

The critics to whom we allude, have also endeavoured to attract attention upon the modification that Napoleon gave to his family name, viz. Buonaparte, in which he suppressed a letter, that in fact was quiescent in pronunciation. His object they say in doing this, was to divest his name of its foreign physiognomy. With or without the u, is it more or less than an Italian name? It is one of those surnames that, when Italy was torn to pieces by civil wars, was given by the factions to many individuals, who have transmitted them down to posterity as proper names. The name Buonaparte, which in the original signified a man devoted to the good cause, now signifies a man illustrious by the most brilliant exploits and the most astonishing achievements of our age. We cannot therefore conceive what interest these detractors can have in endeavouring to re-establish the letter which Bonaparte has excluded from his name. Do they imagine

they can render this name ridiculous, in writing it as it is found at the bottom of the treaties of Turin, Leoben and Campio Formio?

Napolion, or Napoleon, as before observed, was the second son of Charles Bonaparte and of Madame Letitia Ramolini, from whose marriage sprang eight children, who, two excepted, have sat upon thrones. One of these exceptions was Lucien, who to the pleasure of being a king, preferred setting himself in opposition to the soldier who made kings. What attractions this conduct might have in the eyes of a man who was fond of glory, may be easily conceived: to resist the master of the world, was to place himself above every one who bowed to that master; it was nearly raising himself to the same level.

As it may readily be conceived, Napoleon in his early youth was adroit, lively, and agile in the extreme. He had gained, it is said, the most complete ascendancy over his brother Joseph, who was often beaten and ill-treated; if complaints were carried to the mother, she usually took the part of Napoleon, and would seldom allow Joseph to speak in his own defence.

The French government regarding education as one of the most efficacious means of modifying the national character, and of attaching the rising generation to the interests of France, having decided that a certain number of young Corsicans, belonging to families who had the greatest influence, should be educated in the French schools, Napoleon entered as a king's scholar in the military school of Brienne, under the monks who then superintended even those establishments. His name, which in his Corsican accent he pronounced as if written *Napoilloné*, from the similarity of the sound, procured for him among his youthful companions, the nick-name of *la paille au nez*, viz. straw in his nose. In 1783, Napoleon was one of the scholars who, at the annual competition at Brienne, were selected to be sent to the military school at Paris,

to finish their education. M. Keralio, the inspector, was particularly attached to young Napoleon. He was fond of the boys in general; played with them when they had finished their examinations, and permitted those who had acquitted themselves most to his satisfaction to dine with him. Bonaparte was singled out by him to be sent to Paris, though he had not quite attained the requisite age. Upon its being suggested to him to wait till the following year, and give his pupil more time for improvement, he replied, "I know what I am about; and if I am transgressing the rules, it is not on account of family influence. I know nothing of the friends of this youth. I am actuated only by my own opinion of his merit: I perceive in him a spark of genius which cannot be too early fostered."

M. Keralio died before he could carry this resolution into effect; however, M. De Regnaud, his successor, the next year fulfilled his intentions, and young Napoleon was sent to Paris. The following document, which has been incorrectly given in different publications, is here inserted verbatim as taken from the register of the *Ecole Militaire de Brienne*, for the year 1784, the copy of which was purchased by Louis Bonaparte for a considerable sum. It may be necessary to state, that two students of the college of Brienne were annually chosen as fit persons to be sent to the *Ecole Militaire* of Paris, and that the above year was that in which Napoleon Bonaparte and Monsieur de Castres were so selected. The following is the translation of the certificate which the former carried with him:—

Description of the King's Students, capable, from their age, of entering the Service, or of passing to the Military School of Paris; namely,

M. de Bonaparte (Napoleon) born the 15th of August, 1764. Height, 4 feet, 10 inches, 10 lines: has finished his fourth degree.

Of good constitution, excellent health, a character docile, frank, and grateful; of very regular habits; has always distinguished himself by his application to mathematics: he is pretty conversant with history and geography; rather deficient in polite accomplishments, as well as Latin; having only finished his fourth class. He will prove an excellent marine.

Deserves to pass to the School at Paris.

Though Napoleon was by no means pusillanimous, he had not the least resemblance to that ferocity which some of his biographers have imputed to him at this early period. As a proof of the susceptibility of his temper, it is related, that one day the quarter-master, a man of harsh disposition, condemned Napoleon, by way of punishment, to wear the serge coat, and to take his dinner on his knees at the door of the refectory. The mortification felt by the disgraced pupil on this account was so great, as to subject him to a violent retching and a severe nervous attack, when the head-master of the school happening to pass accidentally, relieved him from the punishment, and reproved the quarter-master for his want of discernment. Father Patrault also, the professor of Mathematics, was much offended on finding that his first mathematician had been treated with such marked contempt.

Napoleon, however, confessed, "that on attaining the age of puberty, his temper actually became morose and reserved; his passion for reading was carried to excess, and he eagerly devoured the contents of every book that fell in his way." Whilst Napoleon was at this school, Pichegru was his quarter-master and his tutor in the four rules of arithmetic. Napoleon retained but a faint idea of Pichegru; he remembered that he was a tall man, rather red in the face. Pichegru, on the contrary, preserved a distinct remembrance of young Napoleon; and

when this general joined the royalist party, he was asked whether it would not be possible to gain over the general of the army of Italy. "To attempt that," said he, "would only be wasting time: from my knowledge of him when a boy, I am sure he must be a most inflexible character; he has taken his resolutions, and he will not change them."

The emperor, during his exile, was often amused by the ridiculous tales and anecdotes that are related of his boyhood in the numerous little publications which he had happened to peruse. But one relative to his *confirmation* at the military school, he allowed to be genuine. It is as follows:—The Archbishop who confirmed him manifesting his astonishment at the name of Napoleon, said he did not know of any such saint, and that there was no such name in the calendar; the boy quickly replied, "That could be no rule, since there were an immense number of saints, and only 365 days."

A similar instance of his promptitude of reply was displayed on another occasion, during his residence at this school: as he was one day undergoing an examination by a general officer, Napoleon answered all the questions proposed with so much precision, accompanied by such a depth of penetration, that the general, the professors, and the students, were completely astonished. At length, in order to bring the interrogatories to a close, the following question was proposed to the youth:—"What line of conduct would you adopt in case you were besieged in a fortified place, and was destitute of provisions?" "So long as there were any in the camp of the enemy I should never be at a great loss for a supply," was the answer, without the smallest hesitation. These emphatic words seemed the prognostic of his future fortunes.

Napoleon from his infancy was generally inclined to be serious and thoughtful, with no small anxiety after knowledge, though the study of the ancient languages had always less attraction for him than history or the

mathematics. But finding few characters similar to hi own, his intimates were of course not numerous; but i would be false to insinuate that he had no friends. Som of his earliest connections of amity, originated in thi school. M. Fauvelet de Bourriene was among these and always attached himself to the fortunes of Napoleo in Italy, in Egypt, and in France, when under the titl of Consul he took possession of the government.

Few of the pupils at Brienne were admitted into th retreat that Napoleon had formed for himself, upon th ground that was assigned to him to cultivate or break u at his pleasure. While he was a pupil here, at leas out of school hours, though in the midst of about 15 scholars, he lived nearly sequestered, and never parti cipated in their amusements. Upon the ground assigne to him in the garden he chose his place of retreat, an fortified the entrance with pallisadoes, &c. against al intruders. Within this entrenchment he admitted non but his favourite few. He was already a severe discipli narian, a premature virtue in this place, which mor than once exposed him to the resentment of his com rades. They had nominated him their officer, and the were surprised that he should treat them as privates Napoleon, in the room of childish amusements, substi tuted the representation of heroic achievements. In th court allotted to the boys for their recreation, he some times formed a circus for gladiators; sometimes an aren for the olympic games. These heroic games being a one period suspended, this Achilles retired into his tent but there he could not rest long; not waiting even fo spring, he left his quarters in the depth of winter. There had been a heavy fall of snow: the boys amused them selves by forming it into heaps. The young general, however, contrived to turn this fall of snow to his advan tage, and with equal accuracy and skill, raised a numbe of redoubts and retrenchments in the manner of Vauban:

G.H. Jones del.

BONAPARTE'S WINTER AMUSEMENTS AT THE MILITARY SCHOOL.

he thus formed the first citadel before which he displayed that genius that was afterwards to open to him the gates of Toulon and Mantua. With bullets of snow he defended that place against the attacks made with others of the same kind. This campaign, however, was soon finished by a thaw.

On this occasion, it is said, the curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even of strangers, was excited by the reports of the extent of these forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow, formed according to the strictest rules of art; and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Bonaparte by turns headed the assailants and their opponents. The weapons of each party were snowballs, and the commander generally kept up the interest by some military manœuvres, which always surprised, if they did not astonish. As before intimated, it was not till the sun had liquified the snow that the fortress was declared no longer tenable.

Still every season afforded convenience for some military game or other. For him each was made to produce arms, and sometimes soldiers. It was not merely with pieces of ivory or lead, that this young tactician composed his army: for want of better, he had at one period got a regiment of flints. These being once formed into a line, he would have respected as real soldiers. One of his comrades, who either wantonly or maliciously happened to disarrange his order of battle, had occasion to repent of it, and carried the mark of the chastisement which he drew upon himself by this imprudence all the rest of his days. Still this mark proved useful to him when Bonaparte, many years after, had risen to his highest elevation. It was then announced to him, that one of his former school-fellows wished to be introduced. Napoleon had no recollection of his name: "Ask him," said he, "if he knows of any thing parti-

cular that may assist me in recollecting him?"—"Sire, he has a very deep scar on his forehead; and he says you ought to recollect what passed between you and him when that was made."—"He is in the right," said the emperor: "I know how that mark was made. I threw a general at his head: let him come in."

Sentiments expressed in early youth frequently develope the future character. One day when Napoleon was speaking of Turenne with considerable warmth, a lady observed, "he was a great man, but I should have liked him better if he had not ravaged the Palatinate." "What does that signify," replied the young officer, briskly—"*if this burning was necessary to his views?*"

It seems evident that the parents of Napoleon had rested their principal hopes on him from his earliest childhood. His father, when dying at Montpelier, though Joseph was with him, spoke only of Napoleon, who was then at the military school. In the delirium which seized him in his last moments, he incessantly called Napoleon to come to his aid with his *great sword*. The grand uncle, Lucien, who on his death-bed was surrounded by all his relatives, said, addressing himself to Joseph, "You are the eldest of the family; but there is the *head* of it (pointing to Napoleon)—never lose sight of him." The emperor used to laugh and say, "This was a true disinheritance; it was the scene of Jacob and Esau."

The Count de Las Cases also relates, that having been himself educated at the military school at Brienne, though at an earlier period than Napoleon, he was enabled on his return from his emigration to converse about the emperor with the masters who had been common to them both. M. De l'Eguille, the teacher of history, used to boast, that the records of the military school contained proofs of his having foretold the great career which his pupil was destined to run. When First Consul, Bona-

parte used often to invite De l'Eguille to breakfast at Malmaison, when he took great pleasure in conversing about his old lessons.

M. Domairon, the professor of Belles Lettres, declared that he had always been struck with the singularity of Napoleon's amplifications, which he compared to flaming granites poured from a volcano. Only one individual in the school formed a mistaken idea of him; that was M. Bauer, the German master: young Napoleon never made much progress in the German language, which offended M. Bauer, who consequently formed a most contemptible opinion of his pupil's abilities. One day Napoleon not being in his place, M. Bauer enquired where he was, and was told he was attending his examination in the class of artillery. "Oh, then he does learn something!" said M. Bauer ironically. "Why, sir, he is the best mathematician in the school," was the reply. "Ah, I have heard it remarked, and I have always believed, that none but a fool could learn the mathematics." The emperor relating this anecdote some years after, said, "It would be curious to know whether M. Bauer lived long enough to ascertain my real character, and to enjoy the confirmation of his own judgment."

Napoleon was scarcely eighteen years of age when the Abbé Raynal, struck with the extent of his acquirements, appreciated them so highly as to invite him to his scientific *déjeûnés*. The celebrated Paoli was also accustomed to say, "This young man is formed on the ancient model: he is one of Plutarch's men."

When Napoleon was at the military school at Paris, and about seventeen years of age, he had a narrow escape for his life. While swimming in the Seine, the cramp seized him, and after several ineffectual struggles, he sank. At that moment, he declared he experienced all the sensations of dying, and lost all recollection. However, after he had sunk, the current carried him

upon a bank of sand, on the edge of which it threw him, where he lay senseless for some time, till he was restored by the aid of his young companions, who saw him by accident. Previous to this, they had given him up for lost, as they saw him sink, but did not imagine the current would have carried him to such a considerable distance.

Before we follow Napoleon in the career upon which he entered, we shall illustrate an event which was connected with the period of his stay at the military school at Paris. In 1784, when people were generally occupied with the discoveries made by M. Montgolfier, this aeronaut was allowed to make his experiments in the Champ de Mars. One day, when every thing was ready for his departure, a pupil of the military school insisted upon accompanying him; but notwithstanding all his entreaties, as he was not able to obtain his request, he rushed upon the aeronaut sword in hand, and injured him so much that he was incapable of proceeding. Some biographers have imputed this act to Napoleon; but the perpetrator was one of his comrades, Dupont de Charbon, a young man who has since distinguished himself by the impetuosity of his character upon more than one occasion. Dupont died abroad in a state nearly bordering upon insanity.

In the year 1785, Bonaparte was admitted into the artillery; he went from the military school at Paris into the regiment de la Fère, in quality of second lieutenant. Born in the midst of a republican contest in his native land, it was his destiny to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice engaged in a struggle which opened a boundless field for the military adventurer; and there was much in his habits and manners that fitted him for the situation for which he was designed. Instead of imitating the frivolity of many young men of his age, his mind was con-

tinually intent on military studies, and from the lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he generally carried about him, he learned at an early age to copy the manners and emulate the great actions of antiquity.

Those principles to which the whole bulk of society was then attached, were such as had been inculcated in the mind of Napoleon from the first moment of his existence: they were those which every classical scholar receives with the first elements of his education; those that breathe through the writings of all the ancients; those that he had imbibed with his mother's milk. From the mere force of habit, his mind could not be otherwise than in harmony with the prevailing sentiment, if he had not been partial to it by a predisposition. Thus he did not hesitate upon the party to which he meant to attach himself and his future fortunes.

After joining his regiment at Valence, his first comrades at the mess table were Laribossière, who during the empire was appointed inspector-general of the artillery; Sorbier, who succeeded him; D'Hedouville, junior; Mallet, the brother of him who headed the tumult in Paris in 1813; an officer named Mabille, whom on his return from emigration, the emperor appointed postmaster-general; Rolland de Villarceaux, afterwards prefect of Nismes; Desmazzis, senior, his companion at the military school, and the friend of his early years; who, after Napoleon ascended the throne, became keeper of the imperial wardrobe.

The regiment de la Fère behaved so badly to the inhabitants of Turin, that Napoleon was obliged to reduce them. He accordingly had them marched to Paris, and assembled on the parade, where he ordered the colours to be taken from them by some colonels, and lodged in the church of the Invalids, covered with mourning. The officers who had not behaved so badly as the principal actors, were divided amongst other regiments. Some

months afterwards he formed the regiment again under different officers, and the colours were taken from the church with great pomp by a number of colonels, each tearing a piece off, which they burnt, and new ones were given in their stead.

At Valence Napoleon was introduced to Madame Colombier, a lady about fifty years of age, who was endowed with many rare and estimable qualities, and was one of the most distinguished persons in the place. She entertained a great regard for the young artillery officer. She introduced him to the Abbé de St. Rufe, a man of considerable property, who was frequently visited by the most distinguished persons in the country. Madame Colombier often foretold that Napoleon would be an eminent man. The death of this lady happened about the time of the breaking out of the revolution, an event in which she took great interest. The emperor never spoke of Madame Colombier but with expressions of the tenderest gratitude.

It was also at Valence that Napoleon's first susceptibility of the tender passion was excited by Mademoiselle Colombier, the daughter, who on her part was not insensible to his merits. It was the first love of both, and of that kind which might be expected at their age, and with their education. "We were the most innocent creatures imaginable," the emperor used to say; "we contrived little meetings together: I well remember one which took place on a midsummer morning, just as day-light began to dawn. It will scarcely be believed that all our happiness consisted in eating cherries together."

When the emperor was proceeding to be crowned King of Italy, in passing through Lyons, he again saw Mademoiselle Colombier, who had changed her name to Madame de Bressieux. She gained access to him with some difficulty; Napoleon was happy to see her, though he found her much altered for the worse. He granted

what she solicited for her husband, and placed her in the situation of lady of honour to one of his sisters.

Napoleon himself, it is said, referring to the part which he took at the first breaking out of the French Revolution, observed, "Had I been a general, I should have been of the court party; sub-lieutenant, I should have declared for the revolution." He had, however, most decidedly ranged himself under the standard of liberty, when circumstances brought him to the knowledge of one of its most illustrious defenders, a man who till then had been the hero of Corsica, General Paoli. This general, who after having fought with more glory than success for the independence of Corsica, found himself compelled to retire to England, had been authorized by the Constituent Assembly to reclaim the rank of citizen in his own country, then liberated by France, and of which it was then become an integral part. He arrived at Paris. Napoleon, whose father, as before observed, had distinguished himself in the war of independence, was received as a son by this old friend of Charles Bonaparte. The qualifications of young Bonaparte, and which had long been perceived by men of less penetration than Paoli, did not escape a man enlightened by so much experience. Whatever might have been the designs of Paoli, he found it very useful to attach this young soldier to himself, who, on his part, followed the old general with all the patriotism of a Frenchman, while the patriotism of Paoli was only that of a Corsican.

The impulse which the French Revolution had given to Corsica, was not entirely to the interest of France. The majority of the local population were more in the habit of considering the French as masters, than fellow-citizens; and of course could not perceive any liberty in any order of things that did not confer independence upon the whole island. Paoli himself was inclined to this mode of thinking. At first he dissimulated, but he could no

long conceal the preference that he gave to the English constitution, beyond that which the French legislature had conferred upon Corsica. At the same time he did every thing in his power to protect his country from the excesses increased by the revolutionary fermentation in France.

This predilection for the British regime, and his aversion to disorder, soon rendered Paoli a suspected character. He was several times accused before the legislature of an intention to deliver up to England that country for whose liberties he had fought. It is true, he was defended with a vehemence equal to that with which he had been attacked; but the interior tranquillity suffered from this struggle. Following the example of the French, the island was divided into aristocrats and democrats; this produced other sub-divisions. Those who were on the side of liberty separated from Paoli's partisans, who had declared for the independence of Corsica; and these being declared traitors by the Convention, perhaps compelled them to become such in reality. Bonaparte remained a French citizen, and without hesitating between the interest or the inclination of his friend, and those of his country, he ceased to be the soldier of Paoli, to avoid becoming a subject to England.

It was not without pain that he divested himself of his long attachment to a man whom he had so many years admired as a hero. He undertook Paoli's defence upon many occasions, attended with danger. With his own hands he fixed upon the walls of Ajaccio, the answer by which the municipality of that city refuted the basis of the decree issued by them against Paoli by the Convention. By this action, not less generous than courageous, he exposed himself to the animadversions of the commissaries sent to Corsica to put that decree in execution. Still his attachment to an habitual friendship did not carry him beyond the limits of his duty. Appointed Commandant of the National Guard, paid by

government, he always maintained the interests of France against the national guard that did not receive pay, but which was in the interest of Paoli. This firmness in Bonaparte was never pardoned. Having quelled a kind of insurrection, he was accused of having provoked the disorder for the purpose of rendering himself useful in repressing it, and was obliged to go to Paris to justify his conduct. This occurred in the year 1792, an epoch which was distinguished by the fall of royalty in France.

On his return to Corsica after the memorable 10th of August, in that year, he at length found an opportunity of exercising his military talents. France was proclaimed a republic. She was threatened by, and she attacked all the powers of Europe. More than a million of Frenchmen fled to arms, and in a short time the French armies were upon the territories of those powers who had been driven from France. Belgium was conquered; Savoy was invaded. A fleet sailed from Toulon under Admiral Truguet. Bonaparte directed this expedition, which seized upon the island and fort of St. Etienne, as well as the Isle de la Madeleine, belonging to the King of Sardinia. This was conquering as far as lay in his power. However, he was soon obliged to evacuate these places; the disasters which the fleet had sustained affected the success of the whole expedition.

Truguet, before he met with the enemy, had to contend with the elements, and this completely prevented the junction of his fleet with the squadron cruising off Naples. When they arrived before Cagliari, they were received in a manner they did not expect from these islanders, who saluted them with showers of red hot balls. The troops that attempted a descent were also defeated. This expedition cost the republic a ship of the line and five or six hundred men, though their success at first seemed placed beyond a doubt. Among the troops were two battalions of the Corsican national guards.

The disorganization and retreat of this fleet inspired the independent party in Corsica with great hopes; the discontented rallied their forces, and in spite of the decrees of the Convention, and the feeble army left in Corsica to retain them in obedience, they convoked a Consulta at Corté, under the auspices of Paoli, formed a Council of Government, the secretary of which was M. Pozzo di Borgo, at present the Russian ambassador at the court of France. The president Paoli was nominated generalissimo of the Corsican army. With the succours which he received from England, he easily dispersed the troops that took part with France. Ajaccio and every place of importance were very soon in Paoli's power. When Bonaparte returned into the island, Salicette and La Combe St. Michel, the members of the Convention charged to carry their decree into execution, had taken refuge at Calvi: Bonaparte, in going there to join them, was exposed to considerable danger, arising from hatred, and perhaps fear, in a country where custom has the force of law, and where, for the purpose of destroying any man deemed obnoxious, even assassination is authorized by custom. With the assistance of some troops disembarked by the French commissioners, Bonaparte attempted to re-enter Ajaccio, but in vain; the arms of the Convention had no more power than its decrees. The proscription of the conquered was the consequence of the victory. Bonaparte had signalized himself too much to be spared. A decree excited and signed by Paoli, condemned him to perpetual banishment. Despoiled of his property and his office, Bonaparte embarked with his kindred, who always shared his fortune. A frail bark received this future Cæsar and his family, and conveyed them across the waves, in the prosecution of his high destinies. At that period nothing was more deplorable than Bonaparte's present prospects; nothing more uncertain than the future. But he felt a persuasion that fortune might

not always abandon him; and a vast scene still lay open to his views. He was young; he went to France. Probably it was on this occasion that he said, "In a revolution, a soldier should never despair, if he possesses courage and genius."

Previous to this departure, the Bonaparte family had the honour of being threatened with *a march* of the inhabitants of the island; that is, they were attacked by 12 or 15,000 peasants who came down from the mountains on Ajaccio, and pillaged and burnt Napoleon's family residence, not sparing either the flocks or the vines. Madame, with a few faithful friends, wandered for some time on the sea-shore. Paoli, who had for some time perceived this gathering storm, endeavoured to avert it. "Renounce this opposition," said he to Madame; "it will prove the ruin of yourself, your family, and fortune;" but Madame, like another Cornelia, heroically replied, "that she, her children, and her relatives, would only obey two laws; namely, duty and honour."

The victim of her devotedness to France, she expected to be received at Marseilles as an emigrant of distinction, but there found herself scarcely in safety; the spirit of patriotism existed only among the very lowest classes of the people.

CHAP. III.

Separation of the Bonaparte Family—Insurrections in the South—Siege of Toulon—Generals Cartaux, Dugommier and Bonaparte—General O'Hara—Bonaparte wounded —His Imprisonment and Liberation—Expeditions to Corsica—The Patriots of Marseilles—Bonaparte appointed to command the Artillery of the Army of Italy—Goes to Nice—General Dumerbion—Operations against the Austrians and Piedmontese—The Wife of a Representative—Bonaparte displaced by Aubry, the Commissioner of the Convention—Restored by M. Pontcoulant—Quarrel between the Sections and the Convention—Bonaparte employed against them—Anecdote—Marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois—His Departure for the Army of Italy in March, 1796—Address to the Soldiers —His Visit to Marseilles—His Plan of the Italian Campaign, an inedited Document.

BONAPARTE and his family having left Corsica, and disembarked in Provence, found themselves reduced, by their attachment to France, to a state of distress similar to that in which a number of French emigrants had been placed by a contrary cause.

Madame Bonaparte lived at Marseilles with her daughters, upon the scanty allowance assigned her by government in return for the sacrifice she had made of all she possessed. Her sons had to contend with their misfortunes unassisted. Joseph and Lucien obtained employ in the army administration. Napoleon and Louis engaged in the military service.

Returning into the corps of artillery, Napoleon passed as a first lieutenant in the fourth regiment of that corps. A few months after, he rose by the right of seniority

to the rank of captain in the second company of the same corps, then in garrison at Nice. This was in the year 1793, when the dreadful event, the execution of Louis XVI. astonished even those of the capital, who were forced to concur in it, and impressed a degree of horror upon the majority of the French in the provinces.

In the departments of the South, where men are rarely governed by moderate sentiments, the common revolutionary ideas soon began to shoot up with a vehemence equal to the fury with which they had been previously kindled. Challier, the imitator of Marat, had dared to give an example of insurrection, not altogether against the government of the Convention, but against those that governed it, namely, the Mountain party. Marseilles followed the example, and was imitated by the principal cities of the South, who formed a federation. But what shall we say of Toulon, which laid the country open to foreign armies, and delivered up to its enemies those fleets, those arsenals which should have protected them against their attacks!

The proposals made to the inhabitants of Toulon by the British Admiral Hood, who blockaded that port by sea, were specious in no small degree. "Declare yourselves," said he, "openly and frankly for the monarchy; hoist the ancient French colours; disarm your ships of war; put us in possession of your forts; and in the name of his Britannic Majesty, I offer you all the succours in my power. Your property shall not only be scrupulously respected, but the port, the fleet, the fortresses of Toulon, shall be religiously remitted to France as soon as peace shall have been signed; the king's only object being to re-establish the union of the two states upon bases just and honourable." These terms being accepted, such a number of English, Spanish, Neapolitan troops were landed, that it became necessary for the French to assemble an army of 30,000 men before

they could compel the besieged to evacuate the town and the forts.

Assisted by the bravery of the French, General Cartaux, besides gaining some other advantages, took a position before Toulon: but he soon felt his incapacity to carry on such an important operation for any length of time, and General Dugommier, a man of superior genius, was called upon to direct the siege. Previous to this general's arrival, Bonaparte had been appointed to the command of the artillery, and with a few exceptions, Cartaux placed the most unlimited confidence in the young officer of artillery, whom he called "Captain Cannon."

The success of a siege must depend upon the artillery, especially where they have to contend with artillery. Its thunder was heard from the ramparts, from the summits of the mountains that commanded the place, and from the vessels, English, Spanish, or French, in the roads; the enemy having converted the latter into so many floating citadels.

Bonaparte not only performed all that might have been expected of him, but frequently rectified the errors of others, and displayed the superiority of his genius to more than one officer, his superior in rank. Preserving his dignity with the representatives that were sent by the Convention to Toulon, as he did with every one else, he trusted that his self-confidence would be justified by his successes. One of the representatives here having made some observation upon the position of a battery, "Mind your own business," said Bonaparte, "and leave mine to me. This battery must remain where it is; I will answer for its effect."

In action he was at all times both officer and soldier: at the taking of a redoubt, and fighting near Marshal Suchet, then a captain, he undertook to load a gun at which an artillery man had just been killed, and making use of the ram-rod whilst it was warm, he contracted a

disease which reproduced itself for a long time under a variety of forms; but this he often recollected as one of the first acts of his military career. The general attack of the besiegers was made upon Toulon from the land on the 16th of December. Neither the severity of the season, nor the unceasing wetness of the weather, could damp the impetuosity of the French troops: those exhausted by fatigue were continually supplied by fresh reinforcements during this assault, which was almost as long as the siege. The principal redoubt, defended by two thousand men, was carried on the 17th, though it was protected by a double row of pallisades, an intrenched camp, and a cross fire from three batteries. Bonaparte afterwards established a battery upon the promontory of Aiguelette, which battery commanded the English fleet. Other positions occupied by the English upon the mountains were carried by the bayonet. Ultimately compelled to abandon the place, the British retired in the night, and on the 20th of December the French re-entered Toulon, and inflicted a dreadful vengeance on the royalists left in the place.

The rank of general of brigade was the reward conferred upon Bonaparte for his services at the siege of Toulon.

When Napoleon spoke to Barry O'Meara about the siege of Toulon, he observed, that he had made General O'Hara prisoner—"I may say," said he, "with my own hand. I had constructed a masked battery of eight 24-pounders and four mortars, in order to open upon fort Malbosquet, which was in possession of the English. It was finished in the evening, and it was my intention to have opened upon them in the morning. While I was giving directions at another part of the army, some of the deputies of the Convention came down. In those days, they sometimes took upon them to direct the operations of the armies, and those imbeciles ordered the battery to commence, which was obeyed. As soon as I

saw this premature fire, I immediately conceived that the English general would attack the battery, and most probably carry it, as matters had not been yet arranged to support it. In fact, O'Hara seeing that the fire from the battery would dislodge his troops from Malbosquet, from which last I would have taken the fort which commanded the harbour, determined upon attacking it. Accordingly in the morning he put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out, and actually carried the battery and the lines which I had formed to the left, and those to the right were taken by the Neapolitans. While he was busy in spiking the guns, I advanced with three or four hundred grenadiers unperceived, through a *boyau* covered with olive trees, which communicated with the battery, and commenced a terrible fire upon his troops. The English, astonished, at first supposed that the Neapolitans, who had lines on the right, had mistaken them for French, and said, "It is those *canaglie* of Neapolitans who are firing upon us." O'Hara ran out of the battery, and advanced towards us. In advancing, he was wounded by the fire of a serjeant, and I, who stood at the mouth of the *boyau*, seized him by the coat, and threw him back amongst my own men, thinking he was a colonel, as he had two epaulettes on. While they were taking him to the rear, he cried out that he was the commander-in-chief of the English. He thought they were going to massacre him, as there existed a horrible order at that time from the Convention, to give no quarter to the English. I ran up and prevented the soldiers from ill treating him. He spoke very bad French, and as I saw that he thought they intended to butcher him, I did every thing in my power to console him, and gave directions that his wound should be immediately dressed, and every attention paid to him. He afterwards begged of me to give him a statement of the manner of his capture, to shew it to his government in his justification. "Those blockheads of deputies,"

continued Napoleon, "wanted to attack and storm the town first; but I explained to them that it was very strong, and that we should lose many men; that the best way would be to make ourselves masters of the forts first, which commanded the harbour, and then the English would either be taken, or be obliged to burn the greatest part of the fleet and escape. My advice was taken, and the English, perceiving what would be the result, set fire to the ships, and abandoned the town."

During this early exhibition of his skill and courage, Bonaparte attacked a battery occupied by the English, which having charged several times, at length, in order to encourage his men, he jumped into, and almost instantaneously received a deep bayonet wound in the interior of the left, thigh, about two inches and a half above the knee. He fell backwards, and was received into the arms of Lieutenant Muiron, who safely bore him from the scene of action. This wound nearly cost Bonaparte the loss of his leg; but he ever after regarded Muiron as his brother.

The simplicity of General Cartaux, whom Bonaparte was sent to act under, or rather supersede, at the siege of Toulon, was striking. He was, however, described as a haughty man, covered with lace from head to foot, who upon Bonaparte's arrival, asked him what duty he had been sent upon. The young officer modestly presenting the letter he was entrusted with—"This," said Cartaux, twirling his whiskers, "was quite unnecessary; we want no assistance to retake Toulon; but, however, you are welcome, and you may share the glory of burning the town to-morrow, without having experienced any of the fatigue."

In all the disputes, and many occurred, between Cartaux and Bonaparte, as commandant of artillery, the wife of the general was commonly present, and uniformly took part with the young officer of artillery, saying with great

naivete to her husband, "Let the young man alone, he knows more about it than you do, for he never asks your advice; besides, are you not the responsible person? the glory will be yours."

This woman was not without good sense. On her return to Paris, after her husband had been recalled from Toulon, the Jacobins of Marseilles gave a splendid fête, by way of triumph over the disgraced Bourbon family. In the course of the evening, the conversation turning on the new commandant of artillery, who was enthusiastically praised, "Do not reckon on him," said she; "that young man has too much understanding to remain long a *Sans Culotte*." On which the general exclaimed with the voice of a Stentor, "*Femme Cartaux*, would you make us out all fools then?" "No, I don't say that, my dear; but I must tell you, he is not one of your sort."

Soon after the retaking of Toulon, Bonaparte accompanied General Dugommier to Marseilles, and was with him in company there, when some one, struck with his person, asked the general who that *little bit of an officer was, and where he had picked him up?* "That officer's name," replied the general, "is Bonaparte: I picked him up at the siege of Toulon, to the successful termination of which he eminently contributed; and you will probably see one day, that this *little bit of an officer* is a greater man than any of us."

After Bonaparte's success at Toulon, he was sent upon a fresh expedition against Corsica, where royalty having been established by General Paoli, Lord Minto had for some time acted as Viceroy.

This expedition was not crowned with success; but on Napoleon's return he was charged with the defence of the coasts of the Mediterranean. Some batteries he totally removed, and erected new ones at other places where he judged they might be used with more effect. In pursuit of this plan he proposed to reconstruct the fort of St.

Nicholas at Marseilles, which, like the Bastille at Paris, had been destroyed in the first effervescence of the revolution. The patriots at Marseilles persuaded themselves that he wanted to build a prison, because the building that stood there before had been used as such. The Convention being satisfied with the apology made by Bonaparte, did not accuse him of incivism, as his enemies wished, nor was the fort of St. Nicholas rebuilt. The fears of the Marsellois, however, deprived them of a fortress.

Bonaparte, being appointed to the command of the artillery, afterwards repaired to the army of Italy: there new persecutions awaited him. He was confident in his own opinions, but these were not conformable to those that had prevailed in the council. After having seized upon the Col di Tende, Oneglia, and Ormea, in the valley of Tanaro, the army stationary upon the Alps seemed to rest satisfied without extending its conquests. Instead of a war of posts, Bonaparte proposed a war of invasion, and that the army should precipitate itself upon Piedmont from those mountains which no longer afforded it protection.

This advice, given with confidence, though it was afterwards attended with success, was attributed to presumption, and the assurance with which Napoleon repeated it on all occasions, was censured as insubordination. Men of mean talents were only waiting for an opportunity to get rid of the observation of a superior genius. The results of the 10th of Thermidor offered the occasion that was wanted. The connection between Bonaparte and the commissioners sent by the Convention to superintend the siege of Toulon, was now found useful to the young general. Among these commissioners was the younger Robespierre, who was accused of favouring the projects of his brother. Bonaparte was suspended from his functions, and impri-

soned for some time as an accomplice with this commissioner, whom he obeyed in common with the rest of the army. Never despairing, Bonaparte, far from renouncing his system, employed himself in rendering his plan of a campaign as perfect as possible, even when under confinement. In imagination, he had already made a descent upon that beautiful Lombardy which he was soon to conquer in reality. The duration of this imprisonment was not long. The importance of Bonaparte's presence was demonstrated by his absence. Wishing again to conquer, the Convention recalled the man who had already possessed the art of organizing victory, and to whose talents and excellent combinations General Dumerbion acknowledged he owed his success in Italy, when Bonaparte was first sent to Nice. This was in March, 1794.

General Dumerbion was an old and brave officer, who had previously carried on the war between the Var and the Roya, and was well acquainted with the positions of all the mountains that cover Nice. Bonaparte having visited the advanced posts, and reconnoitred the line which the army occupied, laid a memorial before General Dumerbion, relating to the unfortunate attack of General Brunet, and to the method of compelling the enemy to retreat beyond the Upper Alps, by taking possession of the Col di Tende. These suggestions being presented to a council at which the representatives Ricors and young Robespierre were sitting, they were agreed to unanimously. Since the taking of Toulon, the reputation of Bonaparte was quite sufficient to inspire confidence in his designs. Still it is evident, that for some time, few of the representatives of the people knew how to appreciate his merits and character. At Nice, whilst general of the artillery, he was for a short time put under an arrest by the deputy Laporte, because he would not allow him to employ his artillery horses for the service of the post.

On the 18th of April, 1794, a part of the army under Massena (Dumerbion being confined by the gout), in pursuance of Bonaparte's plan, crossed the Roya near Menton, and then divided into four columns: the first marched up the bank of the Roya; the second up that of the Nervia; the third up that of the Taggio, and the fourth moved upon Oneglia. The column of Oneglia, upon the heights of St. Agatha fell in with a body of Austrians and Piedmontese, and defeated them. Brulé, the general of brigade, was killed in the action. The head-quarters being removed to Oneglia, troops were immediately sent to occupy Loano. From Oneglia, the French marched to the sources of the Tanaro, beat the enemy on the heights of Ponte Dinairo, possessed themselves of the fortress of Ormea, entered Garessio, and occupied the road from that place to Turin. In the mean while, the movements of the other three French columns so alarmed the Piedmontese, that they hastily abandoned all the positions which had been stained by so much blood. Saorgio was immediately invested, and capitulated; and on the 7th of May, the Piedmontese troops, after a brisk attack, were driven from the Col di Tende. In this manner, all the upper regions of the Alps fell into the hands of the French. By these manœuvres, the army of Italy had gained more than sixty pieces of cannon. Saorgio was provisioned, and abounded with ammunition of every kind, being the principal depôt of all the Piedmontese army. In these new positions the French remained till September, when they marched to meet an Austrian force advancing on the Bormida.

General Bonaparte having passed the straits of the Bormida, proceeded to Chiari, where they fell in with 12 or 13,000 Austrians manœuvring on the plain, who no sooner saw the French army than they retreated to Dego, where being soon attacked, they retired upon Acqui. The French army having taken Dego, had now several maga-

zines, and had ascertained that there was nothing to fear from the Austrians. This march, directed by Bonaparte, had spread consternation through all Italy. The French line then extended to Bardinetto and the Col di Tende, passing by Septipani, Melagno, and St. James.

The remainder of the year 1794 was spent in putting all these positions in a proper state of defence, especially Vado. The knowledge that Napoleon acquired under all these circumstances, became extremely useful to him in 1796, when he was appointed commander-in-chief.

At this army of Nice with General Dumerbion, there was a representative, whose wife, a pretty fascinating woman, even usurped his authority; but both husband and wife paid great attention to the general of artillery, and treated him in the most handsome manner. This proved a great advantage during the absence or inefficiency of the laws; a representative of the people was a man of uncommon influence. After Bonaparte became emperor, he saw the fair representative of Nice, then a widow, and so altered, that she was scarcely recognizable. "He realized," he said, "all her dreams." Although she lived at Versailles, many years had elapsed before she succeeded in gaining access to him. To give this lady an idea of an engagement, when he was in the neighbourhood of the Col di Tende, he has since acknowledged, he ordered the attack of an advanced post,—that it cost the lives of several men, and was a mere whim, the recollection of which always gave him pain.

But the successes and advantages which Bonaparte had procured for the republic whilst only general of artillery in the army of Italy, did not seem to give satisfaction to the party that succeeded in the Convention after the fall of Robespierre. Their commissioner Aubry was sent into the departments to purify the armies of terrorists, and men without capacity; and he boasted of having excluded no less than 12,000 officers from the

fourteen armies. Aubry, with a view of mortifying a man whom he dared not to dismiss from the service, insisted on Bonaparte's removal from Italy to the army of the West in La Vendée. Bonaparte refused to accept of this appointment, and came to Paris. His expostulation with Aubry on this occasion, which occurred in May 1795, is said to have formed a perfect scene. Bonaparte insisted vehemently, because he had facts to bear him out. Aubry was bitter and obstinate, because he was invested with power. Napoleon, he said, was too young, being then but twenty-five years of age; who answered, that a soldier soon grew old on the field of battle. However, he ultimately proved himself a person of that importance to the state, that it was impossible to dispense with his services for any considerable length of time. In the interval, he was obliged to pass a long period in a state of painful inactivity.

During this interval, his pecuniary resources were exhausted, in a great measure by the depreciation of the paper money; friendship, however, came to his aid: Marmont never quitted him; Junot also assisted him, and assured him that the state of inaction to which he had been reduced could not be of any long continuance.

It is not surprising that Bonaparte about this time indulged an idea of quitting France, and engaging in the service of the Turks, then at war with Austria. But Aubry having been in his turn displaced, and his office supplied by M. Pontcoulant, he not only re-commissioned Bonaparte, but retained him in Paris to assist the labours of the military council, to whom Bonaparte submitted the stupendous plan of his Italian campaign for 1796, which he afterwards carried into execution. This plan might have been taken for a real report of operations actually performed, rather than an outline of such as had only been projected; such was the precision with

which every measure afterwards adopted, had been previously foreseen.

The quarrel between the Convention and the 48 sections of Paris, which eventfully placed Bonaparte in a more distinguished situation than ever he had held before, originated in their passing the two obnoxious laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor (22d and 30th of August), 1795. These decrees expressed, that two-thirds of the members composing the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature. The people, especially the Parisians, could not endure the idea of men re-electing themselves; as upon the principle they had acted for two years, they might continue for life, and thus establish a system infinitely more odious than absolute monarchy. Besides, the Convention was justly represented as a body of tyrants and assassins, purged indeed of the most infamous monsters, such as Robespierre and others, yet still continuing the murderers of the 2d of September, the conspirators of the 31st of May, the applauders of the assassination of the Gironde party, &c.

This Convention, on Sunday October 4, declared their intentions of having recourse to arms by a proclamation, and after the lapse of a few hours, Napoleon Bonaparte, by accepting an appointment as second in command under M. Barras, had pledged himself to support their measures of coercion. The plea set up in justification of this conduct by Napoleon and his friends, rests upon the circumstance, "that the Convention was successively torn by factions, which were never able to acquire any stability, but varied their principles almost every month. The interior of the republic was afflicted by a horrible system of reaction: the national domains could no longer find purchasers; the assignats fell every day, the armies were without money, being till then only supplied by requisitions and the *maximum;* the magazines were also

empty, and the soldier was no longer sure of bread. Even the recruiting had ceased, though the armies continued to gain great advantages, because they were more numerous than ever. The party of the Bourbons were every day increasing.—Pichegru, the first general of the republic, had been gained over. All parties were tired of the Convention, and it was tired of itself. It had promised the nation a constitution, and it perceived at length, that the safety of that and its own also, depended on the fulfilment of the expectations which had been raised.—On the 25th of June, 1795, it adopted the Constitution known under the title of that of the year III. The government was entrusted to five persons, under the name of the Directory; the legislature to two councils, called the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of the Ancients.

It was now a prevalent opinion, that the fall of the constitution of 1794 was to be attributed to that law of the Constituent Assembly which excluded its members from the legislature. The Convention now did not fall into the same error, but annexed two additional laws to the constitution, prescribing that two-thirds of the new legislature should be composed of the members of the Convention, and that the Electoral Assemblies in the departments should only have to elect one-third of the two councils. The discontent arising from these measures was general. The royalists in particular, found all their arrangements baffled; but what brought Napoleon Bonaparte into more notice than ever, was the rejection of the additional laws by the forty-eight sections of Paris, who assembled, and forming as many tribunes, these were filled by the most violent orators, Laharpe, Sérizi, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, &c.

The national guard, who were in the interest of the sections, consisted of upwards of forty thousand men.—The sections appeared one after another at the bar of the

Convention, warmly expressing their sentiments. The Convention, it is said, believed that this commotion in the capital was like those riots so common in London, and of which instances frequently happened in Rome at the time of the Comitia. It proclaimed the acceptance of the constitution, and the additional laws. They also annulled the assembly at the Odeon, and ordered its committees to be dissolved by force. This was done by the armed power on the 10th of Vendemaire, when the people uttered some murmurs, and indulged in some railing, but offered no resistance.

On the 12th of Vendemaire (3d October, 1795), at seven or eight in the evening, General Menou, accompanied by the representatives of the people who were commissioners to the army of the Interior, proceeded with a numerous body of troops to the place of the meeting of the section Lepelletier; but after spending an hour in useless negotiations, withdrew by a kind of capitulation, without having dispersed or disarmed the meeting. The section, thus triumphant, declared itself permanent; but Menou was deprived of his command.

General Bonaparte was at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends informed him of the singular events that were passing. Seeing the conventional troops thus repulsed, he hastened to their assembly, and found them in the greatest agitation. The representatives sent with Menou, to exculpate themselves, accused him of treason, and he was put under arrest. To repair this failure, every representative recommended the general who possessed his confidence. The members of the Committee of Public Safety proposed Napoleon, who being absent, messengers were sent after him into the city.—Napoleon, who had heard of all that had been said, and besides, knew what was in agitation, deliberated with himself more than half an hour, on the course most eligible for him to pursue. After weighing the odium which might

attach to him on account of his taking part against the people in behalf of the Convention, he judiciously concluded, that if that should sink, all the numerous victories, and all the blood that had been shed, would be lost. The royalists and foreigners would triumph and load the French nation, and an insolent unnatural crew of emigrants would return, indulge their revenge, and rule as of late, by foreign force. These sentiments—the ardour of five and twenty—confidence in his own powers and his destiny, prevailed. He made up his mind, and went to the committee, and was appointed general in chief. Upon consulting Menou, he learned that the army consisted of only five thousand soldiers of all descriptions, with forty pieces of cannon then at Sablons, guarded by only fifteen men. This was an hour after midnight, when Napoleon dispatched Murat, then a major of the 21st light horse, to bring this artillery to the garden of the Tuilleries. One moment longer would have been too late; a column of the section of Lepelletier, on the march to seize those guns, was only prevented by the timely arrival of these cavalry.

On the next morning, from six to nine, Napoleon visited all the posts, and placed this artillery at the head of the Pont Louis XVI. the Pont Royal, the rue de Rohan, the Pont Tournant, &c. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of the little army was distributed at the different posts, or in reserve in the garden, and the Place Carrousel. In the mean while the *generale* was beat through Paris, and the national guards formed at all the *debouches*, and they were even so insolent as to come and beat the *generale* on the Carrousel and the Place Louis XV. The danger was imminent, and matters on the 13th of Vendemaire grew worse and worse; the Convention had been summoned to dismiss the troops which threatened the people, and to disarm the terrorists. The Tuilleries was already strictly blockaded, and at length,

at a quarter after four, some musket shots were discharged from the Hotel de Noailles, where the sectionaries had introduced themselves; the balls reached the steps of the Tuilleries. Lafond's column at the same instant debouched by the Quay Voltaire, marching over the Pont Royal. This was sufficient; the batteries were then ordered to fire; this was begun at the Cul de Sac Dauphin, with an eight-pounder, and served as a signal to all the posts. After several discharges, St. Roch was carried; Lafond's column routed, whilst the rue St. Honoré, the rue St. Florentin, and the adjacent places, were swept and cleared by the guns. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Theatre de la Republique, but a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them, and at six o'clock all was over.

On the part of the sectionaries the loss must have been very considerable. The forces of the Convention suffered most at the gates of St. Roch.

The section of the Quinze Vingts, Fauxbourg St. Antoine, was the only one that took part with the Convention. Some assemblages still continued on the 14th in the section Lepelletier, but they were soon dispersed. In the evening order was completely restored, owing to the promptitude of General Bonaparte's measures, and Paris was once more perfectly tranquil.

It was after this great event, when the officers of the army of the Interior were presented in a body to the Convention, the members by acclamation appointed Bonaparte general-in-chief of the army, Barras being no longer allowed to unite the title of representative of the people with military functions.

General Menou was delivered over to a council of war, and would certainly have suffered death, had not Bonaparte, with his usual address, insisted that the three representatives sent with him deserved the same punishment. He was not proceeded against. Among several

individuals condemned by this military commission young Lafond was the only one executed; he had evinced great courage; the head of his column on the Pont Royal formed again three times under the fire of grape-shot, before it entirely gave way.

Napoleon now, as commander-in-chief of the army of the Interior, had to re-organize the national guard, an object of the highest importance, as it then contained no less than 104 battalions. At the same time he formed the guard of the Directory, and re-organised that of the Legislative Body. These very circumstances were found eventually amongst the causes of his success on the famous 18th of Brumaire, when, after his return from Egypt in the year 1798, he again saved the nation from the horrors of anarchy, by changing the persons who had the administration of the affairs of government.

It seems, that upon the guard of the Legislative Body he had left such an impression, that on his return from Egypt, although the Directory had instructed the soldiers *not* to pay him any military honours, except when he was in full uniform, nothing could hinder them from beating "*To the Field*," whenever, and in whatever dress they saw him.

It was only during a few months that Napoleon commanded the army of the Interior, and these were replete with difficulties and embarrassments. The members of the new government were not only divided amongst themselves, but often in opposition to the councils; there was still a ferment amongst the subdued sectionaries; the Jacobins assembled again, under the name of the Society of the Pantheon, and the agents of royalty formed a powerful party; the finances and paper money were in discredit; the troops were discontented, and a famine afflicted the capital to such a degree, that ten or twelve times the supply of provisions failed entirely. Thus no ordinary degree of activity and address was required to maintain

tranquillity in the capital against such a combination of calamities.

But though the Jacobins gave the Directory daily uneasiness, and the police dared not venture an open attack upon this society at the Pantheon, the General-in-chief caused it to be sealed up, and the members never stirred again whilst he was in the way. In fact, Napoleon had frequent occasion to harangue in the markets, the streets, the sections, and fauxbourgs; and here it is worthy of remark, that he always found the fauxbourg St. Antoine, (the St. Giles's of Paris), the most ready to listen to reason, and the most susceptible of a generous impulse.

One day, when the usual distribution of bread at the bakers' shops had not taken place, and while Napoleon was parading about with a part of his staff, he was alarmingly pressed upon by the crowd. A woman of a monstrous robust appearance made herself eminently conspicuous by her menacing gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauletted fellows," said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress: so long as they can eat and grow fat, they care not if the poor die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her and said, "Good woman, look at me; which is fattest, you or I?" He was then so thin, that he described himself as a slip of parchment. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the party continued their round.

The marriage of Napoleon with Madame Beauharnois, which took place about this time, has been imputed to causes not only derogatory to the high spirit which he always possessed, but to others that seem quite unnecessary. It was sufficient that Barras, then a director, should recommend Napoleon to M. Carnot as one who had shewn his talents both at Toulon and in Paris, and as a commander most likely to serve the republic in Italy. In regard to the marriage between Napoleon and Jose-

phine, it seems an intimacy had been cemented some considerable time before his new appointment.

During the general disarming of the sections of Paris, a youth of ten or twelve years of age presented himself before the staff, entreating Bonaparte to give orders for restoring to him the sword of his father, who had been a General of the republic. This youth was Eugene Beauharnois, afterwards Viceroy of Italy. Napoleon, moved by the nature of his request, and by his juvenile grace, granted his petition; when, on beholding his father's sword, young Eugene burst into tears. The General was touched at his sensibility, and behaved so kindly to him, that Madame Beauharnois thought herself obliged to wait on him next day, to thank him for his attention. Napoleon was not long before he returned her visit. Every one knew the extraordinary grace of the Empress Josephine, her sweet and attractive manners. The acquaintance soon became intimate and tender, and it was not long before they were married. Now granting this lady had some prepossession in favour of Bonaparte, and what female might not? no method more interesting could have been devised by an intelligent woman, such as Josephine was, than that she adopted on the present occasion.

Whilst Napoleon had been thus employed in Paris, the command of the army of Italy had been given to Kellerman, an officer of much personal bravery; but who made such unskilful dispositions, that by the end of June, 1795, the army had lost the positions of Vado, St. James, and Bardinetto. General Kellerman even talked of evacuating the Genoese coast, and so alarmed the Committee of Public Safety, that they convened all the representatives who had been in Italy, in order to consult them. They justly described Napoleon as perfectly acquainted with the localities of the country, and being summoned by the committee, he convinced them, that to maintain

the line of the French army, not more than half their number was required. However, towards the end of the year, General Scherer was appointed to supersede General Kellerman, who in November had some success against the Austrian General De Vins, which he neglected to improve. The conquest of Italy, notwithstanding all these unpromising circumstances, seemed to have been reserved for Napoleon Bonaparte.

In February, 1796, the army of Italy might be considered as having no leader! General Scherer had asked for money to pay his troops; for horses to replace those that had died for want of food; and government could give him neither one nor the other; but returning evasive answers and empty promises, he declared that if any farther delay took place, he should be compelled to evacuate the Genoese territory, return to the Roya, and perhaps repass the Var. The Directory then resolved to supersede him, and Napoleon was fortunately chosen as the only man capable of extricating them from the embarrassing situation into which they had sunk. He accordingly set out for Nice a second time, and General Hatry, who was sixty years of age, came from the army of the Sambre and Meuse to succeed him in the command of the army of the Interior; a charge of minor importance, when the crisis of scarcity was over, and the government firmly established.

Napoleon was now freed from that restraint he had long felt in the capital. His genius required a theatre of much larger extent, and victories less painful, though they might be obtained with greater difficulty. His departure from Paris to commence his celebrated Italian campaign of 1796, took place on the 1st of Germinal, or the 21st of March. He was the only person who was not astonished at his good fortune. When a friend who was congratulating him upon this appointment testified some surprise at his youth, he replied, "I shall return old."

The full tide of Napoleon's glory set in from this Italian campaign. At this period the King of Sardinia, who from his military and geographical situation was called the Porter of the Alps, had fortresses at the openings of all the passages leading into Piedmont.

The French army of Italy was about 31,000 strong, whilst nearly three times their number were opposed to them, and besides had 200 pieces of cannon. The character of the French troops was excellent; but their cavalry was wretchedly mounted, and they were equally deficient in artillery. There were no means of transporting stores of any kind from the arsenals; all the draught-horses had perished through want. The penury of the French finances was so great, that the efforts of government could only furnish 2000 Louis in specie to the military chest. An order was issued for all the general officers to receive four Louis a piece, by way of outfit. The supply of bread was uncertain; that of meat had long ceased. For means of conveyance there remained only two hundred mules. It was impossible to think of transporting more than twelve pieces of cannon. Bonaparte, however, put the army in motion with the following address:—"Soldiers! you are naked, ill-fed—much is due to us; there is nothing to pay us with. The patience and courage you have shewn in the midst of these rocks are admirable; but they win you no glory. I come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world; rich provinces, great cities, will be in your power. There you will have wealth, honour, and glory. Soldiers of Italy! can your courage fail?"—These words were addressed to his troops on the 29th of March. On the 8th of April he was within a day's march of Turin, and having subdued the Sardinian government, could thus address his troops:—"You have in fifteen days gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont.

Your services are equal to those of the army of Holland and of the Rhine. You were in want of every thing, but you have provided every thing. You have gained battles without cannon; passed rivers without bridges; made forced marches without shoes; bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. None but republican phalanxes could have done so. For this you have the thanks of your country."

On his way to the head-quarters of this army he stopped thirty-six hours at Marseilles, to visit his family. There M. V. Arnault had the honour of seeing him for the first time, on the 28th of March, 1796. Always reserved, but never guilty of dissimulation, he was ever ready among a few friends to break through the habitual silence he observed in larger circles. This was the case in the evening of this day, at Marseilles. Here he entertained his friends with his projects, and even his hopes, and gradually grew so warm as to communicate to them the plan of operations that he had presented to the Committee of Public Safety, several months before they authorized him to carry it into execution.

As it is impossible to explain the objects of this Memoir, and the combinations by which they were to be obtained, with more precision than we find in the original, we cannot do better than transcribe it. This hitherto inedited document, we may be allowed to remark, will appear to be more like a real narrative than a project.

Military Memoir of the Army of Italy, presented in the year III. to the Committee of Public Safety, by General Bonaparte.

The army of the Alps and Italy occupy the highest ridge of the Alps, and some positions of the Appenine; it covers Savoy, the department of the Isere, the county of Nice, Oneille, Loano, and Vado. By means of batteries on the coast, established in the three last posi-

tions, the coasting trade of Marseilles to Nice and Genoa may be carried on in safety, and within sight of the English ships of war. The enemy has seized upon Vado, and the English squadron is moored in this superb road. The Austro-Sardes have armed a great number of cruizers. All communication with Genoa is intercepted. Commerce, which was increasing at Marseilles, has been suspended; the army of Italy, our fleet, the arsenal of Toulon, the city of Marseilles, can no longer obtain their subsistence, except from the interior of France.

The enemy's army is considerably augmented; we are obliged to oppose to him equal forces; we must then have a numerous army in that part of France the least abundant in grain, and which in the most plentiful years does not produce more than a sufficiency for three months. To ensure the subsistence of the South, of Toulon, and of the army, it is necessary to regain the position of Vado. From St. Bernard to Vado our army forms a semi-circle, whilst the enemy holds the diameter; in three or four days they can communicate from their right to their left, which we cannot do in less than two or three decades. This topographic inconvenience, so fatal to our army, so destructive to its carriages, and so burthensome to the public treasury, renders all defensive warfare highly disadvantageous.

If peace should be concluded with the German Circles, the Emperor will only have to guard the Brisgaw and his Italian states. Italy will become the theatre of the most important events. Then we shall be made sensible of all the disadvantages of our position. We ought therefore to carry on the war elsewhere, if only for the preservation of Vado. According to the present state of Europe, the King of Sardinia must desire peace. It is then necessary, by our offensive operations, first to carry the war into his states, make him see the pos-

sibility of disturbing his capital, and compel him to make peace. Secondly, oblige the Austrians to evacuate that part of his territory in which they overawe the King of Sardinia, and place ourselves in a position where we may protect Sardinia or carry on ulterior operations.

In seizing the fortress of Ceva, we shall obtain a double advantage, in collecting there the greatest part of the army, in proportion as the passage of the Cols of the Alps shall be obstructed by the snows; and in laying all the little neighbouring towns under contribution, from whence we may threaten Turin and Lombardy.

When we have seized upon Vado, the Austrians will march upon the different points that defend Lombardy; the Piedmontese will defend the issue from Piedmont. The means necessary to accelerate this separation shall be detailed in the general's instructions.

During the siege of Ceva, the Piedmontese may take positions very near to those of the Austrians, in order to obstruct the progress of our operations. But to prevent this, the army of the Alps shall re-unite in the valley of Stura, to the left of the army of Italy, and by seizing the height of Vallore, they may actually invest Demont. Every operation should be made, which would induce the enemy to believe that the siege of Demont is actually intended; by this means he will be obliged to take an intermediary position, from which he may equally observe the two sieges. This operation upon Demont is preferable to any other, because it is that where we may collect the greatest number of troops, as the whole left of the army of Italy will be naturally employed. Besides, it will tend to disquiet the enemy so much the more, because success is more connected with Ceva, and would be most fatal to Piedmont.

Our armies in Italy have perished by pestilential dis-

orders, produced by the dog-days. The best time for action and grand undertakings, when we have once introduced ourselves into the plain, is between the months of February and July. If the King of Sardinia does not make peace, we may continue our successes in Piedmont, and besiege Turin. If, as it is possible, peace should be concluded, from Ceva we may assure ourselves of Alexandria, march into Lombardy, and conquer the indemnities which we may give to the King of Sardinia for Nice and Savoy.

The theatre of war will then be in a plentiful country, strewed with great cities, and every where offering great resources for our carriages, for remounting our cavalry, and clothing the troops. If February's campaign should be successful, we shall be masters of Mantua early in the spring, and ready to seize upon the gorges of Trent, and in concert with the army that shall have passed the Rhine into the Brisgaw, carry the war into the heart of the Emperor of Austria's hereditary states. Nature has placed the Alps as the natural boundary of France; but she has also bounded the empire of Germany by the Tyrol.

To effect the object of this memoir, we propose to the committee, first, not to be too hasty in concluding a peace with the German Circles; not to ratify it till the army of Italy shall have been considerably reinforced; —to garrison Toulon with the troops embarked in the squadron, and to restore to the army a part of the troops of that garrison as soon as the peace with Spain shall have been ratified;—to send fifteen thousand men from the army of Spain to the army of Italy, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men from the armies of Germany, as soon as the peace with the Circles shall be made; and lastly, to pass the following decree:—

" The army of Italy shall attack the enemy, seize upon Vado, re-establish the defence of the road, invest Ceva,

besiege that fortress, and take it—Secondly, the right wing of the army of the Alps shall form a junction with the left of the army of Italy in the valley of Stura, invest Demont, and seize upon the height of Valloria."

Here followed several articles relative to provisioning the army.

CHAP. IV.

Bonaparte's Plan—Affair at Loano—Insubordination and Wants of the Army—Affair of Voltri—Battles of Montenotte Millesimo: Dego: Mondovi—Anecdotes—Armistice and Treaty with the King of Sardinia—Proclamation to the Soldiers by Bonaparte—Genoa—Anecdotes—The Petit Corporal—Passage of the Adda: the Po—Affair of Fombio—Death of General Laharpe—Lodi—Anecdotes—Resignation of General Beaulieu.

It is evident, that the execution of this vast plan was connected with the operations of the armies of the Rhine, which, on their part, were to open the way to the capital of Austria. The reverses that General Jourdan had experienced, having compelled General Moreau, till then uniformly successful, to make a retrograde motion, Bonaparte nevertheless pursued his march into the heart of the hereditary states of Austria, there to effect that peace which he did not believe it possible to obtain without the concurrence of three armies.

Bonaparte's plan had been shewn to several Generals by the Committee of Public Safety. Berthier, who from his experience had acquired considerable respect, bestowed very high eulogiums upon it; but added, that to carry it into execution would require fifty thousand more men. Bonaparte, however, undertook to open this

campaign with the trivial reinforcement of six thousand men from the army of the Pyrenees. From the army of the Alps he received no succour till Piedmont had been conquered; and Italy being subdued, he was on his march to Carinthia when he was joined by the division under Bernadotte, upon the borders of the Tagliamento. The first obstacles Bonaparte had to contend with, arose from his own army. After having been many months in a state of inaction, they had lately obtained several advantages under General Scherer. At Loano in particular, thirty-six thousand French dispersed fifty thousand Austrians and Sardinians, commanded by General De Vins. After this battle, which cost the enemy eight thousand men, the French took possession of Vado. It was not without some degree of discontent that the old generals saw a young man, lately their inferior, taking a command over their heads, to which each of them supposed they had a prior claim, and reaping the benefits of a plan of operations that they did not imagine originated with him.

Bonaparte, at all times more imposing by his attitude than by his stature, to a shape extremely slender, now laboured under the disadvantage of a pale and meagre visage; and the expression of his countenance was lost beneath his long hair whitened by the use of powder.—Besides, he by no means sat well on horseback, and when he rode along the ranks, the soldiers complained that a boy had been sent to command them. Bonaparte, however, soon obtained that respect for his character, that had been denied to his physical constitution. The firmness that he exhibited, put a stop to the insubordination that had prevailed in the army of Italy for some time; and before they had conquered under him, they became as submissive as at any period after his character had been established.

The successes of the army of Italy did not enrich him:

it had destroyed more than it had collected, and had not preserved any thing like what the enemy had lost. It was as necessitous before as after its victories. Bonaparte, endeavouring to stimulate the courage of his soldiers, by reminding them of their wants, and pointing out from the mountains, that Cisalpine that Hannibal promised to his Carthaginians from the Alps—"Comrades," said he, "you are in want of every thing; there you will find all you want. Cast your eyes upon the countries beneath your feet. They belong to us. Let us go and take possession."

The French army exceeded fifty-six thousand men. Napoleon hastened the opening of the campaign, though without magazines, ammunition, or a military chest. Not waiting even for the reinforcements he had been promised, he was determined to advance, certain that the rapidity of his marches would increase an army that he thought worthy to comprehend and execute his enterprising conceptions. The penury of every department of the army was urged in vain. "If we are vanquished," said he, "we shall have too much; if conquerors, we shall not want any thing." Upon his march to Lyons, one of the war commissaries having made a similar observation, he replied, "I am ordered to quarter upon the enemy;" and never was an order more punctually obeyed.

The French army was put in motion on the 29th of March; only thirty-five thousand men took the field with Bonaparte. The combined army under Beaulieu amounted to seventy-five thousand men: among these were thirty-eight thousand Imperialists.

On the 30th of March the Austrians, masters of all the heights and the debouches of the Alps, commanded the river of Genoa. The French, in possession of the Littorale, had their right at Savona, their left at Montenotte, and had thrown two demi-brigades into Voltri, in advance of their right.

Bonaparte, who had removed his head-quarters from Nice to Albinga, the better to communicate with the two wings of his army, in this manner deceived General Beaulieu, who had imagined that the object of the French was to penetrate into Italy through the Bochetta, and throw themselves upon Alexandria. After a number of feints made by him for the purpose of misleading the French, as to the point which he really meant to attack, General Beaulieu, on April 9, presented himself, all at once, before Voltri, six miles west of Genoa, with ten thousand men. The French General Cervoni, after sustaining this attack with three thousand men, retreated in the night upon the centre. This retreat was protected by fifteen hundred men stationed by Bonaparte for this purpose upon the heights of Varaggio, and in the avenues of Sospelo.

The next morning at day-break, Beaulieu and Roccavina, at the head of fifteen thousand men, carried all the positions that covered the centre of the French, and at one in the afternoon arrived before Montelisimo, the last of the French intrenchments. Had they obtained possession of this post, there would have been no obstacles in their way to Savona, only a league distant, and they might have cut off the retreat of the troops at Voltri and Varaggio, which they attempted to carry by assault; but Rampon, chief of brigade, shut up in this redoubt with 1500 men, in the midst of the fire made them take an oath to conquer or die, rather than surrender. They received the enemy with a degree of *sang froid* equal to the fury of their attack; kept them at the distance of pistol shot, and killed 400 men by the fire of their musquetry only.

Bonaparte having during the night introduced two pieces of cannon into this redoubt, departed with Berthier and Massena; and whilst La Harpe and his division took a position behind it, covered by the darkness, he moved

with the centre and the left wing of his army upon the flanks and rear of the Austrians, where Count De Argentau commanded.

By break of day Beaulieu and La Harpe were engaged at Montelisimo, when Massena's appearance threw the enemy's ranks into a confusion which was soon converted into a complete rout. Fifteen hundred killed; 2000 wounded, and the taking of many colours, were the fruits of this victory, which enabled the French to remove their head-quarters to Carcara. This victory took its name from Montenotte, a village situated in the mountains, about a league from the redoubt of Millesimo, where, not less intrepid nor less successful than Leonidas, Rampon, who survived this act of devotion to his country, reaped all the glory of Thermopylæ. For a considerable time, the general issue of the whole affair was extremely doubtful.

The battle of Montenotte, however, had not the effect of cutting off the communication between the Austrian and the Piedmontese armies. To divide them was an object of the highest importance. Impatient to obtain this result, Bonaparte ordered General La Harpe to move upon Cairo, whilst Massena seized upon the heights of Dego, and Generals Menard and Joubert occupied the summit of Biestro, and the position of St. Marguerite. By this movement, Bonaparte was in such a position, that, though they had not passed, they had at least scaled the Alps.

On the 13th of April, at day-break, General Augereau had forced the gorges of Millesimo, while Joubert and Menard were driving the enemy from all the surrounding positions. A corps of 1500 Austrians, who had intrenched themselves among the ruins of an old castle upon the mountain Cossaria, were enveloped by this manœuvre. They were commanded by General Provera, who had the credit of stopping the march of the French army till

night by the bravery of his resistance. A grenadier by his courage, and general by his genius, Joubert was the seventh man that entered the Austrian intrenchments, where he fell by a blow on the head. The supposition that he was dead, caused some hesitation in his column. General Banel then brought up another column, but was killed at its head. A third column was thrown into disorder by the death of General Quenin. Night coming on, Bonaparte collected all the battalions round the castle, and took precautions to prevent the enemy from cutting his way through them sword in hand.

The next morning at day-break, the two armies being in the presence of each other, brought on the battle of Dego. Augereau, who commanded the left of the French, held Provera blockaded in the old castle. The Austrians endeavouring to penetrate the French centre, were repulsed by General Menard, who fell back upon the right. Before one at noon General Massena had extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego; and General La Harpe, seconded by General Causse, after having forded the Bormida under the enemy's fire, attacked the right of the Austrian left wing; General Cervoni attacked them in front, while a third column, under Adjutant-General Boyer, turned a ravine, and cut off their retreat. Whilst the army that was in the field dispersed, the corps shut up at Cossaria capitulated, and Provera surrendered his sword to Bonaparte.

The Austrians on this occasion lost 10,000 killed and prisoners. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and fifteen standards were the fruits of this victory. The French now found on the summit of the Alps, every species of ammunition and other objects which the celerity of their march had prevented them from bringing. They were now in view of a speedy junction with the division of Serrurier, who guarded the banks of the Tanaro, and the

valley of Oneglia, where General Colli held the Piedmontese in check. Thus Bonaparte increased his forces by the same operations that diminished those of the enemy.

Dego, situated at the summit of the Alps, in securing the entrance of the French into Italy, cut off the communication between the Austrian and Sardinian armies, and placed the conqueror in a situation to crush them one after the other.

Beaulieu, fully sensible of the danger of his situation, collected the best troops in his army, and at break of day on the 15th, retook Dego at the head of 7000 men. Massena endeavoured to re-enter Dego three times, and was constantly repulsed. General Causse, still more unfortunate, was killed at the head of his troops the moment he had ordered a charge. The triumph was reserved for the Generals Victor and Lasnes, who on seizing the place, found 600 Austrians killed, and made 1400 prisoners. The communication with Serrurier being completely opened, on hearing of the success of Bonaparte he marched to Ceva. The Austrians and Piedmontese being thus separated, the former fled towards Milan.

Many traits of individual bravery might be cited here. General Causse, when mortally wounded, seeing the General-in-chief, exclaimed, "Is Dego retaken?"—"The positions are ours," replied Bonaparte—"*Vive la republique!* I die content!"

Lannes also, who died a marshal of the empire, first signalized himself in these affairs in Italy. This officer had been displaced by M. Aubry, the commissioner sent by the Convention to purify the armies.

Before Bonaparte commenced this campaign of 1796, he had promised to write to M. Faypoult, French minister at Genoa. Fifteen days had elapsed, and no letter arrived, though hostilities had commenced some time.

One morning, however, about five o'clock, a domestic entered M. Faypoult's chamber in a dreadful fright, telling him to rise, as the Austrians, he said, were in the city. The minister imagined that it was probable that the enemy, after gaining some great success, might have been so elated with it, that it might have induced him to break through all measures, and to take possession of Genoa, at least provisionally. He dressed in haste, when the first secretary of the legation entering, confirmed what the domestic had said before. Determined to protest against this violation of the rights of nations, the two diplomatists proceeded to the hall of audience without delay, when they saw an Austrian general just alighting from his horse, accompanied by a body of cavalry and a numerous staff. Before M. Faypoult had time to express himself, the Austrian general delivered him a letter, which the emotions he experienced would scarcely permit him to open. This letter was from Bonaparte. Faithful to his promise, it contained an account of his victories at Montenotte and Millesimo, inviting him to provide accommodations for General Provera, who, instead of being a conqueror, as M. Faypoult supposed, was now a prisoner.

The Directory, in their dispatches to Bonaparte, expressed themselves thus: "To-day, General," said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the scene of action, has not changed his opponent; that beaten in the North, he shall be constantly beaten by the brave army of Italy; and that with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the republic."

The Piedmontese being obliged to abandon Dego, were, after the battle of Mondovi on the 21st of April, obliged to evacuate Ceva and Cherasco, and take refuge

in Turin. Thus the French, being masters of the course of the Tanaro, prepared for the siege of Turin.

The Piedmontese army concentrated near Ceva, occupied an intrenched camp, which was protected by numerous redoubts, and defended by 8000 men. The indefatigable activity of Bonaparte, no longer engaged by Beaulieu, was now directed against Colli. Several positions about Ceva were taken on the 16th of April. On the 17th, Augereau's division attacked the redoubts of Ceva; and Colli, for fear of being turned, evacuated his camp in the night. On the 18th, Serrurier entered Ceva, and invested the citadel. Colli, in the mean time, had taken a formidable position at the confluence of the Corsaglia and the Tanaro, having broken the bridges and covered the banks of these rivers with strong batteries, which occasioned the retreat of Augereau and Massena towards Ceva with some loss.

Bonaparte, thus prevented from advancing upon Mondovi, employed a variety of manœuvres to draw Colli out of his strong-hold, in vain. On the night of the 21st, he ordered Massena to pass the Tanaro, who took possession of Lezegno, while the Generals Guieux and Fiorella seized upon the bridge of La Torre. Augereau, marching to Alba, was hastening to place himself between the Piedmontese army under Colli and Turin, both of which he threatened at the same time. Colli again fearing the issue of a battle, left an intrenched camp in the night, and fell back upon Mondovi. This movement did not escape the vigilance of Bonaparte; he caused him to be pursued by General Serrurier, who came up with the rear of the Piedmontese army at daybreak on the 22nd, upon the heights of Vico. The Piedmontese centre, covered by redoubts, was attacked and taken by Generals Fiorella and Dammartin, while General Guieux manœuvred towards Mondovi. General Colli

again abandoned the field of battle, and retreated through Mondovi, which in the evening was in possession of the French. On the side of the French, they had to regret the death of General Stengel, mortally wounded at the head of his cavalry whilst in pursuit of the flying enemy.

Cherasco, the next place to which Colli retreated, did not hold out long against Massena, which he entered on the 5th of April. Fossano, the enemy's head-quarters, was taken possession of by Serrurier, whilst Augereau's division seized upon Alba. The French army was now within nine leagues of Turin, and plentifully supplied with every necessary. To protect Turin, Colli retired to Carignan.

Shut up in his capital with the wreck of an army that had been beaten every time they fought, Victor Amedeus the Third, appeared resolved to sustain a siege. Happily for him, warrior as he had been, he did not persist in that imprudent disposition. This prince, who had made several campaigns with his father, not much in favour of the French, judging of the present by the past, did not at first suppose that a *petit caporal*, a little republican corporal, could beat the old generals of kings; and he could not imagine why General Beaulieu, who had promised him never to pull off his boots till he came to Lyons, should have taken quite a contrary route. At length, roused from his incredulity by the murmurs of the public, and reposing confidence in himself in proportion as he withdrew it from others, "Ah!" said he, pulling up his small clothes—"*if I go: if I go,*"—every time he learnt the news of a new defeat—Bonaparte, however, saved him the trouble of going. Acknowledging, in fine, that it was necessary to seek the means of safety in negotiations when they could no longer be expected from arms, this old king resigned himself to his fate. Colli was authorized to propose an armistice to the French general,

during which the treaty of peace should be carried on at Genoa under the mediation of the Court of Spain. The king hoped by these means to gain time for using his own resources, or of obtaining succour from his allies.

Bonaparte answered, that the Directory having reserved to itself the right of making war, the king must send plenipotentiaries to Paris. As to the armistice, he added, that however ardently he wished to put a stop to the shedding of human blood, he could not suspend his victorious march, but upon condition of having two or three fortresses put into his hands, Coni, Tortoni, and Alexandria. In the meanwhile, he made every disposition for a general engagement that must have decided the fate of Amedeus, who not being willing to leave any thing to chance, yielded to the propositions of the conqueror, and Coni, Tortoni, and the citadel of Ceva, were given up to the French, to be occupied by them till the conclusion of a general peace.

Events had already proved the justness of the combinations developed in the first part of Bonaparte's plan: impatient to perform the rest, the General was soon in pursuit of Beaulieu. Bonaparte had foreseen, that the Austrian general would seek refuge in Lombardy, and endeavour to cover that duchy; but he now thought it necessary to draw closer the bands of discipline, and to repress the spirit of pillage, to which the soldiers had given themselves up with a degree of avidity equal to that of famished wolves descending from the mountains after suffering two years of privations. Such an abuse of power, he said, would sooner or later turn against the conqueror, and produce an hostile army in the population. The return of plenty had rendered pillage inexcusable.

A proclamation previously directed against pillagers, was followed by some examples of severity. We may judge of its good effects by this letter from a miner

named La Touche, written at the moment he was going to be shot:—"You see, comrades, to what I am reduced; and you, commander of the detachment, if you had not permitted me to go a marauding, I should not have been exposed to the death I am going to suffer. Adieu, comrades, adieu!"—La Touche, with tears in his eyes, only regretted that he did not die in the defence of his country; but consoled himself in the hope that his death would serve as an example to his countrymen.

The attention of the General extended to the depredators: in prohibiting the soldiers from pillage, it was proper to prevent the soldiers from being pillaged.

Order being restored, the army advanced in pursuit of victories. General Beaulieu was not without apprehensions for the Milanese. He knew the man with whom he had to contend; not being able to guard every point, he did not know which to fortify against an enemy that threatened all. This anxiety was not the first homage the old general had paid to the genius of his young rival, whose superiority he had acknowledged, when one of Bonaparte's first manœuvres induced him to attack Voltri, whilst the French army was marching towards Montenotte.

The occupation of Voltri by the French made him believe their design was to enter Genoa; he was obliged soon after the retreat of General Cervoni to approach that city, and throw in reinforcements. His surprise was great, when he found, that in proportion as he approached Genoa, the French had not even appeared in that direction. But he was astonished, when he found that Bonaparte was advancing with all his force towards Piedmont, by way of Montenotte.

At this time some of the inhabitants of Genoa, seeing the Austrians descending from the mountains, came out of the city to enquire the cause of these movements.

One among them questioned two travellers that had stopped near a broken carriage, saying, "Cannot you tell us what all this signifies?"—"It signifies," replied an elderly gentleman, "that a man of seventy-four years of age has been duped by a young man of twenty-six." This gentleman is said to have been General Beaulieu himself.

The surprise excited by Napoleon's military tactics having been alluded to in this chapter, this perhaps may be further illustrated by several anecdotes, and among them the following:

"Bonaparte's new system of military movements excited universal attention. This campaign was scarcely opened, when Lombardy was inundated with troops in every direction, and the French approached Mantua *pêle mêle* with the enemy. Napoleon, when in the vicinity of Pizzighitone, saw a tall German colonel, a prisoner, and questioning him without being known, as to how affairs were going on, was told, 'very badly.'—'I know how it will end,' said he; 'but no one seems to understand what they are about: we have been sent to fight a young blockhead, who attacks us on the right and the left, in the front and in the rear, so that we know not how to proceed. This mode of warfare is unbearable, and I am very glad to have done with it.'"

The appellation of *petit caporal,* as applied to Bonaparte, has also been mentioned; but an anecdote confirming this, has been related by Napoleon himself. When he commanded near the Col di Tende, the army was obliged to pass over a narrow bridge: he gave directions that no women should be allowed to accompany it, as the service was a most difficult one, and required the troops to be continually on the alert. To enforce this order, he placed two captains on the bridge, with instructions, on pain of death, not to permit a woman to pass. He afterwards went to the bridge himself, to see

that these orders were obeyed, where he found a crowd of women assembled, who, as soon as they perceived him, began to revile him, bawling out, "Oh then, *petit caporal*, is it you who have given orders not to let us pass?"—Some miles farther on, he was astonished to see a considerable number of women with the troops. He immediately ordered the two captains to be put under arrest, and brought before him, intending to have them tried immediately. They protested their innocence, and asserted that no woman had crossed the bridge. Bonaparte caused some of those dames to be brought before him, when to his astonishment, by their own confession, he found they had emptied some casks of the provisions, concealed themselves in them, and passed over unperceived. But it seems a singular custom was established in the army of Italy. After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council, and confer a new rank on their young General, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted by his new title. They made Bonaparte a *corporal* at Lodi, and a *serjeant* at Castiglione; and hence the surname of *petit caporal*, which for a long time was applied to him by the soldiers. Well may he be considered not only as wonderful, but without a parallel in history, whose monuments cover a great part of Europe, as his name once filled it with admiration.

Although Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, he could not allow any respite to his troops.

Notwithstanding his defeats, Beaulieu left Piedmont with 30,000 men, including 4000 cavalry. This army was soon increased by reinforcements from the Tyrol. Bonaparte in the interim, availing himself of the treaty of Cherasco, observed, by this means, that "one wing of the enemy's army gave him time to beat the other," pursued Beaulieu. He expected reinforcements from the army of

the Alps, but he advanced towards the Po without waiting for them, thus supplying the insufficiency of his forces by the ability of his manœuvres, and finding in his past success the guarantee of future victories.

Beaulieu, disconcerted by Bonaparte's tactics, endeavoured to maintain himself in Piedmont by acts of perfidy—by seizing of Alexandria, Tortone, and Valenza, in contempt of the alliance which existed between the Emperor his master and the King of Sardinia. Happily his designs were discovered: the Piedmontese commanders remained faithful, and the king, indignant at such an attempt, declared, that if the Austrians did not evacuate his territory within a time given, his troops should join with the French in expelling them. Beaulieu consequently repassed the Po, taking with him the Neapolitan cavalry, that had actually seized upon Valenza. The Piedmontese re-entered this place on the 2d of May, 1796. The fugitive army had effected its escape by the bridge, which it had broken up, but which nevertheless was soon re-established.

Again deceived by appearances, Beaulieu did not imagine the French, though masters of Tortone, could pass the Po between the Tesino and the Adda, either at Cremona or at Plaisance. After having indulged Beaulieu's error by false movements, Bonaparte suddenly advanced by a forced march to Castello San Giovani with three thousand grenadiers and fifteen hundred horse. He arrived here on the 6th of May, at eleven at night, and at seven in the morning he was at Plaisance. Impatient to pass the river Po, the French threw themselves into light barks, and the intrepid Lannes at the head of the grenadiers, charged the Austrian hussars on the other side, and forced them to retreat. In the course of the day the whole of the French army had passed this river without difficulty.

Beaulieu now found that the time and labour employed

in erecting fortifications upon the Tesino, and redoubts round Pavia, had been useless. He sent six thousand men and two thousand cavalry to oppose the debarkation of the French, or to surprise them before they had time to form; but it was too late—Bonaparte had set out in quest of the Austrians at the time they were dispatched to attack him.

On the 8th, at noon, learning that an enemy's division was not far off, he marched towards Fombio, where he found them most advantageously intrenched in a position defended by twenty pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding the fatigue of the troops, they wished to commence an immediate attack. The enemy resisted two hours; but was then obliged to retire towards the Adda, after having lost a number of men and horses, and the greatest part of their baggage. Lannes had on this occasion given proofs of his incredible intrepidity: at the head of a single battalion he attacked seven or eight thousand Austrians, and not content with causing their flight, he pursued them ten miles, following the trot of their cavalry on foot.

The night following the glorious day of Fombio, was distinguished by a fatal event. Beaulieu having received intelligence of the defeat of his troops at that place, marched under favour of the night to Codogno, with the view of surprising a French division that occupied that place. He arrived there about two in the morning; he had already overthrown the advanced posts, when General La Harpe, having mounted his horse on the first alarm, presented himself, and restored order. His escort, on his return, was composed of hussars, who, owing to the darkness of the night, were mistaken for the enemy's hulans, and received a volley, which killed La Harpe! Bonaparte, in announcing his death, traced his eulogium in a few words: "The republic," said he, "has lost a man who was devoted to its interests; the army one of its best generals; and every soldier a companion."

La Harpe was one of the best generals of the army of Italy. Born of a noble family in the Pays de Vaud, and nevertheless a zealous partisan of liberty, he was proscribed in consequence of the efforts he made to liberate his country from the Swiss yoke. The French army received him, and ever since 1792 he had fought to preserve to his adopted country that independence he had in vain attempted to acquire for his native soil. Not less well informed than intrepid, he was among those officers who had been displaced by the commissioner Aubry for want of civism or ability. The General-in-chief partook in the regrets of the soldiers, for the loss of this brave man. But not confining himself to these, he transferred his kindness to the son, to whom he became guardian; and some time after, when the Swiss solicited Bonaparte's protection, it was granted them, on condition of restoring to young La Harpe the property of his father, which had been confiscated by the Lords of Berne.

General Berthier pursued the enemy to Casal, of which he took possession; and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, on whose territory the French had now entered, were compelled to sue for peace, and to give up a number of valuable paintings, which were transferred to the Museum at Paris.

Well aware that his conquest would never be consolidated till the Austrian army was totally vanquished, and deprived of all their Italian possessions, Bonaparte hastened to pursue the enemy to Lodi, on the river Adda, where General Beaulieu had collected his forces. On the approach of the French, the Imperialists abandoned the town of Lodi with such precipitancy, that they had not time to destroy the bridge.

This bridge, M. Arnault observes, is a hundred toises in length. Beaulieu had not destroyed it, but it was not the less difficult to pass. It was defended by ten thou-

sand men, and thirty pieces of cannon. Full of confidence in his artillery, the Austrian general had left only one battalion, and some squadrons of cavalry in advance of this bridge, to dispute the passage with the French; General D'Allemagne, who commanded the advanced guard, attacked them, and forced them to repass the Adda. They contrived, however, to bring up a number of cannon, and to establish formidable batteries, by means of which they obtained a cross fire, that rendered the passage hazardous in the extreme; and it was the opinion of the best French engineers, that it ought not to be attempted. But after a cannonade had been tried in vain, no consideration could resist the impetuosity of the soldiers, or their leaders; for on the 10th of May, 1796, four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had proceeded six hundred feet, exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape-shot, that their foremost ranks were entirely swept away; and the troops who had hitherto advanced at a quick pace with bent heads and extended bayonets, were staggered, and began to hesitate. At this critical moment, the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and D'Allemagne, starting from the ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack, while Bonaparte in person, seizing a standard, placed himself at their head. Animated to the highest degree of enthusiasm by such an example, the troops rushed by their generals with resistless impetuosity, amidst the cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" In a few moments the fate of the day was decided; the Austrian line was broken; their death-spreading batteries seized; and the Imperial troops stood petrified at the successful madness of the enterprise. "Of all the actions in which the troops under my command have been engaged," said Bonaparte, in his dispatches to the Directory, "none has equalled the

tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi. If we have lost," continued he, "but a *few* soldiers, it has been owing merely to the promptitude of our attacks, and the sudden effect produced on the enemy by the formidable fire of our invincible army. Were I to name all the officers who distinguished themselves in this battle, I should be obliged to enumerate every carabinier of the advanced guard, and almost every officer belonging to the staff. I must not, however, omit the intrepid Berthier, who acted on this eventful day as a bombardier, a cavalry officer, and a grenadier." After the battle, Bonaparte having demanded the names of the carabiniers who had distinguished themselves the most, they sent him the muster roll of the battalion. Among the grenadiers, one named Laforge threw himself into the enemy's retrenchments, and killed six hulans with his own hand.

In the mean while the French Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, had passed the Adda at a ford a few miles below Lodi, commencing their attack on the rear of the Austrians, at the time when they thought the French were only on one side of the river. This at once decided the wavering fortune of the day. In vain did the Austrian cavalry endeavour to protect the retreat of the infantry, by charging the French. The Imperialists were routed, lost twenty pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The brave but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the wreck of his army, took refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and the whole of Lombardy to the French. The Austrians evacuated Milan a few days after this event, and the tricoloured flag floated from the extremity of the Lake of Como, and the Grison country, as far as the gates of Parma. Twenty-one Austrian and Piedmontese standards had been already transmitted to Paris.

Cremona surrendered without firing a gun: at Pavia,

all the Imperial magazines fell into the hands of the French. Beaulieu, who had retreated behind the Mincio, went to collect a force in the interior of the Tyrol, and gave up his command to General Wurmser, who, after obtaining some success, was defeated in his turn at Lonado, at Castiglione, at Salo, and at Gavado. It was also the fate of this veteran general to surrender to the French with the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua, after sustaining a siege of uncommon duration, as will appear in the sequel of these Memoirs.

CHAP. V.

Consternation at Milan—Public Entry of Bonaparte—Treaty of Cherasco, between the King of Sardinia and the Directory—Revenue derived from Italy—Anecdote—Bonaparte's Interview with the Learned at Milan—Proclamation to the Soldiers—Insurrections at Pavia, Milan, and Binasco—Anecdote—Passage of the Mincio—General Gardanne—Gaiety of the French Grenadiers—Anecdotes—Narrow Escapes of Bonaparte—General Beaulieu succeeded by Marshal Wurmser—French Grenadiers before Mantua—Treaty between France and Naples—Negotiations with the Pope—Alarm at Rome—Seizure of Leghorn—Bonaparte entertained by the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Insurrections near Genoa—Anecdote—Perilous situation of the French Army—Raising of the Siege of Mantua—General Junot—Lonado—Stratagem—Battles of Castiglione and Bassano—The Dog and his dead Master.

THE uninterrupted successes of Bonaparte had thrown Milan into a state of inquietude that was soon converted into terror. The nobility, the clergy, the administration, and even the citizens, had neglected nothing

that could stimulate the courage of the populace. Colours had been distributed, processions ordered, rewards promised; and by the aid of voluntary contributions, the nobles, persons in office, and the citizens, had provided a fund for the support of the widows and orphans of those who might fall in the defence of their country; and whilst the ladies went about collecting, and the soldiers were fighting, the priests invoked the blessings of heaven.

As long as the danger appeared to be distant, there were some hopes; but these vanished as the enemy approached. When the news arrived at Milan, of the passage of the Po, hope was converted into dismay; the battle of Lodi was followed by despair. The Archduke's family abandoned Milan in the greatest precipitation: the court hastened to follow this example, which was adopted by all who were considerable by their rank or fortune; some influenced by terror, and others excited by vanity. The magistrates thinking they had a right to follow the example of the nobles, Milan was left without a government at a time when it had the greatest need of one. The consequence was, that the arrival of the French was ardently wished for by numbers who had previously deprecated that event as one of the greatest of evils. Such was the state of the public feeling, when the army presented themselves at the gates on the 14th of May, 1796.

General Bonaparte, who followed close after Massena, made his public entry into the capital of Lombardy on the next day. He had received the keys of the city from a deputation sent to Marignan. Count Melzi, at the head of the nobles, came to meet him as far as Melezuolo. At the Roman gate of Milan, Bonaparte found an immense population, and the civic guard formed in a double line to receive him. Bonaparte marched in the midst of the grenadiers of Lodi, among whom were some generals.

Enthusiasm was at its height: military symphonies, executed by the Milanese and French musicians, were mixed with the acclamations of the people during this triumphant march to the palace of the Archduke, where a splendid banquet was prepared. The *fête* was terminated by a brilliant ball, in which the ladies of Milan were dressed according to the French mode. In the midst of this triumph, the victor was meditating fresh conquests; his first operation was to invest the citadel, in which the Austrians had left 2000 men, who had entered into an agreement with the citizens, not to fire upon the place.

But besides seizing the money in the military chest, a contribution of twenty millions was imposed upon Milan, to alleviate which, it was agreed that the silver used in the churches should be melted down, and placed to the account. It was not till this epoch that the army began to receive pay in money. On the same day that Bonaparte entered Milan, the treaty with the King of Sardinia and the Directory was signed at Paris. This prince detaching himself from the coalition, renounced for ever, for himself and his successors, his rights to Savoy, the counties of Nice, De Tende, De Bueil, and gave up to the conquerors, independently of Coni, Ceva, and Tortone, Valenza or Alexandria, according to the choice of the General-in-chief. The fortresses of Exiles, Chateau Dauphin, Assiette, Suza, and La Brunette, were also given up to the French; the three first to be occupied by them, and the two last to be demolished under the inspection of French commissaries, at the expence of his Sardinian majesty.

Other negotiations had been very advantageous: the treaties with Parma and Modena were of trifling utility. The principalities that contained no strong places had made war with gold: it was therefore proper that they should redeem themselves with the same precious metal. Independent of munitions of all kinds, the Duke of Parma

was taxed at two millions. The Duke of Modena paid more dearly for his liberation; he was taxed at ten millions, only one-fourth of which was made aquitable in goods.

From this period the army of Italy was no longer a burthen, but became a source of revenue to France, and assisted in paying other armies. Six weeks after the opening of this campaign, besides ten millions placed at the disposal of the Directory, Bonaparte had sent upwards of 200,000 francs to the army of the Alps, and a million to the army of the Rhine; thus preparing for his future greatness. To pay those who fight, is in fact to pay those who govern. His reign had already commenced.

Thirty-two standards taken at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovi, had been sent to Paris with the treaty of Cherasco, and the Directory received them with Murat at a public sitting, which was followed by a *fête* to Victory in the *Champ de Mars.* In this *fête,* equally civil and military, crowns were distributed not only to all the armies represented by their standards, but to the wounded, who were crowned in person. The arts were made to concur in the embellishment of this triumph. The odes of Chenier and Le Brun were set to music by Mehul and Catel. Heroism was celebrated by Genius.

All this joy was not without a mixture of an opposite feeling. The Directory, under the idea that Bonaparte had till then pursued his own plans, thought it was now the proper time for him to adopt their's: they wanted to divert him from pursuing the route to Germany, which he had opened by the battle of Lodi; to employ Kellerman in his place, and send him into the South of Italy. He offered to give up the command, and they desisted from the prosecution of their purpose. In his apology, he observed, that he believed it was better to have one bad general than two good ones. The right to command, which Bonaparte possessed in a very great degree, appeared so undeniable, that every one yielded to it, from

the general down to the private. One day he had occasion to complain to Berthier, that the measures prescribed for provisioning the army had not been followed. "That," said Berthier, "is astonishing; however, I have given my orders for this purpose."—"What do you call *your orders?*" replied Bonaparte, briskly. "Here is only one man who has any right to give orders, and that is myself; it is the business of the rest to obey: and so to begin with you, sir, mount your horse, and see that *my* orders are obeyed."

While Bonaparte was at Milan, the celebrated Oriani paid a visit to him. On entering, the astronomer was astonished, and unable to return an answer to the General's questions; but recovering from his surprise, he said, "Excuse me—this is the first time I have ever entered these superb apartments; my eyes are not accustomed," &c.—thus pronouncing a severe criticism on the government of the Archduke. The attention of the General to fulfil the wish of the Directory, conciliated the minds of the learned men of Italy. It confirmed them in the idea, that France, whose glory the arts and letters so much increased, abjured the system of ignorant beings, who had endeavoured to replunge her into barbarism; and that she meant to render to the sciences, which honour, enlighten, and soften the human race, the protection she had so wisely and for so long a period granted them.

By writing to Oriani, Bonaparte seemed to communicate his sentiments to all the learned of Italy. "In Milan," he said, "the learned did not enjoy the consideration to which they were entitled. Retired in their closets, they thought themselves happy, if kings and priests did them no harm. To day it is not so; opinion is free in Italy. I invite," said the General, "the learned to assemble, and propose to me their sentiments on the means necessary to be taken, or the aid they may require, to give new life and vigour to the sciences and fine arts.

The French nation sets a greater value upon the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of reputation, or any one who has distinguished himself, whatever may have been his profession, than of the richest and most abundant city. Be you then, citizen, the organ of these sentiments to all at Milan, who are distinguished for their learning."

According to each treaty, subsequent to the conquest of Piedmont, that of Cherasco excepted, a special article was introduced, conferring upon the French the right of choosing the best pieces of painting, sculpture, &c. in the public collections, and of sending them to France.

It was not without regret that Italy ceded these objects of its worship; these pledges of her past glory. To ransom a single painting, that of St. Jerome, the Prince of Parma offered a million, which his people would have had to pay. It was at Venice and Rome that the Museum of Paris reaped the richest harvest.

After having employed eight days in providing for the army, and in forming a provisional government for Lombardy, Bonaparte left Milan, and a sufficient number of troops to blockade the Austrians in the citadel. Beaulieu had retired behind the Mincio. Previous to the commencement of his march in pursuit of the Austrian army, Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to his troops.

"Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "you have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the summit of the Appenines; you have driven back and dispersed all that opposed your march.—Piedmont, liberated from the Austrian tyranny, has yielded to her natural sentiments of peace and amity towards France. Milan is yours; and the republican flag floats throughout Lombardy, while the Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence solely to your generosity. The army which so haughtily menaced you, finds no barrier to secure it from your courage. The Po, the Tesino, and the Adda, have

been unable to arrest your progress for a single day. These boasted ramparts of Italy proved insufficient; you have surmounted them as rapidly as you cleared the Appenines. So much success has diffused joy through the bosom of your country. Yes, soldiers, you have performed much; but is there nothing more for you to perform? Shall it be said of us, that we knew how to conquer, but knew not how to profit by victory? Shall posterity reproach us with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But I already see you rushing to arms; an unmanly repose fatigues you, and the days lost to glory are lost to your happiness.

"Well, let us set out; we have still forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge. Let those tremble who have whetted the poniards of civil war in France, who have cowardly assassinated our ministers, and burned our ships at Toulon. The hour of vengeance has arrived, but let the people be tranquil: we are the friends of all nations, particularly the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and the illustrious persons we have chosen as models. To restore the Capitol, to replace with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it renowned, and to rouse the Roman people, become torpid by so many ages of slavery,—such will be the fruit of your victories. You will then return to your homes and your fellow-citizens, who pointing to you, will say, "HE WAS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY!"

Scarcely had the French left Milan, apparently with the same testimonies of affection on the part of the people as they were first received, when General Despinoy, observing that mobs were assembling in the suburbs of the city on the side of Pavia, ordered a party of troops to march thither, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but the detachment having wounded and taken some of them, the rest took flight. This movement was com-

bined with others, which took place at the same time at Vareza, Pavia, and Lodi. The *tocsin* was sounded in the country; the priests and nobles excited the massacre of the French commissaries; and persons employed in the administration, were assassinated by the peasants on the roads.

A great conspiracy, in fact, seemed to have been forming all through Lombardy; it was industriously circulated, that Nice had been taken by the English, that the army of Condé had arrived by way of Switzerland, on the confines of the Milanese, and that Beaulieu, reinforced with sixty thousand men, was on his march to Milan. But the conspiracy at this place was rendered abortive by an unforeseen event. When the fatal *tocsin* was to have been sounded, it was found that the rope was cut; this was understood to have been done by one of the chaplains belonging to the church, a native of Corsica. Bonaparte, soon after he had heard of the disturbance on the 24th of May, set out for Milan with three hundred horse and a battalion of grenadiers, and after taking measures to prevent a fresh insurrection, left that city for Pavia. Seven or eight hundred armed peasants were intrenched in the vicinity of Binasco; Lannes, at the head of a moveable column, dispersed them, killed about an hundred, and burned the village. Though necessary, Bonaparte observed, the spectacle was not less horrible: "I was affected by it," said he, "but I foresaw that Pavia was threatened with still greater calamities!"—Before having recourse to vigorous measures at Pavia, Bonaparte had neglected no means of conciliation. Taking with him the Archbishop of Milan, he made him the organ to address the abused multitude that covered the walls; but neither the persuasion of this prelate, nor the proclamation sent into the place, were listened to. Eight thousand peasants had arrived here to assist the Pavians; the castle was

taken, and the French troops made prisoners. Early in the morning of the 26th, the artillery was ordered to advance, and after a few discharges, the rebels were summoned to lay down their arms; but they returned for answer, that they never would, whilst the place had walls. The gates were then forced with hatchets, and the multitude dispersed, though they still threw down tiles from the tops of the houses, attempting in vain to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. Thrice had the order to set fire to the city expired on Bonaparte's lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, who had burst their fetters, and hastened to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none were found missing. If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, the General had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column on which these words were to be inscribed: "*Here the City of Pavia stood.*" He then ordered the municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately to France.

Bonaparte then resumed his march, but not till he had published a second proclamation, by which, for the security of the peaceable citizens, he had thrown the responsibility for the future upon those two classes that had provoked the past disturbances. "The French army," said he, "as generous as it is strong, will treat the peaceable inhabitants with fraternal kindness; but to the rebels, and to the villages that protect them, it will be as terrible as the fire of heaven."

At no place were these measures more necessary than at Milan; the riches and population of this city gave it a considerable influence over every other part of Lombardy. Still the necessary rigour that had been used, occasioned a great deal of regret in the mind of Bonaparte. It was not so with all his soldiers. Those who were addicted to pillage, and had made considerable booties, upon their return to Milan, expressed a very

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different kind of feeling. Observing the costly articles displayed in the shop windows of the goldsmiths and jewellers, with which this city abounds, one of them exclaimed to his comrade, "You will see that these villanous shopkeepers will be such scoundrels, that they will not give us the chance of another insurrection."

After Beaulieu's defeat at Lodi he had taken refuge behind the Oglio; but not finding this barrier sufficiently strong to protect him from the impetuosity of the French, he fell back to the other side of the Mincio, and established himself in a very advantageous position between the Lake of Garda and Mantua. To defend the passage of the Mincio, his whole line had been carefully garnished with batteries. He was also master of Peschiera, a Venetian fortress, and of the bridges of Revolta, Goita, and Borghetto. His army had been augmented by a reinforcement of 20,000 choice troops sent to defend Mantua. It was also remarked, that among the generals that Bonaparte had now to contend with, were Colli, who, after signing the treaty of Cherasco, had entered into the Austrian service; and Melas, whose celebrity was increased after he had signed the treaty that followed the battle of Marengo. The head-quarters of the French army having been transferred to Brescia on the 28th of May, the war was now to be carried on upon the Venetian territory. Bonaparte, whose intention was to cross the Mincio in the centre of the Austrian line, and to force the bridge of the Borghetto, manœuvred in such a manner as to draw the attention of the enemy to some other point, and to induce General Beaulieu to suppose, that in pushing his right towards Riva, he wished to turn him by the head of Lake de Garda, in order to cut him off from the road leading to the Tyrol. All the divisions of the army were therefore kept back, so that the right, by which he really meant to attack, was at the distance of a day and a half's march from the Imperialists, and posted

behind the Chiusa, where it seemed to act merely on the defensive. According to this plan, General Rusca had advanced northward to Salo, with a demi-brigade of light infantry, while General Kilmaine, with 1500 cavalry, frequently approached the walls of Peschiera, skirmishing with the Austrian advanced posts; on one of these occasions General Liptay, an Austrian officer, was killed.

On the 29th of May, Augereau's division replaced that of Kilmaine at Dezenzano, which fell back to Castiglione. Massena then moved to Monte Chiaro, Serrurier to Monza; and two hours after midnight, all these divisions were marching towards Borghetto. The approach to this position was defended by three or four thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The French cavalry, flanked by the carabiniers and grenadiers, who followed in order of battle, charged the enemy's horse, threw them into disorder, and took one piece of cannon. The Austrians then passed the bridge in precipitation, and broke down one of its arches. Whilst the French were labouring to repair the bridge under the fire of the enemy's batteries, impatient of delay, fifty grenadiers threw themselves into the river, holding their muskets over their heads with the water up to their chins. General Gardanne, a grenadier in courage as well as in stature, was at their head. The Austrians recollecting the terrible column at Lodi, the nearest of them fled. The bridge was repaired, the river passed, and in a few minutes the French entered Vallegio, where Beaulieu's head-quarters had been a short time before.

The Austrians rallying, drew up in order of battle between Vallegio and Villa-franca, in expectation of a general engagement. Bonaparte refused the combat, though it was with difficulty that he restrained the impetuosity of his soldiers. The object of this refusal on his part was to give time to Massena's division to proceed to Peschiera, envelope that place, and block up the route

to the Tyrol, and thus completely cut off the retreat of Beaulieu. Fortunately for the Austrian general, he received timely information of Augereau's movements by his patroles; and protected by a fresh corps of cavalry that arrived in the night, he avoided his absolute ruin in retiring by the route of Castel Nuovo. Murat and Leclerc distinguished themselves on this day, the one at the head of the cavalry, and the other with the chasseurs. Augereau finding Peschiera evacuated by the Austrians, took possession of the place.

On the 31st of May, at day-break, the French army arrived at Rivoli, but the enemy had already passed the Adige, and destroyed most of the bridges. In this affair they lost 1500 men and 500 horses. Prince Cuto, general of the Neapolitan cavalry, was among the number of prisoners. Thus the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the German mountains. In these different engagements the grenadiers had learnt to sport and laugh at death. They were accustomed to despise the Austrian cavalry, and nothing could equal their intrepidity but the gaiety with which they performed their forced marches, singing alternately songs in praise of their country and of love. Instead of sleeping, they amused themselves during most of the night, each telling his tale, or forming *his own* plan of operation for the following day.

The occupation of Verona, which contains three bridges over the Adda, was of the highest importance to Bonaparte. Massena entered this city on the 3d of June, which had been for some time the refuge of Louis Stanislaus, the brother of Louis XVI. Whenever France had complained of his being received and welcomed there, the answer of the Venetians was, that Louis being a noble Venetian, had a right to reside in their territory; but their confidence had now given way to terror. The podestat of Venice received orders to intimate to the fugitive

prince, that he must quit their dominions: his answer was worthy of his rank—"I shall go," said he, "but I demand the golden book in which the names of the nobles are inscribed, that I may erase those of my family; and also the restoration of the sword which my ancestor Henry IV. presented to the republic."—In answer to this, the prince was told the Senate themselves could erase his name; but that a sum of twelve millions being still due to the republic of Venice on account of Henry, his sword should be restored if Louis would pay the money.

After the passage of the Mincio, and whilst Napoleon was pursuing the enemy in every direction, he entered a castle on the left bank of the river. He was troubled with the head-ache, and bathed his feet. In the mean while a large detachment of the enemy arrived before the castle in great confusion. Napoleon was there, and only a few persons with him; the sentinel on duty at the gate had just time to close it, and cry out, "To arms!" As resistance would have been useless, Napoleon was obliged to escape through the back gates of the garden, with but one boot on. The danger he then avoided was the origin of the guides appointed to guard his person, as, from the nature of his operations, similar circumstances were often likely to occur.

In the same campaign Napoleon incurred another near chance of being taken prisoner. Wurmser, who had been compelled to throw himself into Mantua, and was debouching suddenly on an open plain, learned from an old woman, that only some moments before the French General, with but a few followers, had stopped at her door, and that he had fled at the sight of the Austrians. Wurmser immediately dispatched parties of cavalry in all directions, to whom he gave orders, that if they came up with Napoleon, he should not be killed or harmed in any way. Fortunately for the young General, his destiny and the swiftness of his horse saved him.

Another anecdote is related of Bonaparte, when upon the point of commencing one of his great battles in Italy. As he was disposing his troops in the order of attack, a light dragoon issuing forth from the ranks, requested of the General a few minutes' private conversation, with which Napoleon acquiesced, when the soldier thus addressed him:—"General, if you proceed to adopt such and such measures, the enemy must be defeated."

"Wretched man!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "hold your tongue; you will not, sure, betray my secret!" at the same time placing his hand before the mouth of the dragoon.

The simple fact is, that the soldier in question was possessed of an inherent military capacity, and appreciated every arrangement necessary to insure victory. The battle terminating in favour of Napoleon, he issued orders that the poor fellow should be conducted to his presence; but all search after him proved fruitless; he was no where to be found: a bullet had no doubt terminated his military career.

After the affair of Borghetto, Beaulieu lost no time in passing the Adige, not to quit Italy, but to approach Mantua: this general, however, who had been constantly unfortunate, was succeeded by old Marshal Wurmser, who in fact had not been very fortunate himself. On the 4th of June, Massena, who had left Peschiera, was master of the fauxbourg and of the tower of Cheriale, after driving the enemy into Mantua. A drummer of twelve years of age distinguished himself, by climbing up this tower in the midst of musketry and grape-shot, and opening the door to the French. On the same day Bonaparte, who had advanced to La Favourite, a pleasure-house belonging to the Dukes of Mantua, caused the fauxbourg of St. George to be attacked by General Serrurier, who seized the *tête-du-pont*. The grenadiers, under the intrepid Lannes, would have passed over the narrow causeway between this part and the town, notwithstanding the

batteries of the ramparts were bristled with cannon. "There were more of them at Lodi!" cried they. Mantua, however, was not to be taken by a *coup de main;* content with the success of the day, and not willing to shed the blood of brave men, Bonaparte ordered the retreat to be sounded. Having no besieging artillery, the blockade of the place was consigned to the Generals Serrurier and Vaubois.

Bonaparte was now disposed to use the relaxation afforded him by the Austrians, in putting a stop to the insurrections which had been gathering in his rear. The secondary powers were disposed to follow the example of the King of Sardinia. Naples treated on the 7th of June. An armistice deprived the Austrian army of two thousand five hundred cavalry, and the English fleet of five ships of the line, and several frigates. This was signed by Prince Pignatelli Belmont, on the part of the King of Naples. A bull issued by the Pope, disavowed the fanatics who, under the pretext of religion, fomented a civil war in France; in fact, the Pope himself entered into negotiations with the excommunicated. Bonaparte nevertheless pursued the course of his operations against Rome. Whilst he took possession of Ferrara, Augereau occupied Bologna, and Adjutant-General Vignolle seized upon the castle of Urbino. The Popish garrisons in all these places surrendered at the first summons; but not for want of the means of defence. Whilst Augereau took possession of the Legations, General Vaubois entered Reggio, and clearing the Appenine, seemed to be marching to Rome, across Tuscany.

The Grand Duke being alarmed, requested the French General to respect a neutral territory. Bonaparte promised not to enter Florence, but to pass through Sienna. On the 26th of June Vaubois was at Pistoia. Rome was alarmed, as the blood of a French ambassador was still reeking there. Proclamations, demanding vengeance for

the death of M. Basseville, and the reconstruction of the Capitol, still resounded in the Vatican. The thunders of the church had not been sufficiently powerful to defend the holy city against the Catholic army under the Constable of Bourbon; and she did not seem more powerful now against an army perhaps a little less orthodox. Rome submitted to very hard conditions. Besides the Legations, she ceded Ancona to the French, and agreed to shut her ports against the coalesced powers, and gave to the commissaries of the Directory the right of choosing an hundred pieces of painting and sculpture in its libraries and museums. This was the first time Rome had been made tributary to France; but she was now to pay twenty millions in money and other articles. Notwithstanding the advantages of this treaty were all on the side of France, the approbation of that government was with difficulty obtained. The reduction of Rome was not the only object which Vaubois was charged to accomplish. On the 28th of June, 1796, he took possession of Leghorn. The English Factory, against whom this stroke was directed, had the address to remove most of their effects to Elba.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, so far from shewing any resentment in consequence of this measure, invited Bonaparte soon after to Florence, where he partook of a splendid entertainment, during which an officer brought him dispatches, announcing the surrender of the castle of Milan. The two principal guests, though very differently interested in this affair, possessed a sufficient degree of self-command to prevent the one from expressing his joy, and to enable the other to conceal his mortification.

The example made at Pavia had not quenched the spirit of insurrection; it had broken out in the Imperial fiefs near Genoa; but by the burning of a few villages, and the firmness of the measures adopted to prevent its spreading, it was everywhere suppressed, excepting at Lugo, with very little bloodshed.

About this time Faypoult, the French minister at Genoa, having written to Bonaparte to come and put an end to the perfidy of the Senate, Bonaparte answered, that the time had not arrived. "A battle," he said, "was in agitation;—a conqueror, this will put me in possession of Mantua; then a simple courier sent to Genoa will supply the place of an army."

The revolution that followed at Genoa, seemed to arise from the course of events, and did not require the intervention of the French army. Some disorders, however, ensued, and to repress them, Bonaparte signified his pleasure by one of his aides-de-camp; this was Lavalette, whose sagacity was equal to his courage, though the Doge of Genoa was not less unmanageable with him than the Doge of Venice had been with Junot.

A new constitution restored tranquillity at Genoa. The integrity of the territory of the republic was not only preserved, but increased by the incorporation of the Imperial fiefs in the vicinity. The new system of government was not very favourable to the old reigning families; but on that account so much the more agreeable to the multitude. For the ancient Senate, Bonaparte recommended a Legislative Corps, formed of two councils, and the executive power was confided to a Directory. The Genoese government was, in fact, a miniature picture of that of France, and an alliance was formed between them.

During the popular agitation that preceded this new establishment, the statues of Andre Doria had been thrown down. The resentment that Bonaparte felt at this act of ingratitude and barbarity, led him to ask, "whether any excess of zeal should lead people to forget their own glory? What barbarous hand could strike that Andre Doria, the founder of your liberty; that hero of patriotism, who refused the sovereignty which was offered him by the Emperor of Germany? Never give the enemies

of liberty the right to calumniate you, but know that true republicans honour merit and virtue wherever they may be found."

General Beaulieu, finding himself incompetent to withstand a General "whose mistress was glory, and whose companion was Plutarch," resigned the command of the army; he had previously written to the Emperor of Austria, requesting him to make peace; and alluding to the French, he said, "he would fly even to Siberia, if he thought those devils were following him."

General Wurmser, older than Beaulieu, but not less opiniated, was charged with restoring the fortune of Austria beyond the Alps. With sixty thousand men under his command, he flattered himself he should be able to envelope the enemy, who had not more than forty-four thousand. He crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and having carried the posts of Salo and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the French were obliged to raise the siege, and evacuate their posts with some loss. Bonaparte seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. In one of these affairs, a Captain Lasalle, being made prisoner and taken before Wurmser, the old General asked him what might be age of Bonaparte. "He is," said this officer, "of the same age as Scipio when he conquered Hannibal."

These partial advantages did not alarm Bonaparte. Wurmser's march had scarcely commenced, when Napoleon formed the plan, to which he not only owed his safety, but that series of successes which were crowned by the victory of Castiglione. His principal officers could not bear the idea of leaving the besieging artillery behind them at Mantua: when, full of confidence, whilst every other person was almost in despair, he said to Berthier,

" we shall retake all that is *here*, and all that is *there*," pointing to the artillery on the ramparts.

The Austrians being now master of the heights and left bank of the Adige, the French could no longer retain possession of Verona, without exposing the troops to the hazard of being surrounded. Bonaparte therefore ordered them to fall back, and assembled all his forces at Roverbella. But whilst thus retrograding, parties of hulans had spread on the French rear, and pushed forward on the road to Milan. In this critical situation, he felt the necessity of adopting some bold and decisive measure. The Austrians, by descending from the Tyrol by way of Brescia and the Adige, had placed the French in the centre; but it was possible, by a rapid retrograde movement, to surround the Austrian division approaching Brescia; it was also necessary to recross the Mincio without delay.

At this period the left of the French army under Joubert and Massena had been beaten, and the two generals obliged to retreat under the walls of Peschiera. Napoleon, pressed in all directions, saw his communications with France nearly cut off; he was, besides, placed between two armies, each more numerous than his own. Brescia, his principal magazine, was taken. Milan, fifteen leagues in the rear of the enemy, was of no use to him. The division of Serrurier, engaged in the siege of Mantua, and that of Augereau appointed to support him, were threatened by Wurmser and the garrison of Mantua. In this situation the soldiers were astonished, when assembled in the presence of their chief, to find no alteration in his countenance. " On what does he found his hopes?" said they, " unless he be more than man, how can he possibly save us?"

" Fear nothing," said Napoleon—" shew that you remain unchanged: preserve your valour, your just pride, and the remembrance of your triumphs, and in three days

we shall retake all that we have lost. Rely on me, you know whether or not I am in the habit of keeping my word."

The enthusiasm of the army being now equal to its surprise, Napoleon immediately availed himself of circumstances, and conceived one of those plans which alone would be sufficient to constitute him a great General. He totally abandoned the line of the Adige, gave Augereau orders to march on Brescia, and told his soldiers, "that if they wished to obtain the victory, it was with their legs alone that it could now be gained." The speed with which they advanced was astonishing. Wurmser had hardly reached Mantua, when the whole French army, which the evening before was divided, turned, and in imminent danger, formed a junction at Brescia, which was retaken. Napoleon gave a little repose to his troops, strengthened himself as much as possible, opened a communication with Serrurier, and prescribed the movements which he should adopt. He ordered his brother Louis to take possession of the bridge of St. Mark with two battalions, and on his return he dispatched him in the greatest haste to Paris, with an account of what had taken place. "Every thing is now made good," said he. "To-morrow I shall give battle; the success will be complete, as the most difficult part of the task is over. I have no time to write long dispatches: describe all that you have seen."

Louis accordingly left Brescia before the battle. A few hours after his arrival at Paris, a courier brought the details of the great victory gained by his brother at Castiglione. As a mark of their satisfaction, the Directory conferred the rank of Captain upon Louis.

In this memorable battle, Napoleon contrived to turn all the successes gained by Wurmser, to the advantage of the French army.

But to return to the ulterior operations. General

D'Allemagne was charged to attack Lonado, where the Austrians had established themselves; they marched out to meet the French, but were defeated, leaving six hundred prisoners, and the ground covered with dead. Dupuis' brigade distinguished itself so much on this occasion, as to obtain leave of the General-in-chief to inscribe on their colours: "*J'etais tranquille, la trente-deuxième était là.*"

Wurmser having re-entered Mantua, under the idea that his right wing had obliged the French to retire, was much surprised to find that his troops had been beaten at Lonado and at Brescia. To succour them, he advanced on the 2d of August towards Castiglione. General Valette, posted there with fifteen hundred men, had orders to resist, but notwithstanding, retired with the loss of a number of his men. "What have you done with your comrades?" said Bonaparte to the soldiers that returned. "We," said they, "did not command—we obeyed." Valette was suspended, but continued to serve as a private grenadier, till he was reinstated in his rank.

The battle of Lonado occurred on the 3d of August: at day-break, the whole of the French army were in motion. Augereau moved with the right wing towards Castiglione: General Guieux with the left, retook Salo, and thus held Wurmser's right in check. Massena, who was in the centre at Calcinato, marched towards Lonado. General Pigeon, who commanded the French advanced guard, had been made prisoner, with three pieces of cannon. At the moment when the Austrians were extending their line, Bonaparte sent forward in close columns the 18th and 32d demi-brigades, which being supported by a strong reserve, broke the enemy's line of battle. The artillery and the prisoners made under General Pigeon, were retaken, and the French entered Lonado. Junot, Bonaparte's first aide-de-camp, was sent in pursuit of the fugitive

Austrians, at the head of a company of guides. Coming up with the hulans of Bender, he had already wounded their colonel, when, attacked on all sides, he was thrown into a ditch covered with wounds, but not till he had killed six of the enemy with his own hands. Still, apparently with the voice of a dying man, he continued to exclaim, "You are all my prisoners." From this situation he was relieved by his dragoons, and conveyed to the head-quarters. The Austrian division that had been beaten, took the route to Salo; but Salo being in possession of the French, they wandered among the mountains, and mostly fell into the hands of the victors.

Augereau, however, had seized upon Castiglione, and maintained himself there against a force double in number. On this day the Austrians lost twenty pieces of cannon, three or four thousand men killed and wounded, and four thousand prisoners, and among these three generals. The French had to lament the death of General Bayran, whose probity was equal to his courage.

But though separated and beaten, the Austrian army was not annihilated. Presuming that the General would strain every effort to regain the corps he had sent to Brescia, Bonaparte thought that if he could dispose of them, he might turn his whole force against Wurmser. General Despinoy was charged with this operation; he succeeded, and made eighteen hundred prisoners.

Wurmser, who was still able to collect 25,000 men, and a numerous cavalry, indulged the hope of retrieving his fortunes. Bonaparte on his side was making arrangements for a general engagement, and for that purpose repaired to Lonado, to see what troops he could collect there. He had scarcely entered, when an Austrian flag of truce arrived to summon the commandant to surrender. The place was in fact surrounded by forces much superior to those within it. This was an embarrassing situation for Bonaparte; however, by a stroke of

genius he disengaged himself with *eclat*. Ordering the officer who brought the flag of truce to be brought before him, and to have the bandage taken from his eyes: "Your General-in-chief," said he, "has the presumption to summon the General-in-chief of the army of Italy! Let him advance. If he presume to insult the French army, I am here to avenge it. Tell him that he and his corps are my prisoners; that one of his own columns is cut off at Salo, and another by the passage of Brescia to Trente, and that if in eight minutes he does not lay down his arms, he shall be shot with his whole corps. Undeceive your commander, and let him see General Bonaparte at the head of his brave republican army; tell your General that will be the highest reward he can expect."

While every one was preparing for the attack, the commander of the enemy's army requested a capitulation.—"No," replied Bonaparte; "You are a prisoner of war." The commandant wished to expostulate, but already the light artillery were advancing, and he cried out, "We yield." Thus 1200 French gained a victory over 4000 of the enemy's well arranged force, and defended also by four pieces of cannon.

This strange adventure, soon known to the whole army, did not contribute a little to inflame the courage of the troops. At five in the morning of the 5th of August, the two armies were in presence of each other. Bonaparte, by a retrograde motion, having drawn Wurmser after him, Serrurier's division turned and attacked his left. The right being attacked by Massena, and the centre by Augereau, the French were soon victorious upon every point. This battle terminated what has been called "The Campaign of Five Days," during which Wurmser lost seventy pieces of cannon, and more than twenty thousand men.

Victory having thus declared for the French, after the most obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy,

Wurmser, evacuating Roveredo and Trent, took refuge in Mantua, and the siege of that city was renewed.

The satisfaction which the conqueror derived from his successes, was however interrupted for a short period by the jealousy with which some of his enemies had inspired the Directory at Paris, and by vain endeavours to raise up a formidable enemy against him in the person of General Hoche, who repulsed the attempt in a spirited and energetic letter.

Bonaparte having recovered all his former positions, began to turn his whole attention upon Mantua, and had some thoughts of entering the place by night. Some grenadiers were to embark upon the lake, and seize upon one of the gates, whilst the attention of the besieged was to have been excited by a false attack elsewhere. But as the water suddenly sunk more than three feet, this project fell to the ground. Bonaparte confided the blockade to General Sahuguet, observing that "operations of this kind depend entirely upon good fortune; upon a dog or a goose."

The affair of Seravalla, and the attack upon the camp at Mori, occurred soon after. Murat, Leclerc, and Dubois, signalized themselves by a feat of arms apparently belonging to romance: the two former falling in with a column of the enemy during the night, and with only twelve carabiniers and three chasseurs, they took prisoners 100 hussars and 400 foot of the regiment of Wurmser. General Dubois, whilst executing a charge of an important nature at Serravalla, was struck by three balls at the head of his victorious squadron. "I die," said he, "for the republic," pressing the hand of the General-in-chief. "I only wish to know that our victory is complete." He had but a moment to live, and his desire was gratified.

Bonaparte took possession of Trent in the name of France, and seized all the property that belonged to the

Emperor and the Prince Bishop. The route to the Tyrol had been opened to the French by the battle of Roveredo. But though Wurmser was not in sufficient force to oppose this movement, he had the address to detain the conquerors in Italy, probably with the view of preventing them from extending the war to the Danube. He also contrived to occupy them, in order that Field-Marshal Alvinzi might arrive with a third army, which the French were to devour.

The old General, notwithstanding the sagacity of his plan, committed more than one fault in its execution. The French, after beating the Austrians in the gorges of the Brenta, at Primolano, at Solagna, and carrying the fort of Covelo, on the 8th of September marched towards Bassano, where Wurmser had his head-quarters. Whilst Augereau penetrated the town on his left, Massena entered it on his right, and seized the cannon that defended the bridge on the Brenta, and overthrew the old grenadiers who attempted to cover the retreat of their general. Five thousand prisoners, five standards, thirty-five pieces of cannon, with their caissons, fell into the hands of the French, and Wurmser himself narrowly escaped being taken with the military chest. Lannes seized one of the enemy's standards with his own hands. Bonaparte demanded for him the rank of General of Brigade. "He was," he said, "the first who put the enemy to the route at Dego, who passed the Po at Plaisance, the Adda at Lodi, and the first that entered Bassano."

The number of the dead near Bassano was considerable. Curious to ascertain the loss of the enemy, Bonaparte in the evening rode over the field with his staff, when their notice was attracted by the howlings of a dog, that seemed to increase in proportion as they approached the spot whence they proceeded. "In the deep silence of a beautiful moon-light night," said the Emperor, "a dog leaping suddenly from beneath the

clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously. He alternately licked his master's hand, and ran towards us, as if at once soliciting aid and seeking revenge. Whether, owing to my own particular turn of mind at that moment, the time, the place, or the action itself, I know not, but certainly no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. I involuntarily stopped to contemplate the scene. This man, thought I, has friends in the camp, or in his company, and here he lies forsaken by all except his dog. What a lesson Nature presents here, through the medium of an animal! What a strange being is man! and how mysterious are his impressions! I had without emotion ordered battles which were to decide the fate of the army: I had beheld with tearless eyes the execution of those operations by which numbers of my countrymen were sacrificed; and here my feelings were roused by the mournful howlings of a dog! Certainly at that moment I should have been easily moved by a suppliant enemy. I could very well imagine Achilles surrendering up the body of Hector at the sight of Priam's tears."

CHAP. VI.

Victories of the French—Capture of Legnano—Sorties *from Mantua—Dreadful Situation of that City—War between the Population of Italy and the Austrians—Letter of Bonaparte to the Cispadane Republic—Excesses at Bologna and Genoa—Anniversary of the French Republic celebrated at Milan—Bonaparte's Letter to the Emperor of Germany—Battle of Arcole—Anecdotes—The Sleeping Sentinel—Death of Colonel Muiron.*

In the course of six days the French army had gained six victories. Out of the sixty thousand men with which Wurmser was to reconquer Italy, only ten thousand remained after the battle of Bassano; these he sent to Verona, which they were prevented from entering by General Kilmaine. Augereau, on his way to Padua, seized the baggage of the Austrian army, and made four hundred prisoners. Wurmser had no resource but to throw himself into Mantua, which he reached about the middle of September. On his march he made three hundred French prisoners, who were surrounded by the Austrian cuirassiers; a loss more than compensated by the taking of Porto Legnano, and a greater number of prisoners. Massena and General Sahuguet having been checked in an attempt upon Due Castelli, and La Favorite, Wurmser made a *sortie* from Mantua with almost the whole of the garrison, to go upon a foraging party with the rest of the troops cantoned about the place, and in the fauxbourg of St. George. This brought on another affair, in which Wurmser lost two thousand five hundred men, two thousand prisoners, and twenty-two pieces of cannon. The loss of the French was inconsiderable;

but among the wounded were Generals Victor, Sainte Hilaire, Bertin, Murat, Lannes, and General Mayer, who received a shot in the act of saving a French soldier from the sabre of an Austrian cuirassier.

Wearied of opposing *sorties*, Bonaparte confined himself to a strict blockade of Mantua; besides, the rainy weather would not admit of a regular siege for some months.

By the end of September there were not more than sixteen thousand men in Mantua able to bear arms. The public establishments were not capable of receiving the sick; but being distributed in the private houses, the whole city might be considered as one vast hospital. On the 23d the bridge of Governolo was attacked by the Imperialists; this bridge, commanding the Mincio, had been fortified by Bonaparte. After a brisk cannonade, the Imperialists were routed by the republican infantry, who took eleven hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. Perceiving that Wurmser avoided a general action, Bonaparte returned to Milan, leaving General Kilmaine to conduct the blockade. On the 1st of October the French attacked the Austrians in their advanced posts of Cereze and Pradella. A detachment of their cavalry were surrounded and taken; another that had passed the river at Borgo Forte, not being able to regain Mantua, endeavoured to take refuge in Tuscany; but at Reggio they were attacked by the inhabitants and the national guard. Pressed on all sides, these fugitives took shelter in the territory of Parma, and shut themselves up in the castle of Monte Chiarugolo; but the inhabitants of Reggio investing this place, the Austrians capitulated. Two soldiers of the national guard were killed; but from this moment the war between the population of Italy and the Imperialists had commenced.

On the night of the 18th, the Austrians endeavoured to scale the intrenchments of St. George's, but being unsuc-

cessful, all their attempts terminated here. Discouraged by successive defeats, weakened by contagious disorders, and condemned to privations of every kind, the garrison now seemed only to await its deliverance by the enemy.

About this time the General Administration of Lombardy, in consequence of numerous petitions, solicited permission from General Bonaparte to form a legion to act with the republican army, and to march against the common enemy; this was granted, and in process of time, the force thus raised formed an auxiliary corps of nine thousand men under General Rusca.

The inhabitants of Modena, abandoned by their duke, proclaimed their independence. This was first done at Reggio, an example which was soon followed at Ferrara and Bologna. Soon after this, under the auspices of Bonaparte, the union of Modena, Reggio, Bologna, and Ferrara, was declared at a general Congress. A second Congress held at Reggio, ulteriorly proclaimed the definitive reunion of the duchies and legations, under the name of the Cispadane Republic. This resolution being announced to Bonaparte, he answered by the following letter:

"I have learned with the liveliest interest, that the Cispadane Republics are reunited in one, and that taking for their symbol a bundle of rods, are already convinced that their strength consists in unity and indivisibility. Unhappy Italy has been for a long time effaced from the map of the powers of Europe. If the Italians of our day are worthy to recover their rights, and to give themselves a free government, they will see their country figuring among the other powers. Never, however, forget, that laws, without force to support them, are null. A military organization should be your first object. Nature has given you all you want. Your deliberations are marked by prudence and concord. Nothing is wanting but those battalions animated with an holy enthusiasm for their country. You are in a situation much more favourable

than the French people. You may arrive at liberty without any revolutionary shocks. The calamities which afflicted France before the establishment of its constitution, will be unknown to you. The unity which connects the divers parties of the Cispadane Republic, should be the model constantly followed for uniting every class of citizens."

The French Republic dated the possession of the north of Italy from this period of the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics.

Great excesses took place at Bologna on the day when the tree of liberty was planted; the populace crowded to the houses of the rich, and persons of easy circumstances, to collect money, &c. as they pretended, to purchase wine, for the purpose of rejoicing. Bonaparte, however, arrived and put an end to this disorder, by issuing a proclamation. All the monks not belonging to the convents in Bologna, were ordered to quit the city in three days; but they were provided with money sufficient to bear their charges to Rome.

Genoa next drew the attention of Bonaparte. The population of this city was favourable to the French, but the Senate had never ceased to lend all possible assistance to Beaulieu and other Austrian generals. Whilst Bonaparte was not strong enough to chastise this treachery, he appeared to be ignorant of it. He now wrote to the Genoese government with the dignity and spirit always belonging to his character. "The city of Genoa," said he, "is the focus from whence those wretches proceed who infest the highways, assassinate the French, and intercept our convoys. The spirit of rebellion in the Imperial fiefs was fomented at Genoa. M. Girola, residing in that city, has sent them ammunition. He receives every day the chiefs of this rebellion stained with French blood. A part of these horrors have been committed upon the Genoese territory, and the

government, so far from taking any measures of prevention, appear to connive at these assassins by its silence, and the asylum it affords them. It is indispensible that a period should be put to this abuse, and that the men who protect brigands should be very severely punished. The governor of Novi protects them: I demand that the Genoese government shall make an example of him. M. Girola, who had made Genoa a place of arms against the French, should be arrested, or at least sent away from Genoa. These preliminary measures of satisfaction are due to the manes of my brothers in arms, murdered upon your territory. For the future, I demand a categorical explanation. Can you, or can you not, purge the territory of the republic of the assassins with which it abounds? If you do not take measures for this end, I shall, I will burn both villages and towns upon any territory where one single Frenchman has been assassinated. I will burn the houses that afford refuge to assassins. I will punish those negligent magistrates who violate the first principle of neutrality, in granting an asylum to the brigands. The assassination of one single Frenchman shall bring destruction upon whole communities who shall not have protected the French."

In consequence of these threats, Count Girola was sent away from Genoa; but instead of leaving Italy, this minister took refuge in the Imperial fiefs. The focus of intrigue, it seems, had only been removed. The castle of Santa Margarita is situated upon an eminence in the valley of Scrivia. This castle, the Austrian agent made the centre of his operations, in concert with M. Drake, an Englishman: here they organized desertion among the prisoners of war, and with the emigrants prepared the means of exciting new troubles in Lombardy.

As nothing escaped the penetration of Bonaparte, he soon discovered this den: a detachment was ordered against it; however, three hundred of the banditti,

with the English and German diplomatists, had time to escape.

In perfidy, the senate of Venice did not yield to that of Genoa. Protected by them, the communications between the Adige and the Adda were interrupted by robbers, who generally took refuge in the castle of Bergame.

Barraguey d'Hilliers, nevertheless, attacked the fort, which was taken, notwithstanding the opposition of the Venetians; the banditti were put to the sword, and on the 25th of December Bergame received a French garrison.

The Montferrat country was infested with the same species of robbery and assassination, till a column under General Garnier was sent after these Barbets. The French, scaling the mountains like these robbers, pursued them from rock to rock; but in a combat near Roccabigliera, they were completely subdued, General Garnier killing two of their chiefs with his own hand.

Bonaparte soon after celebrated at Milan the anniversary of the foundation of the French republic. Taking those games and ceremonies that were used at Athens and Rome for models, this *fête* was extremely magnificent. Josephine, the spouse of General Bonaparte, assisted, and by her graces, attempered the austerity of the military *cortege* which encircled her spouse. In fact, Bonaparte was already a sovereign, and had a court, and he exercised that authority over all with whom he was connected, which seemed only to belong to superior minds.

It was at this time he wrote to the Emperor of Germany, to propose peace. Had he then been actually on the throne, he could not perhaps have dictated a more lofty letter than that which he addressed to this monarch from his tent.

"Sire, Europe wishes for peace. This disastrous war has lasted too long. I have the honour to inform your

majesty, that if you do not send plenipotentiaries to Paris to open negotiations for peace, the Executive Directory have ordered me to shut up the port of Trieste, and to ruin all your majesty's establishments upon the Adriatic. Hitherto, I have desisted from the execution of this plan, in hopes of not increasing the number of the innocent victims of this war. I earnestly desire that your majesty may be sensible of the misfortunes that threaten your subjects, and that you will restore peace and tranquillity to the world.

"BONAPARTE."

Vain observations! This advice had no effect upon a ministry that thought less of their losses than their resources, and who produced and reproduced armies almost as fast as Bonaparte could destroy them. Whilst he was speaking of peace to Austria, that court was preparing for war. Impatient of raising the blockade of Mantua, Austria was for the third time forming legions in the Tyrol, that were to be consumed in Italy. Bonaparte in the mean time, not having received the reinforcements that had been promised him, fortified the banks of the Adige and the Adda, and put Ferrara, Bologna, Peschiera, and Pizzighitone in a state of defence. A month before hostilities had recommenced, he wrote as follows: "Under the uncertainty of not knowing what kind of war I shall have to make, I am doing every thing in my power at present to facilitate future operations."

The command of the new Austrian army had been conferred on Field-Marshal Alvinzi; this consisted of 45,000 men, which, with those that could be drawn from Mantua, might amount to 60,000. To these Bonaparte could oppose only 30,000: 8300 formed the blockade of Mantua. Augereau had 8000 men upon the Adige. Massena was posted between Bassano and Trevisa with 9000; Vaubois, with 10,000, guarded the defiles of the

Tyrol; and Menard, with 2000 men as a reserve, occupied the town of Brescia, with 1800 cavalry in the vicinity. Alvinzi, in the hope of surrounding Bonaparte, followed a system directly opposite to that of Wurmser, by extending his line of operations in a very different manner. Alvinzi's corps, on the 4th of November, having passed the Tagliamento and the Piave, advanced towards Bassano; Massena fell back upon Vicenza; Vaubois began to act upon the offensive on the same day. General Gieux, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, seized upon St. Michel, and burnt the bridges newly thrown over the Adige; but General Fiorella was not so fortunate at Segonzano; his loss was considerable. Vaubois succeeded in closing the gorges of the Brenta against Davidovich. The combinations of Bonaparte were not disarranged; he resolved to attack Alvinzi, and marched on the 6th of November with Augereau's division, and joined that of Massena at Vicenza. On the 8th he proceeded against the enemy, who had passed the Brenta. "We must," said he, "affright him like a thunderbolt, from his first purpose." The engagement was warm; victory declared for the French. The Austrians repassed the Brenta, leaving a great number of dead on the field of battle, with five hundred prisoners and a piece of cannon. General Lanusse, badly wounded, fell into their hands.

Determined to push forwards, Davidovich attacked Vaubois near Calliano, who was obliged to evacuate this village in the night, leaving six pieces of cannon. Upon the reception of this intelligence, Bonaparte hastened to Verona. Alvinzi had taken the same route. On the 11th of November Bonaparte marched to meet the Austrians. Augereau came up with their advanced guard within two leagues of Verona, and routed them. On the 12th the two armies were in presence. Supported on the left by the village of Caldiero, and upon the right by Olivetto,

the positions of the enemy's first line were highly advantageous, and at the instant when it was presumed the intention of the French was to come to a general action, the Austrian corps at Villa Nuova had orders to begin its march. At day-break, Massena attacked the enemy's right, and Augereau on the left made himself master of Caldiero. Augereau made 200 prisoners, and Massena having turned the right of the enemy, had taken five pieces of cannon, when their *corps de reserve* suddenly made its appearance. This circumstance, and a hail-storm, which blew in the faces of the French, obliged Massena to retire with the loss of a thousand men. This would have been more considerable, if the enemy had not been checked in their turn by the seventy-fifth demi-brigade.

The progress of the Austrians had been stopped, but they had not retreated: it was necessary to vanquish them, but of this Bonaparte almost despaired. "The army," said he, in writing to the Directory, "so inferior in numbers, has been again weakened by these late rencontres. The promised reinforcements have not arrived. The heroes of Millesimo, Lodi, Castiglione, and Bassano, are dead or in the hospitals. Joubert, Lanusse, Victor, Lannes, Charlot, Murat, Dupuis, Rampon, Menard, Chabrand, and Pigeon, are wounded. We are abandoned at the extremity of Italy. If I had received the 103d, three thousand five hundred strong, I would have answered for every thing. Perhaps in a few days 40,000 men will not be sufficient for us to make head against the enemy."

But with Bonaparte discouragement was not despair; triumph often awaited him when he seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin. Alvinzi had approached Verona on the 15th of November, and flattered himself that he could carry the place by assault, although General Kilmaine had 1500 men there. Bonaparte, descending the Adige to Ronco,

passed upon this point with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and took his route to Villa Nuova, with the view of seizing the enemy's baggage and his parks of artillery, whom he meant to attack on the flanks and in the rear. To effect this, it was necessary to traverse Arcole, a village situated in the centre of a large morass, and covered by the Alpon, one of the most rapid torrents. The Austrians foreseeing this movement, had sent forward some Hungarian regiments, who had intrenched themselves in this position, already so strong by nature. They arrested the progress of the French advanced guard during the whole day. It was to no purpose that the generals placed themselves at the head of the columns: in vain Augereau advanced upon the bridge with a standard in his hand: the soldiers would not follow him.

Bonaparte, however, had no idea of passing the night at Arcole, to which place he thought the enemy's army was marching. He retired behind the Adige, having made dispositions to repass it at pleasure. This river the French repassed at day-break on the 16th, when their divisions soon fell in with the advanced guard of the Austrians, moving towards Ronco, whilst their cavalry was hastening to seize upon Albaredo, an important position. Massena attacked and routed their left wing, commanded by General Provera, whom they had combated before in Piedmont. General Robert attacked the centre at the point of the bayonet, and drove the troops into the marshes. Augereau repulsed the troops that came from Arcole, but could not succeed in forcing that passage. Bonaparte consumed the whole day in fruitless attempts to turn the left of the enemy, which was protected by the marshes and the torrent. At night both armies retired to the positions they had occupied before the battle.

On the 17th, at break of day, Bonaparte had thrown a bridge over a point near the confluence of the Alpon and

the Adige, which the enemy had neglected to secure. The Austrians were driven to Arcole.

At ten o'clock on the 17th the action became general. The centre, commanded by General Robert, retreated before the fresh troops which had debouched over the terrible bridge, withdrawing from the left wing the forty-second demi-brigade, led by General Gardanne. Bonaparte placed this corps in the woods, and at the moment when the enemy was pursuing the centre, and turning the right of the French army, this demi-brigade took them in flank, and made a horrible carnage. Favoured by the localities, and by their superior numbers, the enemy's left wing resisted; but twenty-five horsemen contributed to their defeat. A brave fellow, worthy of the name of Hercules, lieutenant of a corps of guides, having rapidly turned the morass that covered the Austrians, rode up full gallop, and sounding a number of trumpets, threw the Austrian ranks into disorder, when Augereau availed himself of the moment to charge them, whilst 900 men coming from Legnago attacked them in the rear, and completed their route. Massena afterwards traversed Arcole, and pursued the Austrians till the darkness compelled him to desist. The Austrians lost 13,000 men in this battle, including 5000 prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

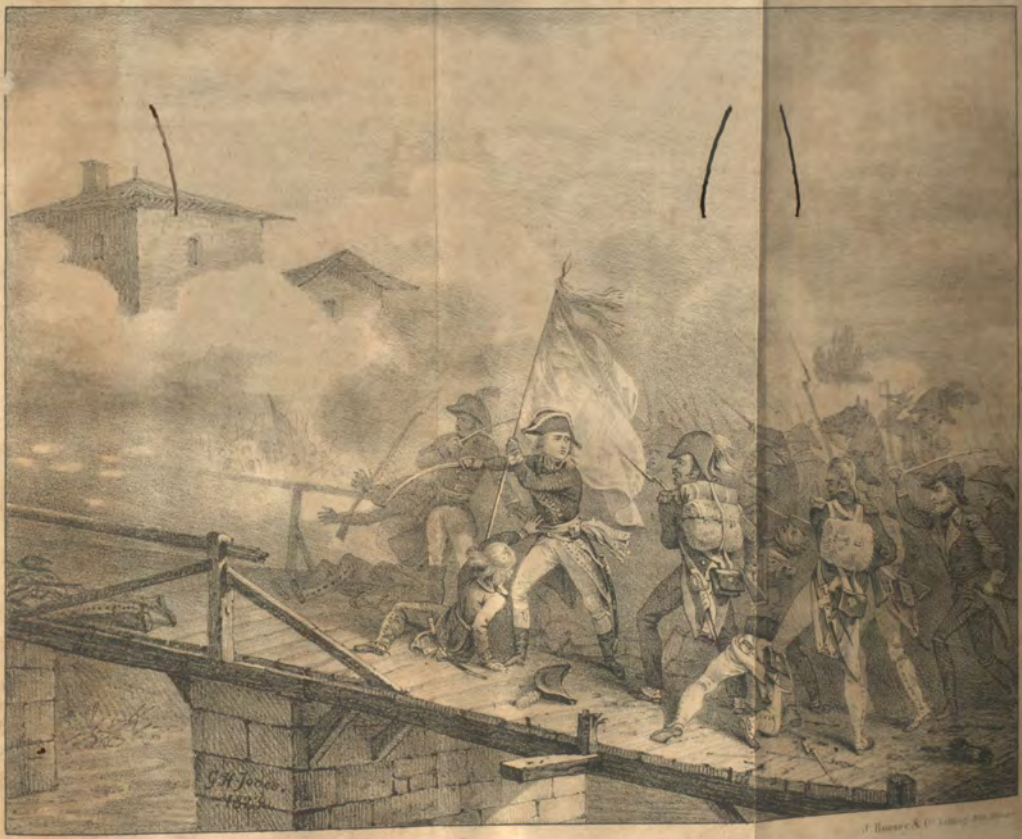
The loss of the French was less considerable in numbers than in the importance of those that fell during these three days. The generals, who acted as soldiers, were continually fighting at the head of their columns. The great art of the General-in-chief on this occasion, having but 13,000 men to oppose to 40,000, was to maintain the combat in the midst of a morass, where the enemy could not deploy. Upon such a field of battle only the heads of the columns could engage. In a plain, the French army would doubtless have been surrounded.

On the third day of this battle, November 17, the 75th

having been broken, Bonaparte placed the 32d in an ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows along the dyke of Arcole. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and drove into the marsh 3000 Croats, who all perished there. Massena in the mean while had experienced some vicissitudes on the left; but he marched at the head of his division with his hat suspended on his sword, by way of standard, and made a horrible carnage of the enemy.

When Napoleon arrived at Villa Nuova he stopped to enter the convent of St. Boniface, the church of which had served as an hospital: here were 4 or 500 wounded men, and most of them dead; the stench of putrefaction was dreadful; he drew back, but heard himself called by name; two French soldiers, wounded, had been left there three days without food or assistance; they were partly recalled to life by the sight of their General, and immediately liberated from their loathsome but unfortunate companions.

Several anecdotes are related, of the danger to which Bonaparte was personally exposed during the three days' fighting at this place. Las Cases, mentioning the bridge at Arcole, says, "Here Napoleon in person tried a last effort: he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. The column he led had half cleared the bridge when the flank fire caused their attack to fail. The grenadiers of the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitate and are induced to retire; but they will not abandon their General: they seize him by his arms, his hair, and his clothes, and drag him along with them in their flight, amidst the dead, the dying, the fire and smoke. The General-in-chief is thrown into a marsh, where he sinks up to the middle: *he is in the midst of the enemy;* but the French perceive that their General is not amongst them. A cry is heard of "Soldiers! forward to rescue the General!" These brave men instantly turn,



PASSAGE OF THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE.

and rush upon the enemy; they drive them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon is saved."

Another account states, that Napoleon, urged by his own natural impatience, arrived at the foot of the bridge of Arcole with all his staff, at the head of General Augereau's division, which he formed, bearing a standard in one hand, and doing his utmost to excite his troops, but without effect, till he recalled to their minds the passage of the bridge of Lodi. Then their enthusiasm beginning to revive, springing from his horse, he seized a flag, and rushed forward among the enemy's troops, exclaiming, "*Follow your General!*" The column, not more than thirty paces from the bridge, was instantly in motion, when the dreadful fire from the enemy's artillery mowing down whole ranks, the Generals Vignole and Lannes were wounded, and Muiron, the gallant friend and aide-de-camp of Bonaparte, killed. The staff of the General-in-chief were also overthrown in such a manner, that Napoleon's horse with his rider, were precipitated into a swamp, and was extricated with great difficulty. However, having succeeded, he remounted, rallied the column, and struck terror into the enemy.

Napoleon acknowledged whilst at St. Helena, "that he considered himself in the greatest danger at Arcole; his horse was shot under him; when rendered furious by the wound, the animal seized the bit between his teeth, and galloped on towards the enemy. In the agonies of death he plunged into a morass, and expired, leaving his rider nearly up to his neck in the swamp, and in a situation from which, as he could not extricate himself, he thought the Austrians would have come and cut off his head, which appeared just above the surface. However, the approach of the French troops in all probability prevented them.

It has been seen, that this conflict lasted three days. In the course of the second, Louis Bonaparte was charged

with important orders from his brother the General-in-chief, to General Robert. There was no other road but a narrow causeway between a marsh and a canal, which opened into the river Adige. This causeway was briskly swept by the fire of the enemy; however, Louis traversed it on horseback. On arriving near the bridge, he found General Robert, with his face and eyes inflamed and his mind in the greatest agitation and alarm, in the midst of the French tiralleurs and those of the enemy, running from tree to tree, to prevent his drooping soldiers from wheeling about.

Louis being the only person on horseback, was marked out by the enemy, notwithstanding which he endeavoured to explain the orders of his brother to General Robert, which he could not be made to understand. This General was mortally wounded an hour afterwards; and Louis, again exposed to the same fire, returned to the General-in-chief, who was then employed near the influx of the Adige. The French grenadiers, who were in a position in the marsh, seeing an aide-de-camp traversing it a second time, exclaimed, "Let us get up also;" but scarcely had the two foremost succeeded in raising themselves about half-way up above the brink of the causeway, when they fell back dead. A drummer wished to make the attempt, but he fell at the feet of Louis, pierced by several balls. On regaining his brother, Napoleon expressed a feeling of surprise and joy: "I believed you dead," said he: "one of the grenadiers actually announced to me that you had been killed."

After these three hard-fought days of Arcole, Bonaparte surprised "the sleeping sentinel." Napoleon, who offered up his own repose as a sacrifice for the more imperious calls of promptitude and glory, proceeded, alone, to visit the outskirts of the camp, and in this survey arrived at the spot where lay extended the sleeping sentinel, who could hardly be deemed guilty of a breach of

duty, but the unwilling victim of extreme fatigue, that totally overpowered him. Bonaparte, unmindful of his dignity, and actuated only by noble motives, took up the soldier's musket, which laid beside him; when, placing it upon his own shoulder, he continued to mount guard for nearly an hour, in order to insure the safety of the camp. The grenadier at length awoke, and sought for his piece in vain, but by the light of the moon, perceived the General, who had thus paid respect to his repose.

"O! I am undone!" vociferated the soldier, recognising Napoleon, whose lineaments are graven upon the heart of every warrior.

"No, my friend," replied the General with extreme affability, at the same time surrendering up his musket, "the battle was obstinate and long enough contested, to excuse your having thus yielded to the impulse of fatigue; one moment of inattention, however, might endanger the safety of the camp: I was awake, and have only to advise, that you would be more upon your guard for the future!"

After this defeat the Austrians retired to Vicenza. In the meanwhile the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidovich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castello Nuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua; but Bonaparte taking advantage of his late victory, ordered General Massena to repass the Adige and attack Davidovich, who was forced to retire behind the Arisio on the 22d of November, while Alvinzi took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing about six thousand men killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon and four standards.

But while the French had been repelling the Austrians at Arcole, their rear-guard was very roughly handled. General Fiorella and eight hundred men were made prisoners. General Vaubois owed his safety to the tardy movements of the Austrians. At Campana, where his

rear-guard had suffered considerably, two Austrian regiments were afterwards nearly annihilated; eleven hundred were taken prisoners, with four pieces of cannon, and four hundred drowned in endeavouring to swim across the Adige. Augereau, on the other side of the river, dispersed all he met, and took three thousand prisoners. Bonaparte seeing that Davidovich had escaped him, returned to Verona. Afterwards giving orders for entering the Ecclesiastical territory with three thousand men, he went to Bologna in the middle of December, to direct this expedition, when he soon learned that the Austrians were beginning to resume the offensive: he also returned to the path of glory, and repaired to Verona, which he intended as the central point of his operations.

Among the officers who perished in the battle of Arcole, were Muiron, as before related, and Elliot, whose names have been consecrated by Bonaparte to immortality; the former fell on the 15th, the latter on the 16th, and both near the General-in-chief, whom they attended as aides-de-camp. The death of the former was attended with peculiar circumstances: as Bonaparte was advancing, the colonel seeing him exposed to imminent danger, threw himself before him, covered him with his body, and received the wound intended for Napoleon. "He fell," said he, "at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face." In relating this he remarked, that no soldiers ever showed more devotion than his, even when expiring: with the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed, "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

In the death of Muiron, France lost an officer of the greatest promise. In writing to the Directory, Bonaparte observed, "Citizen Muiron had served in the artillery from the earliest period of the revolution, and distinguished himself at Toulon, where he was wounded in entering the embrasure of an English redoubt. His father being a farmer-general, was arrested, but young Muiron

presenting himself to the National Convention covered with wounds, obtained the liberation of his parent. On the 13th Vendemaire he defended the Convention, conducted himself as a brave man, and was very useful on that day, in which liberty was preserved. Citizen Muiron has been my aide-de-camp ever since the commencement of the Italian campaign, and has on every occasion rendered essential services, and died gloriously on the field of battle at Arcole, leaving a young widow in the eighth month of her pregnancy. I demand therefore, that the name of Madame Berrault de Courville be erased from the list of emigrants, upon which it has been placed, though she never emigrated."—Bonaparte made the same demand for the brother-in-law of Muiron.

Bonaparte wrote the following letter to his widow:—"Muiron died by my side at the battle of Arcole. You have lost a husband who was dear to you; and I have lost a friend to whom I have been long attached; but the country has lost more than either of us. If I can serve you or his infant in any manner, I hope you will reckon entirely upon me."

Bonaparte never forgot Muiron; he named one of the vessels after him, that went to Egypt. At St. Helena he wished to take the name of Colonel Muiron—another proof of his esteem for his friend. The successor of Muiron as his aide-de-camp, was the honourable but unfortunate Lavalette.

Elliot, who shared the fate of Muiron, was the nephew of Clarke, to whom Bonaparte wrote as follows:—"Your nephew has been killed upon the field of battle at Arcole. This young man had familiarised himself with arms; he had often marched at the head of columns; he would have been an estimable officer. In combating the enemy his death was glorious. He did not suffer an instant. What reasonable man would not envy such a death? Who, amidst the vicissitudes of this life, would not think him-

self happy in this manner to leave a world so frequently contemptible? Who, amongst us, has not an hundred times regretted the want of an opportunity to withdraw from the powerful effects of calumny, envy, and all those hateful passions, which seem almost entirely to direct the conduct of men?"

From the sentiments that dictated this letter, it was easy to perceive the vexation that Bonaparte had felt from the outrages that had been heaped upon him at Paris. The party that he had astonished by his victories, never ceased to libel him as an ambitious character. With them his firmness was nothing but obstinacy; and his successes, which they were compelled to admit, they pretended were less owing to his genius than to the inability of the generals with whom he had to contend; though, previous to these campaigns, these commanders had been reckoned among the first captains in Europe. The Directory, however, in their answer to Captain Lemarrois, who presented the trophies taken at Arcole, bestowed the most honourable eulogiums upon Napoleon, while the Legislative corps assigned to him and Augereau, the standards that had been carried at the head of the columns upon the impregnable bridge of Arcole.

Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history; in the course of which all the resources of modern war were exhibited and displayed on a grand scale, and countries won and abandoned, not as heretofore, after a contest of a few hours, but in consequence of a succession of memorable battles.

CHAP. VII.

Affairs of Legnano—St. Michel—Battle of Rivoli—Anecdote—Massena, the spoiled Child of Victory—Joubert—Address of Louis Bonaparte—A Duel—Battle of La Favorite—General Provera made Prisoner—Surrender of Mantua—A German Spy—Anecdotes—Commotions at Rome—A Procession—Republic of San Marino—Fête and Obelisk in honour of Virgil—The Archduke Charles—Proclamation—Passage of the Piave and the Tagliamento—Anecdote—Arrival of Bernadotte—Battle of Tarvis in the Clouds—Entrance into Clagenfurth, Laubach, Freisach, Judenberg—Preliminaries of the Treaty of Leoben—Overthrow of the Government of Venice—Bonaparte's Return to Paris—Jealousy of the Directory—Anecdotes—Bonaparte at the Institute at Paris—Napoleon at the Opera—Increasing Popularity—Jealousy of the Directory—Journey incog.*—Differences between France and Switzerland—Rome seized, and the Republic re-established—Conduct of Bernadotte at Vienna—Unpopularity of the Directory—Anniversary of the Execution of Louis XVI.*

THE weakness of the army of Italy did not permit Bonaparte to draw all the advantages he promised himself from the victory of Arcole. Still in proportion as the distresses of Mantua increased, the efforts of the court of Vienna were exerted for its deliverance. New reinforcements arrived by post, consisting of volunteers from the best families in Vienna; battalions from the army of the Rhine, Croats, Hungarians, Tyrolians, &c. According to the plan agreed upon at Vienna, Alvinzi with the bulk of the army was to attack the French posts

between the Adige and the Lake de Garda, while General Provera, marching towards Legnano upon Mantua, with nine or ten thousand men, was, by that movement, to place General Serrurier between two fires.

On the 7th of January, 1797, Alvinzi left Bassano, and took his route through the gorges of Brenta to Roveredo, where he joined his right wing, and descended into the valley of the Adige. Provera approaching Legnano, on the 9th, fell in with Massena's advanced guard under General Duphot, afterwards assassinated at Rome. Having resisted a sufficient time for Massena's corps to prepare for an attack, General Duphot fell back upon Legnano. On the 11th, Bonaparte arrived at Verona to direct the movements of the whole army. An Austrian column marching towards that city, was met and defeated at St. Michel by Massena, who took three pieces of cannon and 600 prisoners. On the same day, and at the same hour, Joubert was attacked at Montebaldo, but seconded by General Mayer, he drove the Austrians out of a redoubt they had taken, and made several hundred prisoners. Bonaparte, informed of the movements of Alvinzi, bestowed his whole attention upon him, certain that if he could beat him, he should soon be able to give a good account of Provera.

On the 14th, before day-light, the battle of Rivoli commenced; partial at first, it soon became general. The left wing of the French, and the right of the Austrians, were closely engaged. The left of the French gave way: the enemy then attacked the centre. Berthier, at the head of his brigade, sustained the shock of the Austrians, who seemed assured of victory by their numbers. Two field pieces had been abandoned by their drivers, which were seized by the enemy, when an officer whose name was not remembered, advancing, cried out, "Fourteenth! will you let them take your artillery?" Berthier, who had purposely let the enemy approach,

now opened a terrible fire, which brought down men and horses round the guns. The Austrians fell back, and Massena coming up with the thirty-second, completed their rout. The battle had continued three hours, and the enemy had not brought up all his forces. At length, when their line was broken, almost a whole column was made prisoners, as were also 1500 men who had endeavoured to retire by the Lake of Garda. Alvinzi saved himself with difficulty. In two days the French had taken 13,000 men and nine pieces of cannon.

Massena highly distinguished himself; upon this occasion he obtained the name of "The spoiled Child of Victory," and afterwards the title of the Duke of Rivoli. Joubert, not equally successful, was equally brave. When it was necessary to recover the plain of Rivoli, his horse having been wounded, he alighted, seized a firelock, screwed on the bayonet, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers. Joubert, whatever post he filled, was always a grenadier. Bonaparte appreciated his merits, and loved to do him justice on all occasions. On his departure for Egypt, when he took leave of the Directory, he said to them, "I leave you Joubert."

It is said that Bonaparte passed the night preceding the battle of Rivoli in a state of uncertainty and indecision; at length, on receiving fresh reports, he exclaimed, "*It is clear—it is clear: to Rivoli!*" All his orders being given *viva voce* to save time, by aides-de-camp, and the troops assigned their different routes, Louis was dispatched to Peschiera, with orders to join Napoleon afterwards at Rivoli. Having executed this commission, Louis rejoined the army by break of day, and met some fugitives and baggage that had been plundered by the enemy, and about ten pieces of light artillery, retreating with the utmost speed. Inquiring into the cause of all this, they told him, the army had passed before day-break, but that the enemy had afterwards

formed behind it and turned it, and that the French were in fact, made prisoners.

Fortunately Louis was able to rally these fugitives, and their number was soon augmented by a squadron of the 15th dragoons, which happened to be behind. He then drew them up in line, ordered the artillery to be placed in a battery, and thus awed the enemy, who durst not advance further in the rear of the French army. He also discovered, by reconnoitring on his left, the divisions of Rey and Barraguey d'Hilliers: he joined them, and desired the former to attack, but without avail, and he only succeeded in obtaining a battalion by way of reinforcement. Returning to his small corps, he ordered the artillery to be fired, by way of giving information to the main body at Rivoli. He then posted his infantry as tirailleurs along a chain of hills on the right of the road, and ordered all those who were mounted to join the squadron of the 15th. After the commencement of firing they charged the enemy, and as Louis had foreseen, no sooner did the army which was surrounded hear the reports, than it attacked the enemy in all directions. Seeing troops on every side, the enemy, who thought himself surrounded, fled in disorder; and his lines, which had covered all the heights, being cut in many places, were deserted in an instant. The main body of the French cavalry charged from Rivoli, to break the line of that part of the enemy's force, at the instant when Louis was attempting the same measure in an opposite direction, so that they met face to face. Their detachments then joined their respective corps, and Louis returned to his brother, who expressed great satisfaction at his conduct. The victory was complete. At the close of the day, and during the night, columns of the enemy, which had been cut off or lost their way, were perpetually coming in.

General Provera, pursuing his route towards Mantua

without loss of time, could not prevent Augereau from coming up with his rear-guard at Anguari, where he lost 2000 men and sixteen pieces of cannon. In this affair a commander of the Austrian hussars insolently summoned Colonel Duvivier to surrender—"Come and take me," was the reply: the troops under both seemed to separate spontaneously, to give way to the combatants: two blows with the sabre brought the Austrian colonel to the ground, and his overthrow was soon followed by that of his regiment.

Provera having arrived at St. George's, flattered himself with entering Mantua this way, without any difficulty; for summoning General Miollis, who was charged with the defence of this position, he answered, "his business was to fight and not to surrender."

Not hearing any intelligence from Alvinzi, Wurmser and Provera imagined they had concerted a conjoint attack upon St. Antoine and La Favorite before Bonaparte could arrive; but he was there already, and had made his dispositions. In fact, he threw himself between the two Austrian divisions. Provera with his column, 7000 in number, were made prisoners; but Wurmser got into Mantua. For the same reason that the campaign of Castiglione was called the campaign of five days, that of Rivoli might be named that of four. Bonaparte, writing to the Directory, said, "In four days the army of the republic has been conquerors in two pitched battles and four combats. They have made 25,000 prisoners, among whom are a lieutenant-general, two generals, and from twelve to fifteen colonels. We have taken twenty standards, and killed and wounded at least 6000 of the enemy." The 75th at the battle of La Favorite refused cartridges; "With such enemies as we have before us," said they, "we must only use the bayonet." The battles of Rivoli and La Favorite had disabled Alvinzi from continuing the campaign; he endeavoured to assemble the wreck of

his army upon the Piave; but in this attempt they suffered considerably at Citadella, Bassano, and Carpendolo; nor was General Joubert less successful in the gorges of the Tyrol, against General Laudon at Roveredo, Calliano, Trent, and Segonzano.

In one of these rencontres the aide-de-camp, Lambert, followed by some carabiniers, made an hundred Hungarians, under a Major, lay down their arms. Massena remounting the Brenta, was successful in driving the Austrians before him; in the interim the army was waiting in the positions it had obtained, for the surrender of Mantua, or the arrival of reinforcements promised by the Directory: none arrived. Mantua, however, compelled by famine and disease, opened its gates on the 2nd of February, 1797. The garrison had devoured 5000 horses, and there was only two days of such provisions in the place. Wurmser and his suite excepted, the garrison were made prisoners of war. Ammunition and cannon to an immense amount were found in the place, and among the latter, those parks that Bonaparte had abandoned when he marched to Castiglione: thus realizing his prediction when he said to Berthier, pointing to this cannon and to that on the ramparts, "We shall soon retake all that are here, and take all that are there."

A curious instance of the effects of fear upon a spy, occurred a short time before the surrender of this place. A German was taken, endeavouring to obtain an entrance. Suspected of being a spy, he was searched by the soldiers, who found nothing upon him, but menaced him in French, which he did not understand. At length a Frenchman, who spoke a little German, was brought, who threatened him with instant death if he did not immediately tell all he knew. He accompanied these threats with violent gestures, drew out his sword, pointed it at the belly of the German, and said he would rip him up. The poor terrified stranger not perfectly understanding the broken

German spoken by the French soldier, thought when he saw him point his sword at his belly, that his secret was discovered, and cried out that there was no occasion to rip him up, for if they waited a few hours they would have it by the course of nature. Upon enquiry, it appeared that he was the bearer of dispatches to Wurmser, which he had concealed by swallowing, when he thought himself in danger of being taken. Some was for giving him a purgative without delay. Two officers were appointed to take charge of him, and in two hours the wished-for article was found, rolled up in wax, about the size of a hazel nut. When unrolled, this proved to be a letter from the Emperor Francis to General Wurmser, encouraging him to hold out a few days longer, as a large force was coming in a certain direction under Alvinzi, to relieve him.

After Wurmser had been disappointed in the arrival of Alvinzi to his relief, he sent proposals to Bonaparte to treat for the surrender of the place. He stated, that though the garrison had provisions for four months, he would capitulate upon honourable terms. Napoleon signified to him, that he was so well pleased with the noble manner in which he had defended the fortress, and entertained so high an opinion of him, that though it was known he had not provisions for three days longer, every thing he desired should be conceded. Wurmser was astonished at Bonaparte's information as to the real state of the garrison, and ever after entertained a great esteem for him. Previous to this event, Wurmser used to call him *the young man*.—"The Austrian general," Bonaparte observed, "was very old, brave as a lion, but so extremely deaf, that he could not hear the balls whistling around him!"—After the capitulation he wished Bonaparte to enter Mantua; but he was obliged to march against the Pope's troops, who had made a treaty with him and broken it. Some time after this Wurmser saved

the life of Bonaparte; as a messenger overtook him at Rimini with a letter from Wurmser, containing an account of a plan contrived by a priest to poison Napoleon at that place. "Wurmser, like Fox," he said, "acted a noble part."

On the day preceding the surrender of Mantua, Bonaparte had published another proclamation, reproaching the Pope with subterfuge and perfidy; declaring the armistice at an end, and recalling the French ambassador from Rome. Accordingly General Victor entered the town of Imola next day, and beheld the Pontifical army intrenched along the banks of the Sestra, defended by numerous redoubts and a train of artillery. But as the chief reliance of these troops was placed in the promises of the Pontiff, they were soon broken: they immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna; the whole march of Ancona also acknowledged the tri-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of Loretto, while what remained of the votive offerings of popes, kings, and emperors, became the prey of the soldiery.

In the mean time the most alarming commotions prevailed at Rome, and when the French General arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his Holiness was most seriously disposed to negotiate a treaty signed there on the 20th of February, 1797. By this he agreed to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin; to furnish the statues, pictures and treasure stipulated in a former convention, and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expences of the war.

When the French army were approaching Rome in this year, the Papal government prepared to resist them, not by a *levy en masse*, but by a procession of sacred relics, viz. *Il santo Volto*, a miraculous portrait of the Saviour, and a *Santa Maria*, a portrait of the Virgin, both supposed to have been painted by supernatural agency: to

these were added the *chains* which St. Peter wore in prison when the Angel delivered him. This procession was attended by nearly the whole population of Rome, of all ranks, ages and sexes, the greater part barefooted. The enemy, however, advanced, and no miraculous manifestation of power appeared to favour the credulous multitude.

While traversing the duchy of Urbino, the French General did not neglect to remove the uneasiness of the isolated Republic of St. Marino. He accordingly deputed to that place the Citizen Monge, to assure the government of St. Marino of peace and inviolable friendship. The political relations of the surrounding nations, he said, might experience changes; but if any portions of their territory should be disputed, or if any part of the neighbouring states, although not contested, should be absolutely necessary to them, he was charged by the General-in-chief to request them to make it known to him.

The answer of the Republic bore, that they would insert in the number of their epochs, the most glorious in the calendar of their liberty, the day of his mission to their Republic. France knew not only how to vanquish her enemies by force of arms, but also to astonish her friends by her generosity. Happy in being able to reckon themselves among the models which excited the noble emulation of Frenchmen, they could not view without the most lively interest, the French arms restoring in Italy the fair days of the Greek and Roman republics. "Return, therefore," said they, "to the hero who sent you. Bear to him the free homage not of that admiration which we participate in common with the universe, but of our gratitude. Tell him that the Republic of Marino, content with her mediocrity, is afraid to accept the generous offer he has made, of aggrandizing her territory, the consequence of which might endanger her liberty. But tell him also, that she will consider herself indebted to the

generosity of the French Republic, and its invincible General, if she is able, for the public good, to draw close her commercial relations with France, and conclude a treaty which may insure her existence. To this all her wishes are limited;" and she requested M. Monge to be the interpreter of them to the General-in-chief of the army of Italy.

On Bonaparte's return from Tolentino, he presented the Republic of St. Marino with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French Republic; exempted her citizens in the Romagna from all contributions, and directed a supply of corn to be delivered to the inhabitants gratuitously, though they were willing to have purchased it.

Bonaparte did not do himself less honour by the attention which he paid to the genius of Virgil. This great poet, it is well known, was born at Andes, near Mantua. Pietole rose out of the ruins of that village. The surrounding fields, which by the generosity of Augustus became the patrimony of the prince of poets, are still called the Virgilian fields. These, Bonaparte ordered should be exempt from all contributions, and their cultivators indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war. These honours were only the prelude to the brilliant *fête* celebrated some time after to the memory of Virgil, when the armistice of Leoben left the French at leisure to attend to the arts. An obelisk was erected to the memory of Virgil in the midst of a wood of oaks, myrtles and laurels, the inauguration of which was performed with all the pomp of a triumph.

The Archduke Charles had taken the command of the Austrian army, but was in no haste to open the campaign; weakened by its defeats, this army could not undertake any thing before the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The Archduke confined himself to the covering of the Tyrol and Carinthia, and distributed his troops upon the borders of the Lavisio, and the Piave, as

well as in the space between these rivers. The main body was intrenched behind the Tagliamento. The French occupied the opposite shores of the Piave and the Lavisio; the reinforcement promised by the Directory at length arrived, not of thirty thousand, but of eighteen thousand men. This was sufficient to determine Bonaparte to march to Vienna; the only pledge he had not yet made good.

With this view it was necessary to commence the campaign before the snows began to melt, and not to give the Austrian engineers time to fortify the debouches of the mountains; it was also important to beat the Archduke Charles before he had been joined by the divisions marching from the Rhine. Bonaparte began to advance on the 10th of March; in order to leave Italy he had a variety of obstacles to encounter, not less difficult than those that opposed his entrance. To prepare his soldiers for new efforts, he undertook to recapitulate their former successes, by addressing to them the following proclamation:

"Soldiers! the taking of Mantua has finished a campaign which has given you an everlasting claim upon the gratitude of your country. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and in seventy combats: you have taken more than an hundred thousand prisoners: you have taken from the enemy five hundred field-pieces; two thousand pieces of large calibre, and the equipage of four bridges. The contributions imposed upon the conquered countries have fed, clothed, and paid the army during the whole of the campaign. And moreover, you have sent thirty millions to the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with more than three hundred objects, *chefs d'œuvre* of ancient and modern Italy. You have conquered for the republic the finest countries in Europe. The Lombard and Cispadane Republics are indebted to you for their liberty; their colours float for

the first time upon the Adriatic. The Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, the Duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and have solicited our amity. You have driven the English from Leghorn, from Genoa, and from Corsica. But you have not yet achieved every thing—a grand destiny is still reserved for you: in you the country has placed its dearest hopes; continue to be worthy of them.

"Of the number of enemies that coalesced to stifle the republic in its birth, the Emperor of Germany alone remains: he has degraded himself from the dignity of a great power, by accepting pay from the merchants of London. He has neither politics, nor will separate from those perfidious islanders, who, strangers to the calamities of war, contemplate its ravages upon the continent with pleasure.

"The Executive Directory has spared no pains to give peace to Europe. The moderation of its propositions have borne no proportion with the strength of its armies. It has not consulted your courage, but listening to the voice of humanity, has endeavoured to effect your return to the bosoms of your families. Its voice has not been heard at Vienna. There is then no hope but in seeking peace in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria. You will there find a brave people weighed down by the war they have had with the Turks, and by the present war. The inhabitants of Vienna and the states of Austria, groan under the blindness and arbitrary conduct of the government. There is not an individual who is not convinced that the gold of England has corrupted the ministers of the emperor. You will respect their religion and their manners, and protect their property. You carry liberty to the brave Hungarian nation.

"The house of Austria, which in every war for three ages past, has lost a part of its power, and who, discontented with its subjects, has despoiled them of their pri-

vileges, will find itself reduced at the end of this war to accept the peace we shall grant it, and to descend in reality to the rank of a secondary power, in which it has already placed itself, by taking wages from, and putting itself at the disposal of England.

"BONAPARTE."

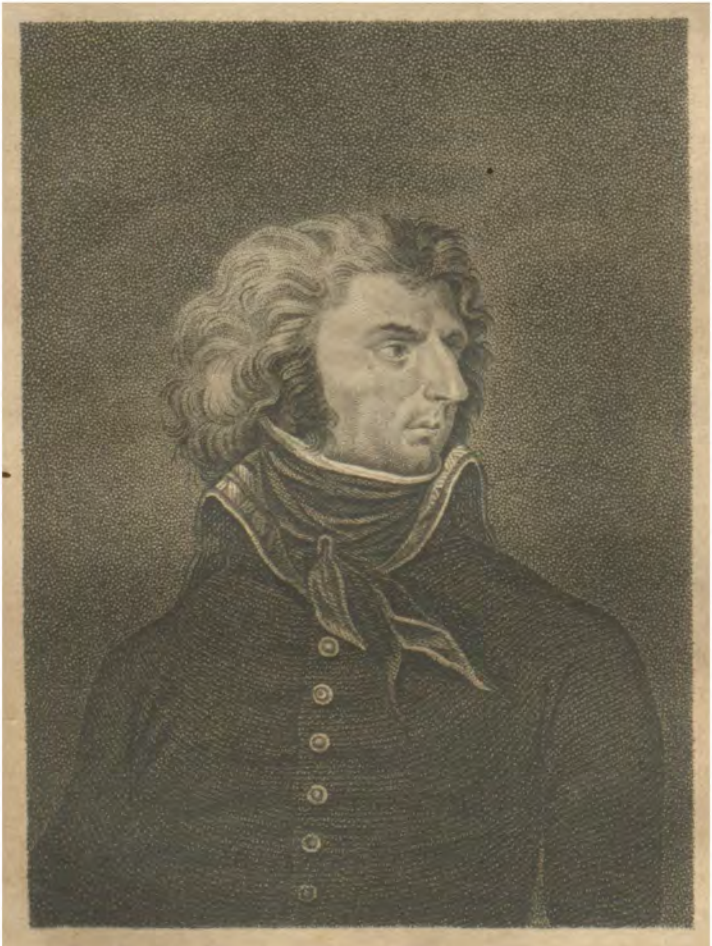
The army was soon in march towards the Piave, a deep and rapid river, which some of the divisions passed on the 13th of March, and drove the Austrians to Sacile, where they came up with their rear guard, from whom they made 100 prisoners. A soldier carried away by the current, had nearly been drowned, but was saved by a female suttler. Bonaparte presented this courageous woman with a golden necklace, to which a civic crown was suspended, with the name of the soldier that had been saved. At the approach of Massena, the enemy retired upon Bellune, and then to Cadore, but still pursued by this general, who made 700 prisoners, and among them the Prince de Lusignan, whose exchange being opposed by Bonaparte, on account of the opprobrious conduct of this prisoner towards the French sick at Brescia, he was sent to Paris.

The Piave being passed, the French army marched towards the Tagliamento. On the 16th of March all the divisions were collected at Valvasone. The Archduke's army was intrenched on the other side of the Tagliamento. In the passage of this river, Bonaparte himself was so nearly drowned by the submersion of his carriage, that for some moments he gave up all thoughts of life.

General Guieux was ordered to approach the left of the intrenchments, whilst Bernadotte executed the same movement on the right. Each of these divisions being supported by a demi-brigade of light infantry, and flanked by the cavalry, put themselves under the protection of

the artillery. General Duphot at the head of the light infantry, and sustained by the grenadiers, were soon formed on the other side. General Murat arrived at the same time on the right, supported by the grenadiers of Bernadotte's division. The whole line was then in motion, each demi-brigade in echelons, flanked and supported by the cavalry. In vain did the Austrian cavalry charge the French infantry: the moment they came up they were obliged to retire. The Archduke then endeavoured to overwhelm the French right with his cavalry, and the left with his infantry. Bonaparte ordered General Dugua and Kellerman to move forward with the cavalry of reserve. The enemy's squadrons were routed, and their commandant made prisoner. The French did not desist from the pursuit. The Austrians occupied the village of Gradisca; notwithstanding the darkness, General Guieux attacked them, and forced them to quit it in such disorder, that Prince Charles himself, who remained to direct the retreat, narrowly escaped being taken: he was obliged to mount the first horse he could get. Bonaparte owed this prompt success to the ability of his movements, and the superiority of his artillery. Among the prisoners taken were several superior officers. Adjutant-General Kellerman, the son of the conqueror of Valmi, distinguished himself at the head of the French cavalry, and received many wounds in executing the manœuvre that decided the success of the day: he was charged with carrying the trophies taken from the enemy to France.

When the French attacked Gradisca, Murat signalized himself by an extraordinary trait of bravery: he advanced alone to the gate of the town, at which he knocked with the handle of his sabre. The grenadiers, not less brave than him, to whom General Serrurier had allowed some time to get their dinner, refused to quit the ground



BERNADOTTE,

King of Sweden

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for this purpose, but established their cookery under the cannon of the place, and there took their repast. This anecdote M. Arnault had from an eye witness.

This affair was the first in which the division of Bernadotte had borne a part. He arrived upon the borders of the Tagliamento just at the moment of fighting. Throwing himself into the river, "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "think that you are the army of the Rhine, and that the army of Italy is looking on you." Bernadotte was then a citizen and a soldier, raised by his merit to the first rank in the army; he then served the cause of liberty against a coalition with as much courage as devotion. His principles, with respect to equality, were austere; but there was a politeness of manners connected with this severity, not usually found together. Struck with this contrast, Bonaparte said of Bernadotte, "He is a republican grafted upon a French knight."

On the 21st of March the French entered Goritz; and on the following day another column under Joubert penetrated through the Tyrol into Carinthia, and having beaten an Austrian column, advanced on Brixen. On the same day the French General Dugua entered Trieste, and took possession of the celebrated mines of Istria, whilst Massena, having passed the Tagliamento in force, continued his march among the mountains to the source of the Drave.

Massena, on his arrival at Tarvis, was attacked by an Austrian division from Clagenfurth, which had come to the assistance of the corps hemmed in by him on one side, and driven by General Guieux into the defiles. But after a conflict extremely obstinate, he routed them, with the loss of a great number of prisoners, among whom were three generals. The Emperor's cuirassiers, who had arrived from the Rhine, suffered severely. Meanwhile Guieux, after a warm engagement, carried Austrian La Chiuse, a post extremely well intrenched,

when an Austrian corps coming to its defence, fell into the middle of the division of Massena, who made the whole of them prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, five thousand men, and four generals, were taken by the French.

The chain of the Alps which separates France from Switzerland and Italy, also separates the Italian part of the Tyrol from the German part, the Venetian states from the dominions of the Emperor, and Carinthia from the counties of Goritz and Gradisca. Massena's division now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps, where the Imperialists had been so imprudent as to entangle all their baggage, and part of their army. The battle of Tarvis was fought above the clouds, on a height commanding an extensive view of Germany and Dalmatia.. A French column, dispatched to compel the submission of the Tyrol, completed their mission, and traversed as conquerors a country which Austria had always regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of her empire. After another severe engagement, an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis was surrounded, and 4000 made prisoners, the greater part of whom were Tyrolean chasseurs. Neumark, Clausen, Brixen, and Botzen, were successively taken; among other articles, thirty thousand quintals of flour were taken.

On the 28th of May, 1797, three divisions of the French army encamped at Villach, on the banks of the Drave. Next day General Massena fell in with the Imperial army about a league from Clagenfurth, when an engagement ensued, and the French entered the town in the evening, whilst Prince Charles and the wrecks of his army, extremely discouraged, were flying before them.

On the first of April Bernadotte's division reached Laubach, the capital of Carniola.

Since the opening of the campaign Prince Charles had lost nearly 20,000 men made prisoners, and the Austrians

could now make no stand except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna. A letter written by Bonaparte to the Archduke Charles, proposing peace, had been answered by that Prince's assuring him, that he was not invested on the part of the Emperor with any powers for treating. Two hours after the receipt of this letter, and while the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the Archduke requested a suspension of arms for four hours; a proposition entirely inadmissible, as it was obviously made to gain the whole day.

Bonaparte, during these transactions, transferred his head-quarters to Judenberg, and prepared for decisive measures; but on the 7th of April, the Count de Bellegard and Major-general Meerveldt wrote a letter to the General-in-chief, stating that his Imperial Majesty had nothing more at heart than to concur in re-establishing the repose of Europe. Bonaparte, in answer to this application, observed, that considering the military position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was in every point of view disadvantageous to the French. But if it tended to open the road to peace, so much desired, he would consent to their request. A convention was accordingly entered into, and a line marked out, which the French army were to retain. Serrurier's division occupied Gratz, a town containing 40,000 inhabitants. Not a single contribution was levied in Germany, and Bonaparte had the satisfaction to find that no complaints had been made against his troops. Preliminaries having been signed, the Executive Directory communicated their tenour to both the councils. They contained the cession of Belgium, the acknowledgment of the limits of France, as decreed by the laws of the Legislative Body, and the establishment and independence of a republic in Lombardy. The preliminary treaty, signed at the castle of Eckenwald in Styria, on the 18th of April, 1797, has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben,

and served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, signed on the 17th of October following. Thus the sword which had been first drawn in the month of May, 1792, and which for six successive years had desolated continental Europe, was partially, but by no means permanently, restored to the scabbard.

Two months had now been spent in negotiations. Many times it was thought the conferences had been broken up. Europe at last was wholly indebted to the ascendancy which the character of Bonaparte had given him, and that authority that he derived from his genius, for the conclusion of the peace so long desired. The negotiators at Udina assembled sometimes at the house of M. Pasteriano, the plenipotentiary of the empire, and sometimes at that of the French minister. At one of these conferences, when the Austrian minister had obstinately persisted in bringing forward difficulties which it was thought had been done away, Bonaparte observed, "That to refuse reasonable conditions, was to wish for war. Well! war! but be upon your guard; your people are discontented. When I arrived at Leoben they broke your minister's windows. Rapidly as I shall arrive at Vienna, I fear I shall not be there soon enough to prevent something worse than breaking windows."—Then snatching up his hat to go out, as he had broken the china, he added, "Before a fortnight has passed, there will be many more broken." And he actually went out of the house without perceiving that one of the Austrian negotiators had attended him to his carriage.

The signature of this treaty, which soon followed this curious scene, took place on the 17th of October at midnight.

The treaty of Campo Formio was confined to the regulation of the interests of Austria: for settling those of the empire, a congress was assembled at Rastadt. Bonaparte being sent there, before his departure, took leave of his soldiers in these words:

"Soldiers!—To-morrow I depart for Rastadt. Separated from the army, I shall only console myself with the hope of seeing you again very soon, and again contending with new dangers. Whatever post the government assigns to the army of Italy, you will always sustain the glory and liberty of France. Soldiers! when you talk of the princes you have conquered, the battles you have fought, and the nations that owe their liberty to you, you may add, 'In two more campaigns we shall exceed all this.'"

The stay of Bonaparte at Rastadt was very short; he was soon upon his route to Paris; his journey was a triumphant march. In every place he traversed the people paid him that admiration, and those honours, that flattery had hitherto reserved for crowned heads. To Napoleon's negotiations, M. de la Fayette, the Generals Latour, Maubourg, and Bureaux de Pusy, owed their liberation from five years' imprisonment in the dungeons of Austria.

In negotiating the treaty of Leoben, the French Republic was named before the Emperor. The Austrian plenipotentiaries had proposed to acknowledge it in a special article. "The Republic," said Bonaparte, "does not require to be acknowledged. It is in Europe what the sun is to the horizon."

The government of Venice having involved itself in a war with France during the campaign of 1797, was finally disposed of by the treaty of Campo Formio. It may be necessary to add the following narrative of the proximate cause of the change of this ancient aristocracy.

While the army under Bonaparte was engaged in the defiles of Styria, the aristocracy of Venice taking advantage of Passion week, armed 40,000 peasants, to which were added ten regiments of Sclavonians, with a view to cut off the communication between the French army and their resources. On the 13th of May all the republicans in Verona were assassinated; besides several officers in

Padua, and some hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers in different places.

When Bonaparte was informed of these proceedings, he issued the following proclamation:

"Throughout the *Terra Firma*, the subjects of the most Serene Republic are in arms; the rallying cry is *Death to the French!*

"The number of the soldiers of the army of Italy who have fallen victims already, amounts to several hundreds. In vain you affect to disavow the tumults and mobs which you yourselves instigated. Do you imagine that I, who have succeeded in carrying our arms into the heart of Germany, shall want strength to force you to respect the first nation in the world? Do you think the legions of Italy will endure the massacres you excite? The blood of my brethren in arms shall be avenged; and there is not a single French battalion which, when charged with that generous mission, will not feel conscious of three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you. The Senate of Venice has returned the generosity with which we always behaved towards it, with the blackest perfidy.

"I now send you my proposals, by one of my aides-de-camp commanding a brigade: *Peace or war!* If you do not instantly take all necessary measures for dispersing mobs, and suppressing tumults; if you do not instantly arrest and deliver into my hands the authors of the murders which are committed, war is declared.

"The Turk is not on your frontiers; no enemy menaces you, and yet you have, in pursuance of premeditated design, caused priests to be arrested, in order to produce a popular tumult, and to turn it against the army. I give you four and twenty hours to suppress it: the times of Charles the VIIIth are gone by.

"If, notwithstanding the indulgence which the French government has shewn towards you, you reduce me to the

necessity of making war, do not imagine that the French soldier, like the robbers you have armed, will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of the Terra Firma. No; I will protect them, and they shall bless the very crimes that have obliged the French army to wrest them from your tyrannical sway.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

He soon after dispatched General Augereau to Venice at the head of 25,000 men, who marched into that city, seized on the arsenal and forts, and demanded at the same time the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the Senate, accused of having instigated the assassination of the French. A democratic municipality was installed in a few days: and the members of the old government finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country.

The symbols of oligarchy were soon removed by the French, to give place to those of liberty. However, they did not immediately dethrone the Lion of St. Mark: but instead of this inscription upon the book that he holds in his claws, *Pax tibi Marco Evangelista Meus,* viz. Peace be with thee, Mark, my Evangelist; they substituted, *Droits de la homme et du Citoyen;* upon which one of the gondoliers merrily observed, "That the lion had at last turned over a new leaf."

Bonaparte having thus "conquered a continental peace," returned to Paris on the 20th of November, 1797, where he was hailed with the most rapturous applause by the people. But many of the Italians, and not a few of the French, were disgusted with the fate of this city, which by virtue of the treaty of Campo Formio, before mentioned, had been ceded to the Emperor of Germany.

In the dispatch that contained the detail of Bonaparte's last operations, and an explanation of his conduct, as a recompense for his successes, he wished to be

recalled. This request was not granted. The Directory, who apprehended an approaching crisis, could not entertain the idea of the return of so popular a General; and besides, they felt the necessity of his presence in Italy, and the influence it would have upon the definitive negotiations then on the point of being opened; and besides, in negotiating with Austria, he was charged to take vengeance upon the Venetian government for their duplicity towards the French Republic.

Napoleon, according to Las Cases, declared that he returned from the campaign of Italy in 1797, with no more than 300,000 francs in his possession, though he might easily have brought ten or twelve millions. He expected, after his arrival in France, to have received some great national reward. Chambord was to have been given him, but the Directory set that idea aside. He had notwithstanding, transported to France fifty millions of francs for the service of the state.

In some occasional details of the number of the Austrian armies employed in the campaigns of Italy, there may be some mis-statements, even in the official accounts. "The inequality of strength between the French and Austrian armies was always so great, that the French General-in-chief, in his reports, frequently thought it necessary to diminish the number of the enemy, lest he should discourage his own army."

The Directory, however, influenced probably by jealousy, would not consent even to give him a magnificent hotel in Paris. They said, the services of Bonaparte were such as could not be rewarded by *money*. Every description of people endeavoured to see him, and their enthusiasm was at its highest pitch. He, however, rarely associated with any others besides Kleber, Dessaix, Caffarelli, and some *savans*. The Directory gave him a splendid *fête*, and Talleyrand, then minister of foreign affairs, another. He remained but a short time at either.

Just before Napoleon left the army of Italy, Madame Bonaparte furnished a small house in the rue Chantereine, which the Directory ordered to be called the rue de la Victoire. Here, it is said, he was much surprised and mortified, to find that the drawing-room furniture, which appeared to be nothing uncommon, was charged at the enormous rate of between 120 and 130 francs. But when he came to see the upholsterer's directions, and found that every article was to be of the very best kind, made after new designs invented expressly for the house, he felt himself bound to pay the bill. The disposition for enquiring into the price of articles, was indulged by Bonaparte even at the period of his greatest prosperity. On one occasion, when he returned to the Tuilleries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, he walked up to a window overhung with a rich curtain, and asking some of the attendants for a pair of scissars, he cut off a superb gold acorn which was suspended from the drapery, and coolly putting it into his pocket, he continued his inspection of the furniture, to the astonishment of all present, who were not a little puzzled to find out his motives. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket, and gave it to the person who superintended the furnishing of the palace. "Here," said he, "heaven forbid that I should think you rob me; but some one has doubtless robbed you—you have paid for this at the rate of one-third above its value. They have dealt with you as though you had been the steward of a great nobleman. You would have made a better bargain if you had not been known." Napoleon, it seems, had walked out one morning in disguise, and visited some of the shops in the rue Saint Denis, where he asked the price of ornaments similar to that which he had cut from the curtain. Every one, in process of time, knew his habits in this respect; and

these, he said, were his grand domestic plans for ensuring domestic economy.

Soon after Bonaparte's return from the army of Italy, he took his place in the Institute at Paris, and considered himself as the tenth member in his class, which consisted of about fifty. Legrange, Laplace, and Monge, were at the head of this class. A circumstance which attracted considerable notice at the time, was to see the young General of the army of Italy publicly discussing profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues in the Institute. He was then called the geometrician of battles, and the mechanician of victory.

People flocked to the sittings of the Institute to see the General, who never failed to be present. When he went to the theatre he was always in a private box. Marshal Saxe, Lowendal, and Dumoutier, had in their time, been exhibited at the opera in triumph, on their return from the army; but Bonaparte would not listen to any proposition of this kind from the managers,

The troops returning to France made him the subject of their songs, in which they raised him to the skies. These verses expressed a wish that the lawyers should be turned out, and the General made king. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that jealousy should exist on the part of the Directory. However, they always paid him the greatest attention: when they wished to consult him, they constantly sent one of the ministers to bring him: he was admitted immediately, took his seat between two of the Directors, and gave his opinion upon matters as they arose.

With all their affected candour, they could ill dissemble their jealousy of his growing popularity. He perceived all the difficulty and delicacy of his situation. The Directory had at first the intention of sending him to Rastadt, to relieve them from the responsibility of the

Congress then sitting there; but the General refused this mission, urging that it was not fit that the same hand should direct the pen and the sword. Afterwards the Directory appointed him commander of the army of England, which served to conceal from the eyes of the enemy the plan and preparations for the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing this army of England, covered Normandy, Picardy and Belgium. Bonaparte travelled through, and inspected the whole of them *incognito*. He every where found himself the object of every conversation, and of general expectation. At Antwerp, he first conceived the great maritime ideas which he afterwards put in execution there, and formed that of the new canal at St. Quentin. At this time France had continual cause of complaint against the canton of Berne and the Swiss aristocracy. All the foreign agents who had excited troubles in France, constantly had their *lever* at Berne; this was their *fulcrum*. The General of Italy highly approved of the resentment of the Directory; he thought the moment was come for securing to France the political influence of Switzerland, but he did not think it necessary on that account to subvert the country. He proposed that the French ambassador should present a note, supported by two bodies of troops in Savoy and Franche Compté, and demand that the Pays de Vaud, Argau, and the Italian Bailiwicks, should become free and independent cantons, equal to the others; he was also to declare that France and Italy had much reason to complain of the aristocracy of certain families of Berne, Soleure and Fribourg; but that they would forget all, if the peasants of these cantons were reinstated in their political rights. All these changes would have been effected without employing arms, had not Rewbel caused the adoption of a different system. It was then necessary to send French troops into Switzerland. Blood was shed, and Europe

was alarmed at the increasing power and influence of France.

About this time, the miserable court of Rome, provoked rather than corrected by the treaty of Tolentino, quarrelled with the Cisalpine republic, and placed the Austrian General Provera at the head of their troops. A tumult also took place at Rome. Duphot, a French general, who happened to be there as a traveller, was murdered at the door of Joseph Bonapate, the French ambassador, who thought it prudent to retire to Florence.

Napoleon being consulted, said it was necessary to chastise Rome, but not destroy it; that an example should be made of the guilty; and that an extraordinary embassy should be sent from Rome to Paris, to make apologies.

Napoleon not being listened to, an army was sent to seize Rome, and establish the Roman republic. The executive power was vested in three consuls; a senate and a tribunate composed the legislative. Fourteen cardinals attended at the church of St. Peter, and even sang a *Te Deum* in commemoration of this event, which was nothing less than the abolition of the temporal authority of the Pope. The people, however, were irritated; they gave themselves up to the most licentious spoliations; they destroyed the furniture of the Vatican, seized the pictures and precious objects, in which they were joined by the French soldiery. The latter were said to have been incited by Austrian, Neapolitan and English agents.

Bernadotte, some time before this, having been very imprudently sent ambassador to Vienna, one day most unaccountably caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted on his house in that city: but this of course was torn down, and himself insulted by the populace. The Directory wished for immediate war with Austria on this account, and offered to give Bonaparte the command of the army of Germany; but in this he did not by any

REVOLT AT CAIRO.

means concur with them. Satisfaction was asked, and granted by Austria: the conferences at Selze took place, but these retarded the Egyptian expedition for a fortnight; in fact, Bonaparte wished it to be delayed till the affairs of Europe should wear a more tranquil appearance; but this suggestion on his part only rendered the Directory so much the more eager to send it away. At this time, so unpopular were the Directory, that Bonaparte had been solicited by a party composed of deputies possessing influence in the two councils, patriots of Fructidor, who sought a protector general, the most powerful and most enlightened, to stir and put himself at the head of the republic; but he refused, because he felt he was not strong enough to go alone. He was fearful of compromising his character. He resolved to set out for Egypt, with a determination to return, if circumstances occurred to render his presence necessary or useful.

The 21st of January, 1798, was the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. Bonaparte was solicited to appear at this ceremony. On one side it was feared that if he did not go, the holiday might become unpopular; and on the other, that if he did go, the Directory would be forgotten and neglected: the latter actually occurred—Bonaparte went to the church of St. Sulpice, merely as a member of the Institute, but was discovered, after which all eyes were fixed exclusively on him. When the festival was over, the Directory was allowed to go out quite alone; the multitude remained, and made the sky resound with "Long live the General of the army of Italy!" Bonaparte was not friendly to this festival; he thought it one of the most impolitic description; that the event it commemorated was a catastrophe, an absolute national calamity; that the French people might have regained their rights, and even founded a republic, without staining themselves with the execution

of a "prince declared inviolable, and exempt from responsibility by the constitution itself." National festivals, he said, are celebrated for victories gained: but victims left on the field of battle are lamented.

On the eve of Napoleon's departure for Egypt, he became possessed of Malmaison, and there he deposited nearly all his property: he purchased it in the name of his wife, who was older than himself, and consequently, in case of his surviving her, he must have forfeited all claim to it. The fact is, as he himself has said, that he never had a taste nor desire for riches.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition to Egypt—Proclamation to the Army of England—Embarkation at Toulon—Malta—Alexandria—The Arabs—Battles of the Pyramids, Embabe—Proclamation at Cairo—Battle of Aboukir—Admiral Brueys—Ibrahim Bey—Visit to the Pyramids—Sublime Quackery—Excursion to Suez and the Red Sea—Siege of St. Jean D'Acre—Sir Sidney Smith—The Angel El-Mahdy—Caffarelli—Shooting the Turks—Plague at Jaffa—Destruction of the French Fleet by Lord Nelson—Defeat of the Turks at Aboukir—General Kleber—Jokes, Sarcasms, and Privations of the French Army—Bonaparte's Departure from Egypt, and Arrival in France—Proposed Expeditions into Africa—Plans for making Canals in Egypt.

THE Directory now carried into effect the most fatal of all their projects, that of sending a powerful army to the East, to seize upon Egypt, and thence to attack the British empire in India. The treaty with Austria had no sooner been signed at Campo Formio, than the Directory

excited the expectation of France, and all Europe, by proclaiming their determination to invade Great Britain. Troops were sent into the western departments, to which the name of *the Army of England* was given, and Bonaparte was appointed their commander-in-chief.

The projected invasion of Egypt was conducted with much secresy, while the world was amused with tales of *monstrous rafts* constructed to convey the *Army of England* over to Britain.

Napoleon arrived at Toulon on the 10th of May, 1798. Previous to his sailing, he addressed this proclamation to his army:

"Soldiers! You are one of the wings of the army of England: you have fought on the mountains, on the plains, and amidst sieges: you must now fight on the sea. The Roman legions whom you have often imitated, *but not yet equalled,* fought against Carthage, on this same sea as well as on the plains of Lama. Victory sat always on their helm, because they were always brave, patient under fatigue, well disciplined, and united among themselves.

"Soldiers! All Europe has her eyes upon you. Great is the destiny you have to fulfil: you must face severest combats, perils, and fatigue, and you must do more for your country than you have ever yet performed: the happiness of the whole human race is now in your hands.

"Soldiers, sailors, cavalry and infantry, bombardiers! Remember, that on the day of battle you all stand in need of each other's assistance. Soldiers! Sailors! you have hitherto been neglected, but now the Republic looks up to you. The genius of that Republic watches over you, which from its birth was decreed to be the arbiter of all Europe, and will also become that of the sea and of the most distant climes."

When all was in readiness, Bonaparte on the 20th of May embarked with 40,000 veterans, mostly from the

army of Italy, without reckoning artists, savans, and others. When in sight of the island of Gazzo, they were joined by a convoy from Civita Vecchia. The first operation was the taking of Malta, which was surrendered to them on the 12th of June.

In the evening of the 30th, the fleet arrived within a few leagues of Alexandria: Bonaparte issued another proclamation, dated from the ship l'Orient, wherein he recommended the strictest discipline, a respect for personal property, and for the religion of the country they were about to land in. The following is an extract from this proclamation:

"The people whom we are going amongst, are Mahometans; the first article of their faith runs thus:—*There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.* Do not contradict them; act with them as we have done with the Jews, and with the Italians; pay respect to their Muftis and their Imans, the same as you have to Rabbies and Bishops; shew the same tolerance for their Mosques, and all the ceremonies prescribed by their Alcoran, as you have already shewn for convents and synagogues, for the religion of Moses, and for that of Jesus Christ."

At length, the French disembarked from the roads of the town, which they attacked, and which capitulated, after a dreadful carnage; the inhabitants, however, were respected by their conquerors, their commander concluded a treaty with the Arabs, and so far from opposing their religious customs, he spoke of Mahomet as an extraordinary personage, who was worthy of the homage of all nations. In his first proclamation to the Alexandrians there is found this remarkable passage:

"Cadies, Cheicks, Imans, Tchorbajas, tell your people that we are the true Mussulmans. Was it not we that overthrew the power of the Pope?"

The Arabs, who in the morning had attacked the ad-

vanced guard, sent a deputation to the General-in-chief, with some French soldiers who had fallen into his hands. They declared, that as the French only came to fight the Mamelukes, they could not be their enemies. Bonaparte broke bread with them, as a symbol of the faith of treaties, and made them various presents. They warmly expressed their gratitude; they swore to be faithful to the alliance! and returned, plundering all the French they encountered!

From Alexandria the army took the road to Cairo, and defeated the Arabs and Mamelukes, who had gathered together to dispute with them the passage to Rhamania and Chabrane. The Mameluke cavalry sought in vain to cut down the French troops; they remained in an impenetrable line; twenty times they were about to charge, but were restrained by fear; at length they thought proper to make good their retreat.

In the morning of the 10th July, the army came in sight of the Pyramids, and at night they were within six leagues of Cairo. They found twenty-three Beys intrenched with all their force at Embabe; Bonaparte caused them to be attacked in their intrenchments, by General Dessaix and Rampon; and notwithstanding their fine appearance and some *sorties*, victory declared in favour of the French. Almost all the Mamelukes were slain; two thousand cavalry, and the greater number of the Beys, fell on this day: their leader, Murad Bey, was wounded in the cheek. More than fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred loaded camels, became the spoil of the conquerors.

This brilliant victory was followed by the surrender of Cairo, on the 22d of July; but before Bonaparte entered that city, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants:

"People of Cairo, I am satisfied with your behaviour; you did well not to oppose yourselves against me: I am come to destroy the race of the Mamelukes, and to pro-

tect the commerce of the natives. Be easy, you have nought to fear; let each individual return peaceably to his home, continue to exercise your usual ceremonies of religious worship, for *it is my will* they should be continued. Fear not for your wives, your houses, nor your properties; dread not the disturbance of that religion which I sincerely venerate."

On the 1st of August, 1798, the battle of Aboukir, so fatal to the French navy, took place: Bonaparte wrote to the Directory, on that eventful day, as follows:

" It appeared to me that Admiral Brueys would not go to Corfu till he was certain it was impossible for him to enter the port of Alexandria, and that the army, from which he had received no intelligence for a considerable time, should be in a position which would prevent their retreating. If, in this fatal instance, he has been in fault, he has expiated his error by a glorious death. In this circumstance destiny has been incontrolable, as in many others, and it proves to us, that if it gives us the subjugation of the Continent, it gives the empire of the seas to our rivals. But however severe this reverse of fortune, it can be attributed only to her accustomed fickleness: she has not yet abandoned us, so far from it, she has favoured us, during this operation, more than she ever did before.

" When I arrived before Alexandria, I learnt that the English had passed by with a powerful force a few days before. In spite of a terrible storm, at the risk of being shipwrecked, I disembarked. I recollected that while preparations were making for their landing, the signal for battle was waving at a distance. It was justice to myself. " O Fortune!" I exclaimed, " wilt thou abandon me? only five days, and ——." I marched all night, I attacked Alexandria at early dawn, with three thousand men, worn out with fatigue, without cannon, without cartridges, and in five days I conquered Rosetta and Deman-

hour, so that I had already established myself in Egypt. In five days I knew the squadron would be safe from the attacks of the English, however formidable their numbers: so far, however, from that, it remained exposed to them all the rest of the month. It got a supply of rice for two months from Rosetta. The English were in sight, with a superior number of sail, for ten days, in this part of the sea: they gained the intelligence of our having taken possession of Egypt, and of our entry into Cairo. When Fortune saw that all her favours were useless, she abandoned our fleet to Fate."

Ibrahim Bey fled towards Syria, where Bonaparte resolved to pursue him with vigour, knowing that he had concluded a treaty of peace between England and Turkey, and that he might expect to be attacked by these two powers, as well by land as by sea. All the ports of Egypt were blockaded, and he had received no intelligence from France since the affair at Aboukir. He therefore disposed his force, but he wished first to view the Pyramids.

Being accompanied by many officers of his staff and others, he visited the grand pyramid of Cheops, attended by many Muftis and Imans. It was on this occasion that, beholding the aspect of these imperishable masses, he cried out from the top of these pyramids, "Forty ages behold us!"

The following conversation passed in the presence of his suite, with the Mufti and Imans, Solyman, Ibrahim, and Mohamed. This Napoleon afterwards owned was "*quackery*," but of a sublime order.

Bonaparte.—God is great, and his works are marvellous. Behold a great work of men's hands. What was the intention of him who built this great pyramid?

Solyman.—He was a powerful king of Egypt, whose name we believe was Cheops. He wished to hinder sacrilegious persons from violating the repose of his ashes.

Bonaparte.—The great Cyrus was buried in the open air, that his body might return to its elements: do you not think he acted wisest. Do you think so?

Solyman (bowing).—Glory to God, to whom all power is due!

Bonaparte.—Honour to Allah! Who is the calif who caused this pyramid to be opened, and troubled the ashes of the dead?

Mohamed.—It is believed that it was Mahomet, the commander of believers, who reigned many ages ago at Bagdat. Others imagine it was the renowned Aaron Raschild, (God pardon him!) who thought of finding hidden treasures. But when they had by his orders entered this apartment, tradition relates, they found nought but mummies, and this inscription on the wall: "The wicked shall commit iniquity without fruit, but not without remorse."

Bonaparte.—Bread obtained by the wicked by stealth, shall fill his mouth with gravel.

Mohamed (bowing).—It is the essence of wisdom.

Bonaparte.—Glory to Allah! there is no other God but God. Mahomet is his prophet, and I am one of his friends.

Solyman.—The blessings of peace and health to him, sent from God; and also to you, invincible General, favourite of Mahomet.

Bonaparte.—Mufti, I thank you: the divine Koran is the delight of my mind, and the attention of my eyes. I love the prophet, and I intend before long to go to see and honour his tomb in the sacred city; but my mission is previously to exterminate the Mamelukes.

Ibrahim.—May the angels of victory sweep away the dust in your way, and cover you with their wings. The Mameluke has deserved death.

Bonaparte.—He has been struck and delivered up to the black angels, *Moukir* and *Quakir*. God, on whom

all depend, has commanded his dominion to be destroyed.

Solyman.—He extended the hand of rapine over the lands, the harvests, and horses of Egypt.

Bonaparte.—And also over the most beautiful slaves, very holy Mufti. Allah has dried up and withered his hand. If Egypt is his farm, let him shew the deed that God has granted it to him; but God is just and merciful to his people.

Ibrahim.—O thou bravest man amongst the children of Issa, (J. C.), Allah will command the exterminating angel to follow you, to deliver the land of Egypt.

Bonaparte.—This land was delivered up to twenty-four oppressors, all rebels to the Grand Seignior, our ally (may God encompass him with glory!) and to ten thousand slaves assembled from Circassia and Georgia. Adriel, the angel of death, has breathed on them; we are come, and they have disappeared.

Mohamed.—Noble successor of Scander (Alexander) honour be to your invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder, which issues from the midst of your warriors on horseback *(the flying artillery)*.

Bonaparte.—Believest thou this thunder is the work of the children of men? Dost thou believe it? Allah has placed it in my hands by the genius of war.

Ibrahim.—We acknowledge in your works, Allah who sends you. Would you be a conqueror if Allah had not permitted it? The Delta and all the neighbouring countries resound with thy miracles.

Bonaparte.—A heavenly car *(the balloon)* shall ascend by my orders into the regions of the clouds, and lightning shall descend on the earth along a metal wire *(the electrical conductor)* as soon as I shall command it.

Solyman.—And the great serpent that issued out from the foot of Pompey's pillar on the day of your triumphal entry into Scandarich (Alexandria,) and which remained

dried up at the base of the pillar; was not that another wonder performed by your hand?

Bonaparte.—Lights of the age! you are destined to see still greater wonders, for the days of regeneration are arrived.

Ibrahim.—The divine Unity regards you with an eye of love, adorer of Issa; and makes you to be the support and prop of the children of the prophet.

Bonaparte.—Has not Mahomet said, "Every man who adores God and performs good actions (whatever his religion may be) shall be saved?"

Solyman, Mohamed, Ibrahim, (bowing).—He has said it.

Bonaparte.—And if I have (by order from on high) humbled the pride of the Vicar of Issa *(the Pope)* by diminishing his terrestrial possessions, to heap on him heavenly ones; tell me, was it not to render glory to God, whose mercy is infinite?

Mohamed (with a timid air).—The Mufti of Rome was rich and powerful, but we are very poor muftis.

Bonaparte.—I know it, fear not; you have been weighed in the balance of Belshazzar, and you have been found light. Does not this pyramid then contain any treasure known to you?

Solyman, (his hands on his breast).—None, Lord; we swear it, by the holy city of Mecca.

Bonaparte.—Misfortune, and thrice misfortune, wait on those who seek after perishable riches, and who covet gold and silver like clay.

Solyman.—Thou hast spared the Vicar of Issa, and treated him with clemency and kindness.

Bonaparte.—He was an old man I honoured, (may God fulfil his wishes, when they are regulated by justice and truth!) but he was wrong in condemning to eternal flames all Musselmen, and God forbids all intolerance.

Ibrahim.—Glory to Allah and his prophet, who has sent

thee in the midst of us, to rekindle the faith of the weak, and open again to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven.

Bonaparte.—You have said well, too zealous Muftis! Be faithful to Allah, the sovereign master of the seven wonderful heavens; to Mahomet his visir, who traverses through all these heavens in a night. Be the friends of France, and Allah, Mahomet, and the French will reward you.

Ibrahim.—May the prophet himself cause you to sit on his left hand, in the day of resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet.

Bonaparte.—Let him who hath ears to understand, hear! The hour of political resurrection is come, for all the people who groaned under oppression. Muftis, Imans, Mullaks, Dervises, Calenders, instruct the people of Egypt; encourage them to join themselves to us, to annihilate the Beys and Mamelukes. Favour the commerce of France in your countries, and their enterprises to arrive from hence, in the ancient country of Brama. Offer them a staple in your ports, and drive far from you the islanders of Albion, cursed amongst the children of Issa, such is the will of Mahomet. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the French, shall be your portion, until you ascend to the seventh heaven, and that seated by the sides of *Houris*, with black eyes, always young, and always virgins, you repose under the shade of the *Laba*, whose branches will spontaneously offer to true Musselmen, every thing they can possibly wish for.

Solyman (bowing).—You have spoken as the wisest of the Mullaks: we place confidence and faith in thee and thy words; we will serve thy cause, and God hears us.

Bonaparte.—God is great, and his works are marvellous; his peace be on you, most holy muftis.

As soon as convenient after this interview, Bonaparte

organized the government of Cairo, established there an institute, a library, and a laboratory for chemistry. Order and quiet reigned for a time throughout the city, when all on a sudden a terrible and unforeseen insurrection burst forth; General Dupuy was killed, the house of Caffarelli pillaged, his guards and his agents all strangled, and every Frenchman who came in the way of the rebels experienced the same fate. The Arabs presented themselves at the gate of the city, the *generale* was beat, the French were immediately in arms, and formed themselves in moving columns: they attacked the insurgents, made amongst them a horrible slaughter, and gained a complete victory. Bonaparte then put a stop to the sanguinary conflict, and addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Cairo:

"Those men, whom ye have suffered yourselves to be deluded by; those victims to their obstinacy, are no more. God commands us to be merciful, and I have been merciful towards you.

"I have only been wroth with you, because you rebelled against me. I deprived you of your Divan, I this day restore it to you. Scherifs, Imans, expounders of the law of Mahomet, let the people know that those who nourish enmity in their hearts against me, *shall have no peace in this world, nor in that to come.* Is there any man blind enough not to see that *all I undertake is predestinated?* Is there any one who is such an infidel, as to conceive a doubt against that belief which teaches us that predestination governs this vast universe, and that all is subject to the empire of Fate? Let the people know, that ever since the beginning of the world, it was written, that after having destroyed the enemies of Ismalism, and broken in pieces the cross, I should arrive from the uttermost part of the west to fulfil my appointed task? Open the Koran, and prove to the multitude, by more than twenty passages in that sacred book, that what has

now happened, and what is yet to come to pass, by me, is there foretold.

"Let those who are only prevented from execrating us by the terror of our arms, change their sentiments; for in calling down the anger of Heaven upon us, they are only pronouncing their own destruction. Let the true believers lift up their prayers, unceasingly, for the success of our arms. I can penetrate into the secret recesses of your hearts. *Nothing is hid from me; I am acquainted with those thoughts to which utterance never was yet given.* A day will come, when *all the world will clearly see that I have been acting by the commands of Heaven, and that all human efforts can avail nothing against me.* Blessed are the faithful who will be the first to follow me!"

This proclamation produced such an effect, that an hymn to the praise of the French General was sung in the principal mosque of Cairo. One of the strophes contains the following sentences:

"The warriors of the West are worshippers of the mighty Allah. They honour the laws of his prophet, they love and cherish the human race, and succour the oppressed. Therefore is the favoured son of victory the chosen of the mighty Allah! Therefore are the warriors of the West protected by the invincible shield of the mighty Allah!"

On the 26th of December, 1798, Bonaparte arrived at Suez; the following day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works and fortifications as he deemed necessary for their defence. On the 28th of December he passed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, which is practicable at low water, and proceeded to the fountains of Moses, about three leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia; these fountains are formed by five springs, which rise from the tops of low sand-hills; the water is sweet, but a little brackish; near them were the remains of a small modern aqueduct, which conveyed the water

to cisterns near the sea-shore. Bonaparte returned the same evening to Suez, but it being high water, he was obliged to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea. This route was the more tedious, from the guide having lost his way in the marshes, where they were sometimes up to the middle in water. Thus, like a second Pharoah, he narrowly escaped drowning. "This," said he, "would have furnished all the preachers of christianity with a splendid text against me." On reaching the Arabian coast he received a deputation of the Cenobite monks of Mount Sinai, who came to implore his protection, and to request him to inscribe his name on the ancient register of their charters, with which he complied.

The magazines at Suez clearly indicated that it had once been the *entrepot* of a considerable commerce, under the Venetians; at present none but barks can enter the port; but at the extremity of a sand-bank which projects a league into the sea, frigates may anchor: this bank is dry at low water, and would admit of the erection of a battery to protect the anchorage and defend the road. Bonaparte might have restored Suez to its ancient splendour, had circumstances permitted. Having quitted Suez on the 30th December, 1798, he proceeded in a northerly direction, and discovered at the distance of two leagues and a half, some vestiges of the entrance of the canal of Suez. He rested at the fort of Adjeroud on the following day, at the distance of ten leagues in the desert, and on the 1st of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; on the 3d he advanced to the Oasis of Mount Horeb, where he discovered further remains of the canal of Suez; this was near its entrance into the irrigated and fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced the course of the canal for the space of several leagues, and ascertained that some extraordinary change has altered the level of the Mediterranean, since that is twenty-four feet lower than the Red Sea.

On his return from this excursion to Suez, Bonaparte

learned that Dgezzar, Pacha of Syria, had taken possession of the fort of El Arish, which defended the frontiers of Egypt, about ten leagues within the desert. Certain of being attacked by Dgezzar and the Porte, Bonaparte immediately quitted Suez to collect the main body of his army for the Syrian expedition.

About the 17th of March, 1799, Napoleon, after having defeated the Mamelukes, and taken possession of Alexandria and Cairo, led a detachment of 12,000 men into Palestine, with the intention, it has been said, of taking possession of Jerusalem, and restoring the Jews. Acre is a small town on the sea-coast, thirty-seven miles north of Jerusalem. To this town, which was wretchedly fortified, and garrisoned only by a few Turks, he laid siege in form, and the governor would have surrendered at discretion, had he not been assisted by Sir Sidney Smith, and several ships of war, to make a vigorous resistance. By the persevering valour of the British, and the brute force of their semi-barbarous allies, Bonaparte was detained before Acre sixty-nine days. Foiled in eleven different attempts to carry the place by assault, and losing upon an average sixty men a day, he was ultimately obliged to retreat.

At this siege a shell thrown by Sir Sidney Smith, fell close at Bonaparte's feet. Two soldiers who were near him seized and closely embraced him before and behind, making a rampart of their bodies against the effects of the shell, which exploded and overwhelmed them all with sand. Neither of these soldiers were wounded, but they sunk into the hole occasioned by the explosion. He made them both officers.

On the 17th of May, Napoleon addressed the following historical proclamation to the French army:

"Soldiers! You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with more rapidity than the army of the Arabs. The army which marched to invade

Egypt is annihilated; its campaign equipage, its baggage, its stores, and its camels. You have taken all the strong places which defend the wells of the forest. You have scattered over the plains of Mount Tabor that cloud of men that came from every part of Asia, with the hope of plundering Egypt. The thirty sail which you have seen arrive before Acre but twelve days ago, brought that army that was to lay siege to Alexandria. Compelled to retreat to Acre, they met the end which fate had assigned them. A part of the enemy's colours will grace your entry into Egypt. In short, after having with only a handful of men carried on the war for three months in the very heart of Syria, taken forty field pieces, fifty colours, made 6000 prisoners, razed the fortifications of Gazah, Jaffa, Caiffa, and Acre, we are going to return to Egypt. It is now the time for me to go on shore.

"Yet a few days longer, and you may hope to seize the Pacha himself, in the midst of his palace; but just now the taking of the Castle of Acre is not worth the loss of our time: those brave men also who might chance to fall, are now wanted to execute operations infinitely more essential.

"Soldiers! We have a course to pursue replete with peril and fatigue. After we shall have reduced the East to a state incapable of acting against us in this campaign, we may perhaps find it necessary to push our conquests to a part of the West. You will there find fresh opportunities of acquiring glory; and if amongst so many battles, each day should be marked with the death of a hero, new warriors will spring up, and enrol themselves amongst those few who derive enthusiasm from danger, in the cause of freedom."

Napoleon travelled on a dromedary the greater part of the way through the desert to Syria: harsh treatment provokes the fury of this beast, and renders his resentment dangerous. He eats and drinks very sparingly; but

the roughness of his pace excites something like sea-sickness in his rider. He will travel twenty leagues a day. The dromedary regiments formed by the Emperor, were very destructrive to the Arabs; but though he is not a beast of draught, but only of burden, the French in Syria were skilful enough to yoke him to their field-pieces.

The army having crossed the desert, by the rapidity of its movements had certainly disconcerted the plans of its Asiatic enemies. It had scattered on the plains of Edredon and Mount Tabor eighty-five thousand horse and ten thousand foot. The vain-glorious hope of seizing Dgezzar Pacha in his palace at Acre, did not impose upon Bonaparte.

While preparations were making for a return to Egypt, the army withstood several *sorties* of the enemy; but at length, finding it requisite to raise the siege, the General-in-chief, according to what he wrote to the Directory, erected a battery of twenty-four guns and mortars, which kept up a constant fire for seventy hours, razed the houses of Dgezzar level with the ground, and destroyed the principal monuments: he added, that the whole town was a constant blaze of fire.

After experiencing fatigues almost incredible, he gave orders for the departure of the army, and the 15th June, they arrived at Cairo, in "parade order."

Sidney Smith, Bonaparte acknowledged was a brave officer: he displayed considerable ability in the treaty of El Arish, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. He took advantage of the discontent which prevailed among the French troops at being so long away from France, and other circumstances. He also shewed great honour in sending immediately to Kleber, the refusal of Lord Keith to ratify the treaty, which saved the French army; if he had concealed that fact seven or eight days longer, Cairo would have been given up to the Turks,

and the French army necessarily obliged to surrender to the English. He also shewed great humanity and honour in all his proceedings towards the French who fell into his hands. He landed at Havre on account of some foolish bet that he had made, according to some, to go to the theatre; others said it was to obtain some information: however, he was arrested, and confined in the Temple. Shortly after Bonaparte returned from Italy, he wrote to him, requesting his intercession in his behalf: but, under the circumstances in which he was taken, Napoleon could do nothing for him. Bonaparte added, "He is active, intelligent, intriguing and indefatigable, but I believe that he is *mezzo pazzo*.

Being asked if Sir Sidney had not displayed great bravery at the siege of Acre, Napoleon replied, "Yes, the chief cause of the failure there, was, that he took all my battering train, which was on board several small vessels. Had it not been for that, I should have taken Acre in spite of him. He behaved very bravely, and was well seconded by Phillipeaux, a Frenchman of talent, who had studied with me as an engineer. There was a Major Douglas also, who behaved very gallantly. The acquisition of five or six hundred English seamen as cannoniers, was a great benefit to the Turks, whose spirits they revived, and also instructed how to defend the fortress."

Sir Sidney Smith dispersed proclamations among the French troops, which certainly shook the faith of some of them; and Bonaparte in consequence published an order, stating that he was *mad*. Some days after he sent to Bonaparte, by means of a flag of truce brought by a lieutenant, a challenge to meet him at some place, in order to fight a duel.

To this challenge Napoleon replied, he had business of much greater importance on his hands than to think of troubling himself with that: had he received a challenge

from Marlborough, then indeed it might have been worth his while; but if the English seaman really felt inclined to amuse himself at a tilting match, he would send him a tall bullying grenadier, and neutralize a few yards of the sea-coast, where the mad Commodore might come and enjoy his heart's content of it. Bonaparte, after all, when speaking of Sir Sidney Smith to Mr. O'Meara, acknowledged that "he liked the character of the man."

At St. Jean d'Acre the General-in-chief lost Caffarelli, of whom he was extremely fond. Caffarelli, who entertained a kind of reverential respect for Napoleon, was delirious several days before his death; yet when the latter visited him, the announcement of his name seemed to recall him to life; he became more collected, his spirits revived, and he conversed coherently; but always relapsed into his former state when Napoleon left him.

About this time a scene of a new kind took place, and which occasioned a revolt in the province of Bakhyreh. A man, who came from the interior of Africa, landed at Deruch, and when he arrived he assembled the Arabs together, telling them he was the Angel El-Mahdy, spoken of in the Koran by the prophets. Two hundred Meyhrebyns arrived some days after, as if by chance, and ranged themselves under his command. It had been prophesied that the Angel El-Mahdy was to come down from heaven, and this impostor pretended that he descended in the midst of the desert. Though he appeared naked and destitute, he distributed gold in abundance, which he had the art of concealing. The sole nourishment he seemed to take, was from dipping his fingers every morning into a bowl of milk, and then putting them to his lips: he went to Damenhour, surprised sixty men belonging to the Nautical Legion, that had been imprudently left there, instead of being placed in the redoubt of Rhamania, and strangled them all: encouraged by this success, he heated the imagination of his disciples,

and he boasted that by throwing a little dust on our guns, he could prevent the powder from taking fire, and cause the shot to fall harmless before the true believers. A hundred such miracles were attested by his followers to have been performed by him every day.

"Brigadier-General Le Févre departed from Rhamania with four hundred men, to march against the Angel; but seeing every moment the number of his enemies increase, he felt the impossibility of being able to bring such a host of fanatics to reason. He formed his battalion into a hollow square, and was employed the whole day in killing. These deluded and senseless beings threw themselves on our guns, so prejudiced were they in the belief of their safety. When night came on, and these fanatics began to count their dead and wounded, there were more than a thousand slain. They found that miracles were no longer to be expected from Heaven.

"General Lanusse, whose activity in combating our enemies was well known, arrived at Damenhour, and put fifteen hundred men to the sword. A heap of ashes is now the only memorial of the space once occupied by Damenhour. The Angel El-Mahdy, wounded in several places, felt his zeal much abated; he hid himself in the wilderness, where he was yet surrounded by many of his disciples, for the heads of fanatics are generally bereft of the organs of reason."

Napoleon, speaking about the measures he had caused to be taken at Jaffa, said, that when he discovered that the troops were infected with the plague, he caused the infected to be sent to the hospitals, and separated from the rest. For a short time he persuaded them that it was only a fever with buboes, and not the plague, and in order to convince them of it, he went publicly to the bed-side of a soldier who was actually infected, and handled him. By the advice of the medical officers, all the buboes that did not appear likely to suppurate were opened. A

greater proportion of those who were so treated recovered, than of those who were proceeded with in the usual way.

As to the charge of shooting three or four thousand Turks some days after the taking of Jaffa, Napoleon said there were not so many; they did not amount to more than 1000 or 1200. The reason was, that amongst the garrison of Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, taken a short time before at El Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again; but these Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa. However, before Bonaparte attacked Jaffa, he sent an officer bearing a flag of truce, whose head immediately afterwards they saw elevated on a pole over the wall. Now if spared again, he inferred the same Turks would have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, and played the same part over again; therefore, in justice to the lives of his soldiers, he could not act otherwise than as he did: he therefore availed himself of the rights of war. He repeated, he would do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army, under similar circumstances.

The following are the terms of the Capitulation of El Arish, for the violation of which, part of the garrison of Jaffa were shot:

The Commandant of the fort of El Arish, and the other three Commandants, to the General-in-chief—"We have received the Capitulation you have addressed to us; we consent to deliver the fort of El Arish into your hands. We will return to Bagdat by the desert. We sent you the list of the Agas of the fort, who promise upon oath of themselves and their troops, not to serve in Dgezzar's army, and not to return to Syria for the space of one year, reckoning from this day. We will receive a pass and colours from you. We will leave in the castle all the supplies that are found there. The whole of the Agas in the fort solemnly swear, by our Lord, Moses, Abraham,

and by the PROPHET, to whom may God be propitious, and by the Koran, to execute faithfully all these articles, and above all, not to serve Dgezzar. The Most High and his Prophet are witnesses of our good faith.

(Signed) "IBRAHIM NIRAN, Commandant of the Fort of El Arish.
"El H. HADGEZ MOHAMMED, Colonel of the Maugrebins.
"El H. HADGY ZAYDR, Aga of the Arnauts.
"MOHAMMED AGA, Chief of the Commissaries."

Previous to leaving Jaffa, seven or eight men were found so dangerously ill, as not to admit the possibility of their recovery; they had the plague, and might spread the infection. Some of them perceiving that they were to be abandoned, earnestly entreated to be put to death. Baron Larrey, the chief surgeon, who knew they could not survive many hours, thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires. Desgenettes did not approve of this, saying his profession was to cure the sick, not to dispatch them. At length, according to Larrey's suggestion, a rear guard of four or five hundred cavalry were ordered to remain behind, to prevent these unfortunate men from being tortured by the Turks. It was understood that they all expired before these troops left them; but it was afterwards said that Sir Sidney Smith found one or two alive. This is the truth of the business. The story of poisoning is supposed to have originated in something said by Desgenettes, afterwards misconceived or incorrectly reported. "Do you think," said Napoleon to Mr. O'Meara, "that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers, or of such barbarities as drawing my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my

troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without parallel. No, no, I never should have fought a second time. Even some of the wounded, with strength enough left to pull a trigger, would have dispatched me."

Napoleon, in reference to the dreadful destruction of the French fleet by Admiral Nelson, observed, that he had sent an officer named Julien, from Cairo, with peremptory orders to Brueys to enter the harbour of Alexandria; but that unfortunately the messenger was killed by the Arabs on the way. A fort built at Rosetta was named after this officer. Bonaparte censured Brueys extremely, for engaging at anchor, without having first fortified the island with twenty or thirty pieces of cannon, and not having brought out a Venetian sixty-four and some frigates which he had in the fort of Alexandria.

Brueys, in a conversation he held some weeks before with Bonaparte, had himself demonstrated, that a fleet ought never to engage at anchor, as they would always be beaten, on account of the facility which the others would have of taking up their position; and an order actually existed, prohibiting it: notwithstanding this, Brueys adopted this faulty method. Prior to the departure of Julien, orders had been sent to Brueys, that he should not quit the coast of Egypt until after he had ascertained the physical impossibility of the fleet's being able to enter the harbour of Alexandria. If possible, he was ordered to carry it into execution; if not, to proceed to Corfu with his fleet. Now Brueys not having ascertained the fact, on the contrary, Barré asserted that it was practicable, did not think himself authorised to go away, and at the same time was afraid to enter the harbour, even if possible, thinking it hazardous, without having been first assured the French were in full possession of the country. He was ignorant of their success at Cairo, until twenty-four hours before he was attacked by

Nelson. In this manner he remained hesitating, and neglected to secure himself.

If Nelson had met Brueys' fleet in going to Egypt, the result might probably have been different. Napoleon had placed from three hundred and fifty to four hundred veterans in each line of battle ship, who were trained to the guns twice a day; and had given orders that each ship should engage an English one. These vessels were small, and Bonaparte conceived not well manned, and he gave this order to prevent their gaining any advantages by their superior skill in manœuvring.

About the middle of August, after his return to Cairo, Bonaparte learned the disembarkation of the Turks at Aboukir, the surrender of the place, and the dangerous situation of Alexandria. Mustapha Pacha, with about 18,000 men, were intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir, where a great number of cannon had already been disembarked. The obstinacy of the Turkish troops in defending themselves, was beyond description; and never was French valour put to so severe a test in that part of the world. At length the Turks, confounded and terror struck, on finding their retreat cut off, beheld death on every side: the infantry charged them with the bayonet, the cavalry cut them down with the sabre; no alternative but the sea remained. Ten thousand men committed themselves to the waves amidst showers of musketry and grape-shot, and not one man was saved. Among the cannon taken, were two pieces presented to the Grand Seignior by the court of London.

On the landing of the Turks here, the French had fallen back to concentrate their forces. The Pacha who commanded them was delighted: he mistook this movement for that of fear; and on perceiving Murad Bey, he exclaimed, "So, these are your terrible French! See how they fly before me!"—"Pacha," replied the indignant Murad Bey, "render thanks to the Prophet; if they

should return, you will disappear before them like dust before the wind!" A prediction but too fatally verified.

After this battle, Murad Bey, who had several interviews with the French generals, could not suppress his surprise at the small stature of the men. Kleber's appearance alone came up to their ideas; and this induced them to think he was not a Frenchman. He was a native of Alsace, and had spent the early part of his life in the Prussian army.

The garrison of the fort of Aboukir, after the slaughter of the Pacha's troops under their walls, continued for four days to resist, when, as the Turkish forces never capitulate, they marched out, and after laying down their arms, embraced the knees of the conqueror.

In the fort were found 300 wounded, and 1800 dead: some of the bombs had killed as many as six men each. More than 400 of the prisoners died within twenty-four hours of the surrender, from excessive eating and drinking. This defeat of the Turks at Aboukir, filled the French at Cairo with the highest degree of rapture. Murat was promoted to the rank of general of division, and Bonaparte ordered that the names of Murat, Roize, and the numbers of the regiments of cavalry present at the battle of Aboukir, should be engraved upon the pieces of brass cannon which the court of London had presented to the Grand Seignior. Mustapha Pacha and the Turkish prisoners were sent to Cairo. They were the pledge of the prosperity of the French arms. Nothing less than their presence was necessary, to convince the incredulous Egyptians that the French did not deceive them with regard to the extent of the loss of the Turks.

About this time, by means of some Turkish prisoners sent back to their fleet on the coast, one of the French officers procured the English gazettes, and those of Frankfort, up to the 10th of June, 1799. They contained the intelligence of the recommencement of hostilities, and

reverses in Italy on the part of the French, which, without doubt, confirmed Bonaparte in his project of returning to France, then menaced abroad, disturbed at home, and lulled by chimerical hopes. In fact, Bonaparte saw the country in the most favourable state for the accomplishment of his ulterior views.

Napoleon became so popular among some of the Egyptians, that they gave him the name of Sultan Keber (Father of the Fire). The consideration with which he treated the Sheiks, prevented him from falling a victim to fanaticism, like General Kleber, whose conduct to the natives had rendered him odious.

Napoleon always shared the fatigues of the army; and their privations were sometimes so great, that they were compelled to contend with each other for the smallest comforts. Once in the deserts, the soldiers would scarcely allow the General to dip his hands in a muddy stream of water. Passing the ruins of Pelusium, almost suffocated with the heat, a soldier gave up to him a fragment of an ancient door-way, beneath which he contrived to shade his head for a few minutes; "and this," said Napoleon, "was no trifling favour."

The discontent of the French troops in Egypt, which was at times very high, was happily spent in jokes and sarcasms. This humour bears a Frenchman through a number of difficulties. General Caffarelli, supposed to have been one of the promoters of the expedition, was by no means liked. He had a wooden leg, having lost the other on the banks of the Rhine. Whenever the soldiers saw him hobbling along they would say loud enough for him to hear, "That fellow cares for nothing amongst us: he is certain, happen what may, to have one leg in France."

In reference to the six or seven acres of land that Bonaparte had promised his troops on his departure from France; when they afterwards found themselves in the

midst of the desert, surrounded by the boundless ocean of sand, they pretended to cheer one another with a view of it; they said their General "had been very moderate in promising so little; he might have made us a more unlimited offer; we should not abuse his good nature." On their first entering the desert, they called to one another to look at the six acres awarded to each of them by the government.

But though the devotedness and attachment of the army of Egypt had evidently performed so much for their General-in-chief, we have his own authority for asserting, that no army was less fit for that quarter of the world. "It would be difficult to describe the disgust, the discontent, the melancholy, the despair of that army, on its first arrival in Egypt. Bonaparte saw two dragoons rush out of the ranks, and throw themselves into the Nile. Bertrand had seen the most distinguished generals, such as Lannes and Murat, in momentary fits of rage, throw their laced hats in the sand, and trample on them. "This army," said Napoleon, "had been satiated with wealth, rank, pleasure, and consideration; they were not fit for the deserts and fatigues of Egypt." More than one conspiracy was formed to carry away the flags from Alexandria, and other things of the same sort. The influence, the character, and the glory of the General, could alone restrain the troops. One day, Napoleon losing his temper in his turn, rushed among a group of discontented generals, and addressing himself to the tallest, said, "You have held mutinous language; take care that I don't fulfil my duty; your five foot ten should not save you from being shot in a couple of hours."

The remains of this army, two years after Napoleon had left Egypt, notwithstanding climate, and the almost incessant combats in which they had been engaged, during the space of seven or eight and twenty months, were still

so numerous when they defiled as prisoners before the British army, as to excite considerable surprise.

Las Cases says, the French force, at its landing in Egypt, amounted to 30,000 men: it was augmented by the wrecks of the naval battle of the Nile, and some partial arrivals from France, and yet the total loss of the army amounted only to eight thousand nine hundred and fifteen; viz.—

Killed in battle - - - -	3614
Died of their wounds - - -	854
Died through various accidents -	290
Died from common disorders - -	2468
Died from the pestilential fever -	1689
Total - -	8915

The address and the justice of Napoleon, considered as a conqueror, had wonderfully attached the Mahometans in Egypt to his interest. In a letter written to him by the Sherif of Mecca, he styled him, "The protector of the holy Kaaba." He willingly and fearlessly conversed with the people of the country, and always expressed sentiments of justice which struck them with surprise. On his way back from Syria, an Arab tribe came to meet him, and pay him their respects; but wishing to be engaged as guides. The son of the chief of this tribe, mounted on his dromedary, and riding close by Napoleon, chatted to him with great familiarity. "Sultan Kebir," said he, "I could give you good advice, now that you are returning to Cairo."—"Well, speak, my friend, and if your advice be good, I will follow it."—"If I were in your place, as soon as I got to Cairo, I would order the richest slave merchants into the market, and I would choose twenty of the prettiest women for myself; I would next send for the richest jewellers, and would make them give me up a good share of their stock. I would then do

the same by all the other merchants; for what is the use of reigning, or being powerful, if not to acquire riches?" "But, my friend," said Bonaparte, "is it not more noble to preserve riches for others?"—The young Arab seemed to reflect a little, but probably was not convinced.

Another time some Arabs entered a frontier village, and a poor peasant was killed. The Sultan Kebir flew into a great passion, and vowing vengeance, gave orders that the tribe should be pursued into the desert. One of the Sheiks who was present, could not refrain from laughing: "Sultan Kebir," said he, "you are playing a bad game just now: these people can do you ten times more harm than you can do them. And besides, what is it all about? Was the poor peasant your cousin?" (a proverbial expression among them).—"He was more than my cousin," replied Napoleon: "all those whom I govern, are my children: power is given to me only, that I may ensure their safety."—All the Sheiks bowed their heads, and said, "Oh, that is very fine!—You have spoken like the Prophet."

Sufficient reasons for Bonaparte's return to France have already appeared, from the increase of obstacles, and the decrease and discontent of the army. On the 22d of August, 1799, he received a letter from Admiral Gantheaume, informing him that the English and Turkish fleets had sailed. A journey into the Delta was immediately spoken of at head-quarters. Bonaparte would be absent, it was said, only a few days; his object being to visit that fertile part of Egypt, and promote the establishment of canals, which had been so long neglected.

In writing to the Divan, and announcing his departure, he said, "remind the Musselmen frequently of my love for them. Acquaint them that I have two great means to conduct men—persuasion and force; with the one I gain friends, and with the other I destroy my enemies." Upon General Kleber he conferred the command of the

army. On the 23d of August, 1799, accompanied by the Generals Berthier, Murat, Lannes and Marmont, he embarked on board the frigates La Muiron and La Carere, leaving the following proclamation behind him:

"Soldiers! The affairs of Europe recall me to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber. The army shall soon have intelligence of me. It is painful to leave soldiers to whom I am so much attached; but it shall not be for long. The General whom I have left with them, possesses both my confidence and that of government."

When Bonaparte embarked, an English cutter was in sight of the two frigates; the officers who accompanied him, drew the most dismal presages from this circumstance, and said it would be difficult to escape the vigilance of the enemy.—"True!" exclaimed Bonaparte; "but we shall arrive—Fortune has never abandoned us; we shall arrive in spite of the English." They set sail in the night, and Gantheaume, perfect master of his manœuvres, ranged along the coast of Africa, choosing a longer but more certain route of navigation.

On the 30th of September, 1799, the two frigates entered the Gulf of Ajaccio. Whilst lying to for a boat they had sent in, a sudden squall obliged them to come to anchor in the Gulf, in the native country of Bonaparte. He was thought to have been dead; and when chance thus brought him home, nothing could be more touching than the reception he experienced: the batteries saluted on all sides; the whole population rushed to the boats, and surrounded the French frigates; the public enthusiasm had even triumphed over the fear of infection, and the vessels were immediately boarded by crowds, crying out to Bonaparte, "It is we that have the plague, and must owe our deliverance to you." Here Bonaparte learned, that the fruits of all his triumphant victories in Italy had been lost in two battles; that the Russians

were upon the French frontiers, and that confusion and dismay reigned in the interior.

On the 8th of October, being in sight of the coast of France, they perceived an English fleet of from eight to ten sail. Admiral Gantheaume was desirous to tack about immediately, and return to Corsica.—"No, no," said Bonaparte, "that manœuvre would conduct us to England; and my will is to arrive in France. On the 9th of October, 1799, Bonaparte disembarked near Frejus, in the South of France, after a surprising voyage of forty-one days, and upon a sea covered with the enemy's ships. Here he landed without having performed the customary duty of quarantine, and arrived at Paris on the 16th of October. Nothing could have been more unexpected than this arrival. From the first moment it occurred, the news of it spread with the rapidity of lightning. Scarcely had the flag of a Commander-in-chief been displayed, when the shore about Frejus was covered with people, who in accents of the most intense desire, exclaimed, "Bonaparte!" France herself poured forth her thousands before him who was destined to restore her splendour, and already from her frontiers, anticipated from him the revenge of Marengo.

Bonaparte regretted very much, that during his stay in Egypt, he did not attempt to enter Africa at once on the north, south, east and west, and to have formed a junction in the centre; or if starting only from the east and west, it was his plan that the two divisions should meet in the centre, separate again, and proceed one to the north, the other to the south. He thought, that with five or six hundred good soldiers, with the requisite number of surgeons, physicians, botanists, chemists, astronomers, and naturalists, all willing to embark in the enterprise, they would have accomplished something worthy of the age. The necessary supply of beasts of burthen,

small leathern boats for crossing rivers, skins for conveying water through the deserts, and light manageable field-pieces, would have rendered the enterprise easy and complete.

Bonaparte, whilst in Egypt, it seems had received presents from the Queen of Darfour, and had sent her some in return. Had he remained longer, he said he would certainly have carried our geographical investigations into the northern district of Africa, to a great extent, and that by the simplest means, merely by placing in each caravan some intelligent officers, for whom he would have procured hostages.

Bonaparte had several plans in contemplation, for making canals in Egypt. He intended to have made two; one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and the other to the Mediterranean. He had the Red Sea surveyed, and found that its waters were thirty feet higher than the Mediterranean when they were highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. His plan was to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal, unless at low water, and this, in the course of a distance of thirty leagues in its passage to the Mediterranean, would have been of little consequence. Besides, he would have had some sluices made. The Nile was seven feet lower than the Red Sea when at its lowest, but fourteen feet higher during the inundation. The expence was calculated at eighteen millions of franes, and two years' labour. He said it was only the ignorance and barbarity of the Turks that prevented the English India trade from being ruined. If any European nation had possession of Egypt, it would speedily be effected, and one day or another Egypt will destroy the East India Company. If Kleber had lived, the English would never have conquered it. He would have had the army down from Cairo in nine days, and would have overwhelmed the English. If he had been

there himself, he said, he would have brought the troops down in seven days, and have been on the coast before the English could have disembarked. He had done so before, when the Turks landed with Sir Sidney Smith.

CHAP. IX.

Consequences of Napoleon's absence in Egypt—Weakness and division in the Government—Napoleon's superiority in the Cabinet—Appointed to the Command of the City of Paris, and Army charged with restoring the Tranquillity of Paris—Presents himself to the Council of Ancients—Addresses the Soldiers—The Dispersion and Resignation of the Directory—The Council of Five Hundred adjourn to St. Cloud—A Storm in the Council of Ancients—Entrance and Speech of Napoleon—Condemnation of the Constitution of the Year III—Violent Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte in personal danger—Rescued by Napoleon and his Grenadiers—Speech of Lucien—The Dispersion of the Council of Five Hundred—Formation of the new Government and Constitution.

DURING Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, it is well known how much France missed his military genius, and with what rapturous acclamations he was hailed on his return. No one who recollected the sensation produced by his sudden appearance at Frejus, like a spirit welcomed from another world, could be surprised at the celebrity and triumph of his subsequent career on his return from Elba. His resumption of power at the former period was, taking it altogether, the more wonderful of the two.

He was then still a young man. France, no doubt, was in want of a stronger and regenerated government; but still, to establish this, it required unparalleled boldness, and a popularity among a nation of thirty millions, which not more than two or three individuals have ever obtained in the whole history of the world. Though France was divided by factions, yet she had still men of pre-eminent abilities and talents either at the head of powerful parties, or singly sufficient to have trampled down any ordinary usurper who should have dared to seize the helm of authority. There was Rœderer, eloquent and trusted for patriotism; there were Barras and Fouché, who had each great influence. There were, besides, a host of formidable politicians: Talleyrand, who alone had sagacity to have guided a kingdom in ordinary circumstances: there was Moreau, Bernadotte, Augereau, and others of high military name; and Sieyes, the cunning and reserved, whose talents were so esteemed by Mirabeau, that in a debate on a great object, he once declared the silence of Sieyes to be a national calamity. It is quite obvious, however, that all these men, who in other circumstances would have been primary combatants for supreme power, dimmed their ineffectual ray, and bowed their heads to the influence of Bonaparte, from the moment it was supposed that a change in the government was to be expected. He met with them separately; he heard their proposals; he committed himself to none of them. If he could be said to join any thing like a party, it was that of Sieyes; but until the moment that he was ready to strike the blow of usurpation, he kept them all in suspense. Having matured his plans, he called them together on the 18th of Brumaire, 9th and 10th of November, 1799, and produced one of the most important revolutions recorded in history. His influence over those around him seemed equally electric and irresistible, whether it put in motion the metaphysics of Sieyes or the drum-

sticks that beat the charge on the Council of Five Hundred.

In fact, many weighty motives existed for effecting a change at this critical period, which might have operated upon the mind of Bonaparte, or any other chief who had the good of his country at heart. He found its government enfeebled to the utmost impotence of childhood, the prey of perpetual caprice and revolutions. He found it without an army, and without the resources for procuring one. He found all public spirit evaporated, and the people in a state of civil war with each other. But what was most wounding to the becoming pride of a warrior, he found all the conquests he had gained in Europe nearly wrested from his country, and subject to the severe requisitions of those armies he had discomfited.

Let us now mark the reverse: by a blow equally illegal, but equally necessary, he boldly put himself in possession of the supreme power, and in six months he new modelled the constitution, revived the national credit, re-animated the public spirit, and from every quarter concentrated the abilities of every man of talent and courage; subdued every civil insurrection, and in six weeks, by gaining the battle of Marengo, re-conquered all that had been lost. Never was a campaign so well planned and so completely executed.

But that man must know the character of Napoleon very imperfectly, who may consider him only at the head of armies; for so superior and universal was his genius, that he was able to acquit himself of the various functions of government with glory. He shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field. In a word, he united in his own person the various talents and professions of the sword, the gown, and the finances.

The Council of Ancients having transferred the sittings of the Legislative Body to St. Cloud, ordered them to assemble there on the 19th of Brumaire. General Bona-

parte, whom they imagined was wholly in their interest, was charged with the execution of the decree for the safety of the national representation.

This decree was made at eight o'clock; and at half-past eight, the state messenger who was the bearer of it arrived at the house of Napoleon. He found the avenues filled with the officers of the garrison, adjutants of the National Guard, generals, and the three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding doors opened; and his house being too small to contain so many persons, he came forward on the steps in front of it, received the compliments of the officers, harangued them, and told them that he relied upon them all for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave them to understand, that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its alarming situation; that he relied upon their support and good will; and that he was at that moment going to mount his horse to ride to the Tuilleries.

Enthusiasm being wound up, all the officers drew their swords, and promised their service and fidelity. Napoleon then turned towards Lefevre, demanding whether he would remain with him or return to the Directory. Lefevre, powerfully affected, did not hesitate. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placed himself at the head of the generals and officers, and 1500 horse, whom he halted upon the Boulevard, at the corner of the street of Mont Blanc. He gave orders to the adjutants of the National Guard to return to their quarters and beat the *generale*, to communicate the decree they had just heard, and to announce, that no orders were to be observed but such as should emanate from him.

Napoleon presented himself at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by this brilliant escort. "You are

the wisdom of the nation," said he; "at this crisis it belongs to you to point out the measures which may save the country: I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Lefevre my Lieutenant; I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have entrusted me: let us not look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment."

All the troops were mustered at the Tuilleries; Napoleon reviewed them, amidst the unanimous acclamations of both citizens and soldiers. He gave the command of the troops entrusted with the protection of the Legislative Body to General Lannes; and to General Murat the command of those sent to St. Cloud.

He deputed General Moreau to guard the Luxembourg; and, for this purpose, he placed under his orders 500 men of the 86th regiment. But, at the moment of setting off, these troops refused to obey: they had no confidence in Moreau, who was not, they said, a patriot. Napoleon was obliged to harangue them, assuring them that Moreau would act uprightly. Moreau had become suspected through his conduct at a former period.

The intelligence that Napoleon was at the Tuilleries, and that he alone was to be obeyed, quickly spread through the capital: the people flew to the Tuilleries in crowds; some led by mere curiosity to behold so renowned a General, others by patriotic enthusiasm to offer him their support. The following proclamation was every where posted:

"Citizens! The Council of Ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just pronounced a decree; for this it has authority from articles 102 and 103 of the act of the constitution: it imposes upon me the duty of taking measures for the safety of the national representation. The immediate removal of the representation is

necessary; the Legislative Body will then find itself in a condition to rescue the Republic from the danger into which the disorganization of all branches of the administration is conducting us. At this important crisis it requires union and confidence. Rally round it: there is no other method of fixing the Republic upon the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory, and peace."

To the soldiers he said:

"Soldiers! The special decree of the Council of Ancients is conformable to articles 102 and 103 of the constitutional act. It has confided to me the command of the city and of the army. I have accepted that command, in order to second the measures which it is about to adopt, and which are all in favour of the people. Two years has the Republic been ill governed; you have indulged in the hope that a period would be put to so many evils by my return. This event you have celebrated with an unanimity which imposes obligations upon me that I am about to discharge; you will also discharge yours, and you will second your General with the energy, firmness, and fidelity which I have always found in you. Liberty, victory, and peace, will reinstate the French Republic in the rank which she held in Europe, and from which imbecility and treachery were alone capable of removing her."

Napoleon now sent an aide-de-camp to the guards of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree to them, and enjoining them to receive no order but from him. The guard sounded to horse, the commanding-officer consulted his soldiers: they answered by shouts of joy. At this very moment, an order from the Directory, contrary to that of Napoleon, arrived; but the soldiers, obeying only Napoleon's commands, marched to join him. Sieyes and Roger Ducos had been ever since the morning at the Tuilleries. It is said that Barras, on seeing Sieyes mount his horse, ridiculed the awkwardness of the unpractised equestrian: he little suspected

where they were going. Being shortly after apprised of the decree, he joined Gohier and Moulins: they then learned that the troops followed Napoleon; they saw that even their own guard forsook them! Upon that Moulins went to the Tuilleries, and gave in his resignation, as Sieyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Boutot, the secretary of Barras, went to Napoleon, who warmly expressed his indignation at the peculations which had ruined the Republic, and insisted that Barras should resign. Boutot gave him Barras's resignation, and asked him in a low voice, what hope he might entertain from him. "Tell that man," replied Bonaparte, "that I will not see him again, and that I am well enabled to command due respect to the authority entrusted to me." Then raising his voice loud enough to be heard even into the anti-chamber, he continued thus to address Boutot, the astonished secretary to Barras: "What have you done," said he, "with the country I left so flourishing? I left you in peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the 100,000 heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more. This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism; but we will have a Republic founded on the basis of civil liberty, equality, and political toleration."

Talleyrand then hastened to the ex-director, and related this: Barras removed to Gros-Bois, accompanied by a guard of honour of dragoons. From that moment the Directory was dissolved, and Napoleon alone was invested with the executive power of the Republic.

In the mean time, the Council of Five Hundred had

met, under the presidency of Lucien. The constitution was explicit; the decree of the Council of Ancients was consistent with its privilege; there was no ground for objection. The Members of the Council, in passing through the streets of Paris, and through the Tuilleries, had learnt the occurrences which were taking place, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the public. They were astonished and confounded at the ferment around them. They submitted to necessity, and adjourned their sittings to the next day, the 19th, at St. Cloud.

At length, after nearly two days' delay, they met and opened their sittings. M. Gaudine ascended the tribune, painted in lively colours the dangers of the country, and proposed thanks to the Council of Ancients, for the measures of public safety they had set on foot; and that they should be invited, by message, to explain their intentions fully. At the same time, he proposed to appoint a committee of seven persons to make a report upon the state of the Republic.

The furious rushing forth of the winds enclosed in the caverns of Eolus, never raised a more raging storm. The speaker was violently hurled to the bottom of the tribune. The ferment became excessive.

Delbred desired that the members should swear anew to the constitution of the Year III. Chenier, Lucien, Boulay, trembled. The Chamber proceeded to the *appel nominal.*

During the *appel nominal,* which lasted more than two hours, reports of what was passing were circulated through the capital. The leaders of the Assembly, *du manège,* the *tricoteuses,* &c. hastened up. Jourdan and Augereau had kept out of the way; believing Napoleon lost, they made all haste to St. Cloud. Augereau drew near to Napoleon, and said, "Well, here you are in a pretty situation!"—"Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcole; matters appeared much more des-

perate there. Take my advice, and remain quiet, if you would not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour you will see what turn affairs will have taken."

The Assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no Deputy durst refuse to swear to the constitution: even Lucien himself was compelled to swear. Shouts and cries of "bravo!" were heard throughout the Chamber. The moment was critical. Many members, on taking the oath, added observations. All minds were in a state of suspense; the zealous became neuter; the timid deserted their post. Not an instant was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the s[illegible]on of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself opposite to the President, (at the bar). "You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the Republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved; factions are at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades, to the support of your wisdom: but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of, as if this day could be compared with past times. No; I desire nothing but the safety of the Republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come. And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the door of this hall—speak! Have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word when in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the interest of the Republic?"

The grenadiers were electrified; and waving their caps and arms in the air, they all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true; he always kept his word!"

Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and said with a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear

then, with us, obedience to the Constitution of the Year III, which alone can save the Republic."

The astonishment caused by these words produced a profound silence.

Napoleon recollected himself for a moment; and then went on again emphatically: "The Constitution of the Year III!—you have it no longer; you violated it on the eighteenth of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the Legislative Body; you violated it on the thirteenth of Prairial, in the Year VII, when the Legislative Body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the twenty-second of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the Legislative Body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of this speech, and the energy of the General, brought over three-fourths of the members of council, who rose to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke powerfully to the same effect. A member rose in opposition; he denounced the General, as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, and declared that he was in the secret of every party, and that all despised the Constitution of the Year III; that the only difference existing between them was, that some desired to have a moderate republic, in which all the national interests, and all the property should be guaranteed; while, on the other hand, the others wished for a revolutionary government, as warranted by the dangers of the country. At this moment Napoleon was informed that the *appel nominal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president Lucien to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napo-

leon immediately hastened to the Council, entered the Chamber with his hat off, and ordered the officers and soldiers who accompanied him to remain at the doors: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. But to get to the bar, it was necessary to cross half the Chamber, because the president had his seat on one of the wings. As Napoleon advanced, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! Down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by the order of the General, had remained at the door, and who had reluctantly obeyed, saying to him, "You do not know them, they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, to join their General, and cover him with their bodies. All the other grenadiers followed this example, and forced Napoleon out of the Chamber. In the confusion, one of them, named Thomé, was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger; and the clothes of another were cut through.

The General descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, got on horseback, and harangued them: "I was about," said he, "to point out to them the means of saving the Republic, and restoring our glory; they answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers, may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations formed the reply to this speech. Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to go with ten men into the Chamber of the Five Hundred, and to liberate the president.

Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches," exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws, my brother, the saviour of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble!

I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy; I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard."

Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the Chamber, exclaiming, "*Vive la Republique!*" It was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the Councils. The captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him in a low voice, "It is your brother's order:" the grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon these exclamations the triumph of the members was converted into a gloomy silence, which testified the dejection of the whole assembly. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who left the Chamber, rushed into the court-yard, mounted a horse, and cried out in his stentorian voice, "General—and you soldiers—the President of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you, that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against these disturbers. The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved."

"President," replied the General, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the Chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the Council to disperse; shouts and vociferations followed. Colonel Moulins, aide-de-camp of Brune, who had just arrived from Holland, ordered the charge to be beaten. The order was given, and the troops marched forward to execute it. The Chamber of the Council was still the seat of uproar, confusion and anarchy. A thousand motions had succeeded each other, every one struggling to gain precedency for

his opinion, and the assembly was in its wildest state, when the sound of the *pas de charge*, the charging step, was heard. The noise of the drum soon suspended that of the debate, and the surprised orators eagerly darted their looks towards the place from whence the unwelcome sound proceeded. The soldiers appeared, preceded by officers, one of whom invited the Deputies to clear the hall. Invectives and remonstrances were poured out with all the volubility of utterance, but these weapons had lost all their edge. The soldiers were deaf to every thing but the orders they had received. The Deputies leaped out of the windows, and dispersed, leaving their gowns, caps, &c.; in one moment the Chamber was empty. Those Members of the Council who had shewn most pertinacity, fled with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehensions, but no sooner were the Parisians in possession of the whole, and its probable results, than they were overjoyed. The overthrow of the Directory appeared to them as tantamount to the subversion of jacobinism and anarchy. They now cherished the hope of a new and better government, founded on the principles of justice and humanity. The Council of Ancients, animated by the same desires, issued a decree to the following effect:—"In consideration of the retreat of the Council of Five Hundred, and the resignation of four of the Directory, the fifth, Gohier, being confined, a temporary executive commission of three members shall be appointed. The Legislature is adjourned to the first of Nivose next, (December 21st) when it will again assemble in Paris without further delay. During the recess there will be an intermedial commission of the Council of the Ancients, in order to protect the rights of the national representation. The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening of

this day, when the Council shall proceed to the appointment of the Committee."

On the same evening the Council of Five Hundred and that of the Ancients again assembled in their Chambers; but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn in the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, their president, congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of the demagogues and assassins. The President then proposed a resolution to the effect, "that General Bonaparte, the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country."

This, carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chasal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government; on which the President, mounting a tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the Republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government; and enlarged upon the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong legislative power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The Council then decreed, that the Executive Directory no longer existed: that certain Deputies, to the number of sixty-one, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer Members of the National Representation; that an Executive Consular Committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of Citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of Consuls of the French Republic; that they should be invested with the full powers of the Directory; that the two Councils should each name twenty-five Commissioners charged to prepare the changes in

the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was to consolidate and guarantee inviolate, the sovereignty of the people.

This decree was instantly communicated to the Council of Ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight; on which the three Consuls being summoned to the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, were thus addressed by the Presidents:

"Citizens! The greatest people upon earth entrust you with their destinies: within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the direction of the armies, and peace itself, are all entrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust, and such high functions. But you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and it is well known to the legislature, that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The Consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations communicating the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, were promulgated in all the departments of the republic without delay. Thus terminated this military revolution without bloodshed. Bonaparte and the army were the founders of the new government; and the power obtained by the sword, the sword alone could destroy.

The three Consuls entered upon their functions the following day at the palace of the Luxembourg; and the Legislative Commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. The repeal of the law imposing a forced loan, and the law of hostages, were the first objects of their attention: the former had ruined public credit, and the latter had again lighted up the flames of civil war in the departments. Bonaparte succeeded in tranquillizing La Vendée, rather by lenient than coercive measures. Every where regularity succeeded to trouble and disorder.

The list of the emigrants was finally closed, and the threat of proscription against the clergy, &c. lost much of its terror. But only eight days after this revolution, a decree was issued, whereby fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins were condemned to banishment, thirty-seven to Guiana, and the rest to the Isle of Oleron; but as this was merely to strike terror into the terrorists, they were only placed under the surveillance of the Minister of the Police. Many churches were restored to their primitive use. Several exiled citizens were recalled, and among them Barthelemi, Carnot, and Pastoret. Lucien Bonaparte was constituted Minister of the Interior, and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

At length the fabric of a new government was completed by the Legislative Commission, and approved on the 13th of December by the consuls and members of the Legislative Committee. This constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the public at large, and received the express and avowed assent of upwards of three millions of the people. On the 29th of December, 1799, the new constitution was proclaimed at Paris with great solemnity, and the people by their acclamations seemed to cherish the hope, that this would confer upon them the enjoyments of tranquillity, prosperity, and peace.

Charmed with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution with delight, and viewed the pomp and splendour of the consular government with surprise and self-complacency. They reasoned little, but hoped much. Bonaparte was their idol, and from him alone they expected every thing.

CHAP. X.

Invasion of Italy proposed—Army of Reserve a Ruse de Guerre*—Dispersion of the Chouans—M. Necker—Passage of Mount St. Bernard—Method of transporting Cannon, &c.—Bonaparte's Guide—Fort of Bard—Operations of the Army—Surprise of General Melas—The French enter Milan—Proclamation to the Army of Reserve—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Passage of the Po—Affair of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—General Dessaix—Napoleon's return to Paris—His own Account of the Battle of Marengo—Letter from Louis XVIII.—Overtures made to him by Count d'Artois—The Duchess de Guiche—Rupture of the Armistice—Negotiations and Political Intrigues—Insurrections in Italy—The Emperor Paul abandons the Coalition—Return of French Emigrants.*

THIS year commenced with the execution of a project so comprehensive in its extent, and apparently so improbable in its execution, that it was not surprising that for a time it should have been deemed romantic, even by those who had most reason to dread its reality.

The plan no doubt originated in the warlike and fertile brain of Napoleon; it was designed to stop the career of the Austrian General Melas, whose recent successes in Italy required a check. It was proposed by the First Consul to fall upon his rear, carry off his magazines, parks, and hospitals, and having cut him off from Austria, to give him battle. This required celerity, profound secrecy, and much boldness. But how was it possible to keep the movements of the army concealed from the numerous spies of England and Austria? The method preferred by the First Consul, was to divulge it himself with

so much publicity, that it should become an object of derision to the enemy, and make the whole appear to be a plan to divert the Austrian army from the blockade of Genoa. The appointment of the French army of reserve was therefore declared by messages to the Legislative Body and the Senate: by decrees published in the newspapers, and by intimations of all kinds. From these it appeared, that the point of concentration would be Dijon. The spies and scouts immediately directed their attention to that city, where they found in the beginning of April a large staff without an army; though in the course of a month, from 5 to 6000 conscripts and retired soldiers arrived, many of whom were maimed. This army of course became the object of ridicule, and when the First Consul himself reviewed it, on the 6th of May, people were astonished to see no more than 6 or 7000 men, and the most of them not even clothed. These deceitful reports travelled through Geneva, Basle, Italy, Vienna, and Brittany. Numerous caricatures were published; one of them represented a boy of twelve years of age with a wooden leg, and underneath it was written, *Bonaparte's Army of Reserve.*

In the mean time, the real army had been formed, and was ready to march. La Vendée was tranquillized, and a final end put to the system of the Chouans, so that a considerable portion of the army of reserve had been drawn from that country. The park of artillery was formed of guns and waggons sent piecemeal from various arsenals and fortresses. The most difficult thing was to conceal the movement of the provisions indispensible for an army which was to cross barren mountains, where nothing was to be had; but even this was managed.

Another *ruse de guerre* used on this occasion, was the dissemination of a number of little bulletins in manuscript, in which, besides many scandalous anecdotes respecting the First Consul, it was attempted to be proved

that the army of reserve did not, and could not exist; that from 12 to 15,000 conscripts at most were all that could be collected, and it was insidiously asked, whether the army of Italy would have been left so weak, if the government had been able to reinforce it. It was said at Paris, as well as at Dijon and Vienna, that no army of reserve existed. At the head-quarters of the Austrian General Melas, the illusion was so complete, that they said, "The army of reserve we are threatened with is a band of 7 or 8000 conscripts or invalids, with which the French hope to deceive us into raising the siege of Genoa. The French rely too much on our simplicity: they wish us to realize the fable of the dog who dropped his prey for the shadow."

On the 6th of May, 1800, the First Consul left Paris, and proceeded to Dijon. Arriving at Geneva on the 8th, M. Necker, then in that city, was presented to him, and expressed his hopes and wishes again to have the management of the French finances, though he did not even know in what manner the public business was conducted with treasury bonds. The First Consul was very indifferently pleased with M. Necker, though he praised the military operations going on under his eyes.

On the 13th of May, Napoleon reviewed the real vanguard of the army of reserve at Lausanne; it was commanded by General Lannes, and consisted of six old regiments of chosen troops, well clothed, and completely equipped and appointed. It moved directly afterwards upon St. Pierre; the divisions followed *in echelon*, the whole forming an army of 36,000 fighting men, with a park of forty pieces of artillery.

The passage of Mount St. Bernard was preferred by Napoleon to that of Mount Cenis; the difficulty in the former lay in the ascent and descent; but then it offered the advantage of leaving Turin on the right; and acting in a country more covered and less known. Still a speedy

passage of the artillery seemed impossible. The cartridges and ammunition were put into cases, which, as well as the mountain forges, were carried by mules. The greatest difficulty was in getting the pieces themselves over; but a number of trunks of trees, hollowed out for the reception of the guns, which were fastened into them by their trunnions, being prepared, every piece, thus arranged, was dragged by soldiers. All these dispositions were made with so much promptitude, that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The troops themselves made it a point of honour not to leave their guns in the rear, and throughout the whole passage the regimental bands were playing; and it was only in difficult spots that the charge was beaten, to give fresh vigour to the soldiers. One division, rather than leave their artillery, chose to pass the night upon the summit of a mountain in the midst of snow and excessive cold.

It has been said that Napoleon had his fortune to make at this period: but at the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard he had fought twenty pitched battles, conquered Italy, dictated peace to Austria at twenty leagues distance from Vienna; negotiated at Rastadt with Count Cobentzel for the surrender of the strong city of Mentz; raised near 300 millions of contributions, which had served to supply the army during two years, to create the Cisalpine army, and even to pay some of the offices of government in Paris. He had sent to the Museum three hundred *chef d'œuvres,* ancient Grecian statues or pictures of the age of the Medici. He had conquered in Egypt; suppressed the factions at home, and eradicated the war in La Vendée.

On the 16th of May, Bonaparte slept at the convent of St. Maurice, and the whole army passed the St. Bernard on the 17th. He crossed on the 20th, riding on a mule recommended by one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre as the most sure-footed in all the country. Bonaparte's guide

was a tall robust youth of twenty-two, who conversed freely with him with all the confidence becoming his age, and the simplicity of the inhabitants of the mountains. He confided all his troubles to the First Consul, as well as the dreams of his future happiness.

Before he was dismissed, Napoleon, who till then had shewn no disposition to do any thing for him, wrote a note, which realized all the poor fellow's hopes, such as the building of a house; the purchase of a piece of ground, &c. The astonishment of this young mountaineer was extreme.

The First Consul remained an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, and performed the descent *à la ramasse*, that is, sliding on a sort of sledge down an almost perpendicular glacier. The descent was more difficult for the horses than the ascent had been; however, very few accidents happened. The monks also accommodated the men to the best of their ability: each soldier, as he passed, received a comfortable ration from these good fathers.

On the 17th of May this van-guard reached Chatillon, where an Austrian corps of 4 or 5000 men, posted to defend the valley, were attacked and routed; three guns and some hundreds of prisoners were taken. Still, whilst the French army were flattering themselves that every difficulty was overcome, their progress was all at once checked by the cannon of fort Bard.

This obstacle was more considerable than that of the Great St. Bernard itself: yet neither the one nor the other retarded the march of this army. The Austrian officer who commanded fort Bard dispatched letter after letter to General Melas, informing him that he saw more than 30,000 men, 3 or 4000 horses, and a numerous staff, attempting to pass on his right, by a path of steps in the rock of Albaredo. He even suggested, that it would be more than a month before the French army would receive

its artillery, or be able to trust itself in the plain. After the surrender of the fort, the officers of the garrison were strangely surprised, on learning that all the French artillery had passed by night at thirty or forty toises from their ramparts. The fort of Bard surrendered on the 1st of June. In the interval from the 1st of May, Melas had been marching troops upon Turin, and strengthening the divisions in the Valley of Aosta and Mount Cenis; though on the 22d the latter post was taken by General Thurreau, who had 3000 men under him; his subsequent occupation, a position between Susa and Turin, alarmed Melas, and paralized his efforts.

Ivrea, occupied by five or six thousand Austrians, was soon after carried, together with the citadel, containing numerous magazines.

On the 26th, the enemy having retired to Romano to cover Turin, General Lannes attacked him in his position, overthrew, and drove him in disorder upon that city. The French advanced guard immediately took possession of Chivasso, where Bonaparte harangued the troops, and bestowed eulogiums upon them.

Preparations having been made by the French, as if they intended to pass the Po, General Melas selected an officer who had the honour of knowing the First Consul, and sent him on a parley to the out-posts. His surprize at finding him so near the Austrians was extreme.

On the 27th General Murat passed the Sesia, and on the 31st of May, Bonaparte moved rapidly upon the Tessino. Here the Austrians had united to cover Milan, and the contest was brisk during the whole day. The French had no bridge, but crossed upon four small boats, and on the 2d of June they entered the city of Milan, and invested the citadel. Bonaparte, marching with the van-guard, was one of the first persons who presented themselves to the eyes of the astonished inhabitants who had crowded

from all quarters. They could scarcely trust their sight! it had been reported that Napoleon had died on the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army.

Between the 1st and 8th of June, the following proclamation was addressed to the army of reserve:

"Soldiers! One of our departments was in the power of the enemy: consternation reigned over the whole South of France.

"The greater part of the territory of the Ligurians, the most faithful friends of the republic, was invaded.

"The Cisalpine republic, annihilated by the last campaign, was become the sport of a ridiculous feudal domination.

"Soldiers! You march, and the French territory is already free! Consternation and dread are succeeded by joy and hope in our country.

"You will restore liberty and independence to the people of Genoa, who will be for ever relieved from their eternal foes.

"You are in the capital of the Cisalpine.

"The enemy, panic-struck, hope only to regain the frontiers. You have taken from them their stores, their magazines, and their reserve of artillery.

"The first act of the campaign is ended.

"You hear daily, millions of men manifest their gratitude to you.

"But shall the violation of the French soil pass unpunished? Will you suffer those soldiers who have carried terror into your families to return to their fire-sides? You rush to arms.

"Well then, march to meet them, oppose their retreat, snatch from them the laurels with which they have decked themselves, and thereby teach the world, that a malediction rests upon all madmen who dare to insult the territory of the great nation.

"The result of our efforts will be *unclouded glory and solid peace.*

"The First Consul,

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."

About this period, a dispatch from the ministry at Vienna to M. de Melas, was intercepted; it contained some curious information with regard to what it called, "the *pretended* army of reserve;" and Melas was ordered to continue his operations in Provence vigorously. The minister hoped that Genoa would have capitulated, and that the English army would have arrived. It was also stated, that some commotions had taken place in Paris, and obliged the First Consul to return hastily to that capital from Geneva!

But in the midst of the most brilliant successes and the fairest hopes, it was the fate of the French army to hear that Genoa had actually capitulated, and that the Austrians that formed the blockade, were coming by forced marches to join the army of Melas. Massena, who had thus capitulated, was strongly censured; however, Bonaparte then saw that he must rely on his own strength alone, and that he would shortly have to manage the whole army.

The enemy, encouraged by circumstances, sent a vanguard of four to five thousand men to attack that of the French who had passed the Po; but General Lannes soon routed them, and at night took a position before the Austrian army which occupied Montebello and Casteggio, with about 18,000 men and Ott's grenadiers, the flower of the army.

Lannes being in position, and expecting reinforcements every moment, had no inducement to attack; but the Austrian General made a movement at day-break. The battle was bloody. Lannes covered himself with glory; the Austrians fought desperately, but Victor's division

coming up about noon, the day was decided in favour of the French. The enemy lost 3000 killed and 6000 prisoners. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, the First Consul remained in the position at Stradella, employing the time in concentrating his army, and securing his retreat by the construction of two bridges across the Po, and fortifying them. The enemy's cavalry was formidable, and that of the French with the artillery was inferior in number; it was therefore dangerous to engage in the plain of Marengo. However, the issue shewed that there was no longer any choice; and besides, the chances of victory were wholly in favour of the Austrian army, which was very numerous. Previous to the battle of Marengo, which occurred on the 14th of June, 1800, General Dessaix, who had returned from Egypt, arrived at the head-quarters, with his aïdes-de-camp, Rapp and Savory. Dessaix burned to signalize himself. He longed to avenge the ill-treatment he had received from Admiral Keith at Leghorn. Napoleon immediately gave him the command of the division of Boudet.

Under the impression that the Austrians were marching on Genoa, Napoleon dispatched Dessaix's division in the form of a van-guard upon his extreme left, whilst Victor arriving at Marengo, routed a rear-guard of four or five thousand Austrians, and made himself master of the village.

On the 14th at break of day, the Austrians defiled by three bridges of the Bormida, and made a furious attack upon Marengo. The resistance was kept up for a long time. Bonaparte arrived on the field of battle at ten in the morning, between San Juliano and Marengo: the latter had been carried by the enemy. Victor's division, after a smart conflict, was thrown into the utmost disorder, and the plain was left covered with French fugitives, many of whom were exclaiming in dismay, "All is lost!"

The corps of General Lannes, a little in the rear of the right of Marengo, was outflanked by the enemy, upon which Bonaparte dispatched his battalion of the cavalry guard, the best troops in the army, to station themselves at a distance of 500 toises from Lannes, and keep the enemy in check. The First Consul himself also hastened with the seventy-second demi-brigade to assist Lannes. When the army perceived him in the middle of this immense plain, and 200 horse grenadiers with their fur caps, their hopes of victory returned, and the fugitives were rallied upon San Juliano in the rear of the left of Lannes, who was effecting his retreat with admirable order and coolness. This corps occupied three hours in retiring three quarters of a league, entirely exposed to the grape shot of eighty pieces of cannon; at the same time that, by an inverse movement, St. Cyr advanced upon the extreme right, and turned the left of the enemy.

About three in the afternoon the corps under Dessaix arrived: the First Consul made him take a position on the road in advance of San Juliano. Melas, who thought that victory had decided in his favour, being overcome with fatigue, repassed the bridges, and left to General Zach, the head of his staff, the task of pursuing the French. The First Consul ordered General Dessaix to charge Zach's column of 6000 grenadiers; but as he advanced at the head of 200 troopers, he was shot through the heart by a ball, and fell dead at the very moment he had given the word to charge. This misfortune did not discourage the movement. General Boudet easily inspired the soldiers with the same ardent desire of instant revenge. On this occasion the ninth demi-brigade merited the title of *Incomparable*. General Kellerman at the same time with 800 heavy horse, charged the Austrian column intrepidly: in less than half an hour these 6000 grenadiers were broken, dispersed, and put to flight, and General Zach and all his staff made prisoners.

General Lannes immediately charged forwards. St. Cyr, who was upon the right, was much nearer than the enemy to the bridges upon the Bormida. The whole Austrian army was thrown into the most dreadful confusion. From eight to ten thousand cavalry which were spread over the field, fearing that St. Cyr's division might reach the bridge before them, retreated at full gallop, and overturned all they met in their way. No one thought of any thing but flight. The pressure and confusion on the bridges became extreme, and all who remained at night upon the left bank were made prisoners.

In this desperate situation, General Melas resolved to give his troops the whole night to rally and repose themselves; availing himself of the Bormida on one side, and the citadel of Allesandra on the other, or at any rate to save his army by capitulating. Accordingly on the 15th, by day-break, the Austrian General sent a flag of truce, which on the same day led to a convention, by which Genoa and all the fortified places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, were given up, and by which the Austrian army obtained leave to retire behind Mantua, without being made prisoners of war. Thus was the conquest of all Italy secured.

In consequence of this change of affairs, General Suchet entered Genoa on the 24th of June, which was given up to him by Prince Hohenzollern, to the great regret of the English, whose van-guard from Mahon, had arrived within sight of that port.

The First Consul, on the 17th of June, set out from Marengo for Milan; which place, as well as a great part of Italy, had become the scene of the most animated rejoicings.

Though General Massena had been guilty of an error in embarking his troops at Genoa, instead of conducting them by land, it was considered that he had always displayed great character and energy. The First Consul,

therefore appointed him Commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

Many persons have ascribed this victory entirely to Dessaix, asserting that Bonaparte was defeated, till the former came up and changed the fortune of the day. An officer, who in many points of view was not an admirer of Napoleon, has maintained the contrary opinion, and asserted that Bonaparte's talents as a General, were never more conspicuous than during the battle of Marengo: he saved every thing by defending the narrow defile on the side of that village till Dessaix came up, and, perhaps, no other General in the world could have kept his men at the defile as he did, exposed all the time to a dreadful fire from the enemy. He was himself an example of intrepidity, which increased his personal influence with the soldiers to such a degree, that they remained firm as the rocks by which they were surrounded. Had it been otherwise, Dessaix's corps would have come up in vain. However, this General's conduct, and the bravery of his troops, were above all praise. It is true, the appearance of victory in one or two parts of this extended field, roused the courage of the Austrians to enthusiasm. They pressed on to complete their triumph. The consular-guard, called "the wall of granite," met and resisted the shock. The eye of Bonaparte fixed the fortune of the day: he foresaw that the enemy, in the ardour of success, would extend his line too far. What he had foreseen happened, and called back victory to her favourite banner. It was then that Dessaix's division rushed into the midst of the triumphant foe, divided their ranks, and finally completed their ruin.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived both armies of the means of succouring the wounded; a great number of whom were left upon the field of battle. The Austrians and the French now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew near to each

other, and offered or sought mutual assistance. "The next morning," says an eye witness, "I entered the great court of Marengo: I was there struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection: more than three thousand French and Austrians heaped one upon another in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables, and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations, and crying out by turns for food, for water, and for the assistance of the surgeon. To add to the horrors of the scene, prisoners were brought in from every part, and their wants only served to increase the general misery."

The battle of Marengo was celebrated at Paris by a *fête*, on the 14th of July, and then presented a singularly interesting spectacle. This was the remains of the "wall of granite," who, just as the games were about to begin, marched into the field. The sight of these soldiers covered with the dust of their march, embrowned with the sun, and with the marks of warlike toil on their brow, formed a scene so affecting, that the people could not be restrained by the guards from violating the limits, to take a nearer view of these interesting heroes. While the parade lasted, tolerable good order was preserved; but as they marched away, after their presentation to the First Consul, mothers, sisters, and friends, rushed forwards to embrace sons and brothers as they passed; and amidst this joy of tears, and the loud acclamations of the spectators, the whole order of the ceremony was disturbed; useless efforts were made to persuade the people to retire to their positions, and the intended games were wisely deferred.

Napoleon's presence being necessary at Paris, he arrived there on the 2d of July, in the middle of the night, and was received on the following day with every demonstration of joy.

It is a curious fact, that Napoleon most religiously

preserved the drab great coat which he wore during his passage over Mount St. Gothard, previous to the memorable battle of Marengo. He was so much attached to this surtout, that he frequently wore it previous to decisive battles; and it is in this very habiliment that he is uniformly represented in the great pictures painted by his order, to immortalize his most celebrated triumphs.

The following account of the battle of Marengo, and the military tactics that preceded it, are extracted from a discourse delivered by Napoleon himself to the French National Institute, in August 1800, when he presided over it, and had recently returned from Italy.

"The army of reserve assembled at Dijon, gave me the advantage of passing rapidly into Germany or Italy. The season was favourable. The monks of St. Bernard assured me, that the snow had dissolved this year twenty days sooner than usual: they received our army a little fatigued by the passage of the Alps, extremely well. I had pre-informed them of our arrival: I had sent them money, and they furnished us with provisions and very good wine. The monks of St. Bernard are an order infinitely respectable; it is one of those institutions which governments ought never to destroy, but should protect and encourage by all the means in their power.

"I arrived in Italy: I found myself behind the enemy, and master of all his magazines and equipages; I had obtained great advantages, but, once arrived at Stradella, I had a right to consider the campaign as finished. If Genoa had held out, I remained firm in my entrenched camp at Stradella—the strongest military position in Italy. I had five bridges over the Po, which rendered my communications easy with the divisions of Chabran, Lapeyre, Turreau, and Moncey: in case of necessity, I could either summon them to my aid, if attacked, or aid them in case they were. M. de Melas, in short, was forced, in order to be able to open his communications, to come

and offer me battle, on a ground which I myself had chosen; extremely intersected, covered with wood, very favourable to my infantry—the reverse for his cavalry; and where I had the disposal of all my troops

"The capture of Genoa changed the face of every thing; henceforward the enemy possessed a sure retreat, and very strong positions: he could either retire into Genoa, and defend himself therein—deriving his provisions from the sea; or line the heights of Bobbio with artillery, and retire, in spite of my efforts to oppose him, into Placentia, regain Mantua and Peschiera, put himself into communication with Austria, and reduce me to an ordinary war. All my plan of the campaign would have been frustrated; a great chance presented itself to me—I risked it—I set out from Milan, and traversed thirty-two leagues in seven hours: I commanded the battle of Montebello—we gained it, and this victory caused the enemy's retreat from Genoa. But this same victory weakened my army—I was obliged to leave two divisions on the other side of the Po, to close the entrance of the states of Milan; and they were not, to say the truth, distant from me above three leagues—but they would require three days to traverse them; they must have passed by Placentia, or by Stradella. I had also against me another disadvantage—the country, from Montebello to Alexandria, is nothing but an immense plain, most advantageous for the Austrian cavalry; I nevertheless resolved to offer a pitched battle, because I was in an extraordinary situation, and because I risked little to gain much.

"Determined to give battle, I ordered an account of the effective strength of my army to be rendered to me: I had in all 26,000 men; M. de Melas had 40,000, 18,000 of which were cavalry. At two o'clock in the morning they came to inform me that the enemy had fallen on our advanced guard, and that our troops gave way: the French like not to be the attacked. Our troops fell back some-

what in disorder; some betook themselves to flight: the enemy took some prisoners—we had retreated a league and a half. The generals of the advanced guard, Lasnes, Murat, and Berthier, sent me courier after courier; they told me that their troops were in flight, that they could not stop them—they asked for support, and requested me to march with my reserve. I replied to all—"Hold out as long as possible—if you cannot, fall back." I perceived that the enemy had not yet employed his reserve, and, in these kind of affairs, the great object is to make the enemy employ all his forces, in managing your own; and to make him attack at right and at left, as long as you cannot be deceived, the difficulty being to make him employ his reserve. He had 34,000 men against, at most, 20,000, who were in flight—he had but to pursue his advantage: I repaired to the first line in an elegant uniform; I attacked them myself with a demi-brigade—I broke their order of battle—I pierced their line. M. de Melas, who saw me at the head of the army, and his lines broken, imagined that I had arrived with a reserve to reinforce the combat—he advanced on this point with his own 6000 Hungarian grenadiers, the flower of his infantry; this corps filled up the vacancy, and attacked us in our turn. Seeing this, I gave way; and, in a retreat of half a league exposed to their cannon, I rallied all the army, and reformed it in order of battle: arrived near my reserve, which was composed of 6000 men, had fifteen pieces of artillery, and Dessaix for general, and which was my sheet-anchor—I opened, by an extremely rapid movement, the whole army. I formed the two wings of Dessaix, and I shewed them 6000 fresh troops. A tremendous discharge of artillery, and a desperate charge at the point of the bayonet, broke their line, and cut their two wings: I then ordered Kellermann to attack them with 800 horse, and, as cavalry march quicker than infantry, they cut off from the rest of their army the 6000 Hungarian

grenadiers, in sight of the Austrian cavalry; but this was half a league off; they required a quarter of an hour to arrive—and I have always observed, that it is these quarters of an hour which decide the fate of battles. Kellermann's troops threw the grenadiers towards our infantry; they were instantly made prisoners. The Austrian cavalry then arrived; but our infantry was in line—its cannon in the front—a fine discharge, and a barrier of bayonets, prevented their attack; they retired somewhat in disorder. I pressed them with three regiments which had just joined me; they deployed; and, in seeking to pass the bridge of the Bormida, which is very narrow, a great many were drowned in the river. They were pursued till night.

"I learned, after the battle, from several general officers (prisoners) that, in the midst of their success, they were not without inquietude; they had a secret presentiment of their defeat. During the fight they questioned our prisoners, asking them, "Where is General Bonaparte?"—"He is in the rear," they replied: and those Austrians who had before fought against me in Italy, and who knew my custom to reserve myself for the end, exclaimed, "Our day's work is not yet done."

Shortly after this battle, Napoleon says, Louis XVIII. wrote a letter to him, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquiou, in which he complained of his long delay in restoring him to his throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be complete without Bonaparte; that one was as necessary to it as the other; and concluded by desiring Napoleon to chuse whatever he thought proper, provided he was restored to his throne. Napoleon sent him back a very handsome answer, in which he stated, that he was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of himself and family; that he was ready to do every thing in his power to relieve them, and would interest himself in providing a suitable income for them;

but that he might abandon the thought of ever returning to France as a sovereign, as that could not be effected without marching over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.

The overtures made to Napoleon by the Count d'Artois, possessed still more elegance and address. The bearer of these was the Duchess de Guiche, a lady whose personal graces and fascinating manners were extremely prepossessing. She got access to Madame Bonaparte, and breakfasted with her at Malmaison. Here the conversation turning on London, the emigrants, and the French princes, Madame de Guiche mentioned her having been at the house of the Count d'Artois, when some person asked him what he intended to do for the First Consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons; and that the Prince had replied: "I would immediately make him constable of the kingdom, and every thing else he might chuse. But even that would not be enough: we would raise on the Carrousel, a lofty and magnificent column, surmounted with a statue of Bonaparte crowning the Bourbons."

As soon as Napoleon entered the apartment, Josephine eagerly repeated what the duchess had said. "And did not you reply," said her husband, "that the corpse of the First Consul would have been made the pedestal of the columns?" The charming duchess was still present; the beauties of her countenance, her eyes, her words, were directed to the success of her mission. She observed also, that she was so much delighted, she did not know how she should ever be able sufficiently to acknowledge the favour which Madame Bonaparte had procured her, of seeing and hearing so distinguished a man—so great a hero. All this was in vain—the duchess received orders that very night, to quit Paris.

Whilst at St. Helena, Napoleon speaking in reference to Louis, the French king, observed, "If Lord Castle-

reagh were to offer me the crown of France, on the same conditions, I would prefer remaining where I am. There is no man more to be pitied than Louis. He is forced upon the nation as a king, and, instead of being allowed to ingratiate himself with the people, the Allies compel him to have recourse to measures which must increase their hatred, instead of conciliating their affections. Royalty is degraded by the steps they have obliged him to adopt. *On la rend si sale et si méprisable*, that it reflects upon England itself. Ill treated as I have been," continued Napoleon, "I prefer my sojourn on this execrable rock, to being seated on the throne of France, like Louis; as I know that posterity will do me justice. Another year or two will probably finish my career in this world, but what I have done will never perish. Twelve hundred years hence, my name will be mentioned with respect, whilst those of my oppressors will be unknown, or only known by being loaded with infamy and opprobrium."

On the 28th of July, preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. The peace was immediately ratified by the French government; but when the articles reached Vienna the Emperor refused his ratification, unless Great Britain was comprehended in the negotiation. However, the armistice previously agreed on between France and Germany was prolonged for forty-five days, Austria surrendering the fortresses of Philipsbourg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, to the French. This armistice expired on the first of December, when General Moreau was attacked at Haag, by the Archduke John, and compelled to retire to Hohenlinden. Here, however, fortune turned in favour of the French. On this fatal day ten thousand men were left on the field by the Austrians, with eighty pieces of cannon and other trophies.

At no period of their history, not even in the early part

of Maria Theresa's reign, was the situation of the Austrian monarchy in a more critical juncture. The French, after the singular victory at Hohenlinden, had crossed the Inn and the Ipps, and arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria, were within seventeen leagues of Vienna. The Gallo-Batavian army at the same time were advancing along the Danube. Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of descending into Italy or Germany, while Brune, after taking fifteen thousand prisoners in twenty days, was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia.

The last armistice, like that which had preceded it, did not continue many weeks, and as it did not extend to Italy, in the beginning of the succeeding year the Imperial and French troops were again in motion. The French generals acting upon the plans of the First Consul, were repeatedly victorious; and many battles were fought, highly disadvantageous to the enemy, especially that of Pozzolo in Italy. The siege of Peschiera was warmly pushed, and the place surrendered to General Chasseloup. In the course of a few weeks, the expedition of General Murat against the kingdom of Naples, was again followed by an armistice, the submission of Roger Damas, and the friendly reception of General Murat at Rome.

Much negotiation and political intrigue had been carried during the latter end of 1800. The Continent, weary of nine years' war, ardently sighed for peace. It was also known to be a part of Bonaparte's ambition, to become the pacificator of the country which had called him to be the supreme magistrate. Austria, however, still found itself fettered by its engagements with England; whilst the British cabinet was redoubling its efforts to fix the indecision of its ally, and to effect the renewal of the war upon the Continent. In this alone they could ensure their preponderance in foreign councils, and the monopoly of the commerce of Europe. In the mean

time, the cabinet of Vienna thought proper to send Count St. Julien to Paris. This general officer, whose mission was for some time covered with a veil of mystery, was the bearer of an autograph letter from the Emperor Francis, in answer to that which the First Consul had written to him after the convention of Alexandria. The object of this Austrian agent, seemed to be that of regulating the conditions of a general armistice; and the Count St. Julien was also provided with full powers to enter into negotiations with Bonaparte. With this view, the First Consul proposed that the French should occupy all the fortresses of the west of Italy, commencing with Mantua; secondly, the acknowledgment of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics; and lastly, the independence of Tuscany, excepting an indemnification which should be agreed upon, for the loss sustained by the Grand Duke Ferdinand.

These propositions had been previously communicated by the Austrian minister, Baron Thugut, to Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna; and his opinion was, that they should be rejected, as contrary to the respective interests of the two powers. Still considering the situation of Austria, the cabinet of London thought proper to agree to the mission of Count St. Julien to Paris, and promised to send plenipotentiaries to act in concert with those of the Emperor, and treat with the First Consul. However, the preliminaries of peace with Austria were signed at Paris on the 28th of July, 1800, six days after the arrival of Count St. Julien, founded upon the bases of the treaty of Campo Formio; but the declaration made by England, of taking a part in the negotiations, having altered the intentions of the Austrian cabinet, the Emperor Francis II. refused to ratify these preliminaries, and Count St. Julien was disgraced for having signed them, under the pretext that he had exceeded the full powers given him.

Bonaparte thus finding his hope of making a separate peace with Austria frustrated, answered the note of Lord Minto, communicated by Baron Thugut, and charged M. Otto, the French commissary at London for the exchange of prisoners, to transmit a note, in which the First Consul proposed a *naval* armistice between the two powers; but Lord Grenville contrived to get rid of the embarrassment which this note occasioned, by declaring that the situation in which England was placed, was different from that of Austria. The proposition for a naval armistice was then rejected; and Lord Grenville demanded passports for the return of his brother, Thomas Grenville, whom the king had intended should proceed to the Congress of Luneville as a plenipotentiary.

During these negotiations, which both parties kept as secret as possible, hostile preparations were carrying on with the greatest activity. Austria had ordered a levy *en masse* in Hungary; the frontier of Upper Austria, and the right bank of the Inn, were covered with intrenchments from Kuffstein to Passau; numerous reinforcements were sent to the armies, and corps of reserve were formed in the rear. The English augmented their naval force, and many attempts were made upon the French coast, and in the Mediterranean.

The French at the same time, in order to maintain their superiority upon the Continent, detached 15,000 men from the second army of reserve, into Switzerland, under the orders of General Macdonald, to connect themselves in such a manner with the armies of Italy and Germany, as to succour either, according to circumstances. Infact, by the month of September 1800, France had more than 200,000 excellent troops in the field.

Whilst these hostile corps, were approaching each other in the heart of Germany, the First Consul authorized General Moreau to continue the armistice beyond the 10th of September, the day it was to expire. Moreau

accordingly took it upon himself to prolong the armistice till the 17th. The First Consul approved of this delay, but sent an order by the telegraph to this General, to insist upon the ratification of the preliminaries, or to commence hostilities immediately; but authorizing him at the same time to consent to a new armistice for a month, if the Emperor would deliver up Philipsbourg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, as pledges of his good faith. Austria, who only sought to gain time, agreed to this new proposal; and by a convention entered into at Hohenlinden, the Austrian army was to occupy the two banks of the Inn, and General Moreau was to canton his troops upon the Iser, between the two armies, at a distance of three thousand toises from each; the line of demarcation was to be formed by a simple chain of advaned posts.

This convention of Hohenlinden for the prolongation of the armistice, was officially announced at Paris on the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, on the 1st of Vendemiare, in the Year IX, or the 22d of September, 1800, and was attended with all the solemnity of a republican *fête*. Lucien Bonaparte, as Minister of the Interior, in a speech made on this occasion, flattered the people with the hopes of a *maritime* armistice; and also gave them to understand, that a Continental peace was upon the point of being concluded.

But whilst the belligerent powers were amusing the people with their pacific dispositions, fresh troubles, secretly excited by England and Austria, plainly convinced the discerning few, of the perfidy of both nations, or rather that of their ministers. The court of Naples, more than ever under British influence, in the midst of peace, was making extraordinary levies. Already had a corps of 12,000 men advanced upon the Tronto, between the Upper Abruzzo and the Marche d'Ancone. Another Neapolitan corps, under Count Roger Damas, a French emigrant, had entered the Roman States, seconded by

the intrigues carried on by the celebrated Cardinal Ruffo, in the capital of the Christian world.

In Piedmont, bands of insurgents were continually annoying the French corps cantoned there under General Jourdan, then civil and military governor of Milan. Tuscany had become the theatre of scenes still more deplorable; here the Austrians had persuaded the peasantry to act in hostility towards the French, who continued their opposition till they were dispersed by General Monnier in the month of October, when the taking of Arezzo by assault, and the slaughter that was made in the town, caused the Austrian party to retire into Ferrara, and leave the population of Tuscany under the yoke which they had contributed to impose upon themselves. According to instructions from Bonaparte, General Dupont ordered the confiscation of all merchandize belonging to the powers at war with France. Forty-six English vessels in the port of Leghorn, laden with grain and pulse, were considered as an excellent resource for an army just ready to commence the compaign.

The prolongation of the armistice in Germany, did not by any means alleviate the hardships endured by the inhabitants from the presence of so many armies, every day consuming the produce of the whole country between the Rhine and the Inn; for notwithstanding the strictest discipline, the people were in the greatest misery. In the course of one year, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria had furnished more than two millions in contributions; besides these, the most exorbitant requisitions were daily made, and the people did not receive the least consolation from the Austrian government, deaf to the complaints that were continually made. This truly deplorable situation had a natural tendency to relax the bonds of the German Confederation; and most of the Princes who composed it, finding themselves in a hopeless condition, sought an alliance with Bonaparte, and entered into sepa-

rate treaties with him, without waiting the issue of the Emperor's negotiations at Luneville.

The influence of the First Consul was thus increasing from day to day; and to weaken the coalition still more, he availed himself of an expedient calculated to detach Russia from the allies altogether. The Emperor Paul had for more than a year solicited the British cabinet, to consent to the exchange of Russian prisoners in France, for a similar number of French detained in England, the refusal of which had raised that sovereign's resentment to the highest degree. Bonaparte, availing himself of this circumstance, collected between nine and ten thousand Russian prisoners in the northern departments of France, clothed them in their own proper uniform, equipped and armed them, and sent them home without being exchanged. Paul, already seduced by the military reputation of Bonaparte, was quite brought over by this specious act of generosity, and which in the end produced an alliance between them, that eventually occasioned the assassination of the unfortunate Paul.

The Congress at Luneville was opened on the 9th of November, 1800; when, as Bonaparte would not admit of an English plenipotentiary unless the proposed *naval* armistice was previously agreed to, the negotiations were confined to an exchange of full powers, empty formalities, and useless protestations. In the interim, the forty-five days prescribed for the armistice agreed on at Hohenlinden, having elapsed, Bonaparte sent couriers to the generals of the armies, to commence hostilities on the 26th of November.

Austria, the principal champion at the head of the struggle of the Kings against the First Consul, owing to the gold of England, had made such prodigious efforts, that she was once more in a situation to contend for victory, and the battle of Hohenlinden soon followed, in which the French, under Moreau, were, as usual, tri-

umphant, and the Archduke John was obliged to abandon all his entrenchments upon the Inn, and retire upon Alza. The battles that followed, brought the French armies into Styria, within a few leagues of Vienna, when the Austrian General Grune presented himself at head quarters, with full powers to conclude another armistice! The Archduke also announced to the General-in-chief, that the Emperor of Austria was determined to make peace, with or without the consent of the allies. Moreau, who thought he had performed enough for his glory, disdained the empty honour of a triumphal entry into the capital of Austria, and therefore thought proper to suspend the march of his troops, and accede to the proposed armistice. However, in twenty-two days the French army had gained forty leagues of ground, and the formidable lines of the Inn; the Salzbach, the Traun, and the Ens, had been passed without loss; while more than forty-five thousand Imperialists killed and wounded, an hundred and forty field pieces, and a number of colours taken, rendered the moderation of the conquerors still more conspicuous.

For some time before the expiration of 1800, the return of the emigrants to France had been facilitated in various ways by the liberality of the First Consul; but towards the close of that year, their conspiracies gave the most unfavourable bias to this indulgence. Here we allude to the explosion of the infernal machine, on the evening of the 24th of December.

From the Journal of the private life of Napoleon, it now appears that two infernal machines were constructed, and the contrivers of both discovered to Napoleon, but who, with his usual policy, kept the history of the first a profound secret. He did not like to divulge the numerous conspiracies of which he was the object.

The construction of the first of these infernal machines, the Emperor imputed to a hundred furious jacobins, the

real authors of the scenes of September and the 10th of August. To accomplish their purpose of getting rid of him, they invented a fifteen or sixteen pound howitzer, which on being thrown into the carriage, would explode by its own concussion. To make their object more sure, they proposed to lay caltrops along a part of the road, which would impede the carriage, and prevent the horses from moving on. The man who was to be employed in laying down the caltrops, entertaining some suspicions of the job, communicated his ideas to the police. The conspirators were soon traced, and were apprehended near the Jardin des Plantes, in the act of trying the effects of a machine, which made a terrible explosion. The First Consul, for reasons aforesaid, did not give publicity to this event, but contented himself with imprisoning the criminals. He soon relaxed his orders for keeping them closely confined, and thus they were allowed to mingle with some royalists in the same prison, who were there for having attempted to assassinate him by means of air guns. These two parties formed an alliance, and the royalists transmitted to their friends out of prison, the idea of the last infernal machine, which actually exploded on the 24th of December.

The account that Napoleon gave of this event, stated in substance, that on that evening he was much pressed to go to the Opera. He had been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found himself sleepy and tired. He threw himself on a sofa in his wife's room, and fell asleep: Josephine came down some time after, awoke him, and insisted he should go to the theatre. She wished him to do every thing to ingratiate himself with the people. Against his inclination he got up, went into his carriage, accompanied by Lasnes and Bessieres, but was so drowsy that he fell asleep in the coach, and continued so till the explosion took place, when he recollected experiencing a sensation, as if the

vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contrivers were a man named St. Regent; Imolan, a religious man, who afterwards went to America and became a priest, and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel, resembling that with which water is supplied in the streets of Paris, only with this exception, that the barrel was placed cross ways. This, Imolan filled with gunpowder, and placed it and himself nearly in the turning of the street (St. Nicaise) through which the Consul's carriage was to pass.

What saved Bonaparte was, his wife's carriage being the same in appearance as his, and as there was a guard of fifteen men to each, Imolan did not know which carriage Bonaparte was in, and was not certain he would be in either; to ascertain this, he stepped forward to look into the carriage. One of the guards, a great tall strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man stopping up the way, and staring into the carriage, rode up and gave him a kick with his great boot, crying out, "Get out of the way, *pekin*," which knocked him down. Before he could get up, the carriage had passed a little on, when Imolan, probably confused by his fall, not perceiving that the carriage had passed, exploded his machine between the two carriages. It killed the horse of one of the guards, wounded the rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty or fifty spectators, who were gazing to see the First Consul pass. The police collected together all the remnants of the cart and the machine, and invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces were recognized by several. One said, I made this, another that, and all agreed they had sold them to two men, who by their accent were *Bas-Bretons*, natives of Lower Brittany; but nothing more could be learned.

Shortly after, the hackney coachmen and others of that description gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées to

Cæsar, Napoleon's coachman, thinking he had saved his master's life, by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was drunk at the time. It was the guardsman that saved it, by knocking Imolan down. It is possible that the coachman assisted, by driving furiously round the corner, as being drunk, and not afraid of any thing. He was so far gone, that he thought the report of the explosion was that of a salute fired in honour of his master's visit to the theatre. At the coachmen's dinner they all took their bottle freely: one of them, when drunk, said, "Cæsar, I know the men who tried to blow the First Consul up the other day. In such a street, and such a house," naming them, "I saw on that day a water-cart coming out of a passage, which arrested my attention, as I had never seen one there before. I observed the men and the horse, and should know them again." The minister of police was sent for; the man was interrogated, and brought to the house referred to, where they found the measure with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, and there was a little of the powder scattered about. The master of the house, on being questioned, said there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugglers: that on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed contained a loading of smuggled goods. He added, that they were *Bas-Bretons*, and that one of them appeared to give directions to the other two. A description of their persons being thus obtained, St. Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed. An inspector of police had noticed the cart standing at the corner of the street for a long time, and had ordered the person that was with it to drive it away, but he made some excuse, and said there was plenty of room; the Inspector seeing what he thought a *water-cart*, with a miserable horse not worth twenty francs, did not suspect any lurking mischief.

The sensation excited by the shock of this explosion, Napoleon afterwards acknowledged, awoke him from a dream that he was drowning in the Tagliamento, an event which must have left a very deep impression upon his mind. It was then some few years since he had passed the river Tagliamento in Italy, in his carriage, during the night. In the ardour of youth, and heedless of every obstacle, though he was attended by an hundred men, armed with poles and torches, his carriage was soon set on float. He for some time gave himself up for lost. So at the moment when he awoke on his way to the opera, in the midst of a conflagration, the carriage was lifted up, and the passage of the Tagliamento came fresh upon his memory. The illusion, however, was but short—"We are blown up!" exclaimed the First Consul to Lasnes and Bessieres, who were in the carriage with him. They proposed to make arrests, but he advised them not to be too hasty. He arrived safe at the opera, and appeared as if nothing had happened.

Napoleon being asked whilst at St. Helena, who the persons were that employed the contrivers of the infernal machine, said they were employed by the Count D***, and sent over by Pitt in English ships, and furnished with English money. "Although," added he, "your **** did not actually suborne them, they knew what they were going to execute, and furnished them with the means." He did not believe that Louis XVIII. was privy to it.

Previous to this, a conspiracy of about fifty persons, most of whom had once been very much attached to him, consisting of officers in the army, men of science, painters and sculptors, was formed against him. They were all stern republicans, their minds were heated; each fancied himself a Brutus; him a tyrant, and another Cæsar. Amongst them was Arena, a countryman of Bonaparte's, who imagined, that by getting rid of him he should do a service to France. Ceracchi, another Corsican sculptor,

having determined to kill the First Consul, came to Paris from Milan, and though he had made one statue for him at the latter place, he solicited to have the honour of making another; but his intention was to poniard Bonaparte whilst he was sitting for it. This was refused; and as Napoleon was then ignorant of the conspiracy, this refusal saved his life.

Among these conspirators was a captain; he would not consent that Bonaparte should be killed, but as he could not bring the rest of them into his way of thinking, he gave information of their names and plans. They were to assassinate Napoleon the first night he went to the theatre, in the passage on his returning. Every thing being arranged with the police, Napoleon went the same evening to the theatre, and actually passed through the conspirators, some of whom he knew personally, and who were armed with poniards under their cloaks. Shortly after his arrival they were seized, afterwards tried and executed.

Lucien Bonaparte was appointed Prime Minister of the Interior this year, and on the 14th of July he laid the first stone of the national column at Paris, intended to celebrate the chief epochas of the Revolution, and the new order of things under the benign influence of the First Consul. In the same year Lucien, with the Prefect of the Seine, laid the foundation stone of a departmental column, sacred to liberty and war, and dedicated to the army.

The year 1800 terminated triumphantly for the French arms in Italy. General Lecourbe entered Steyer, in Carinthia, on the 25th of December. The Austrians lost 12,000 men killed, and 8000 prisoners. The Mincio was passed, and the city of Verona entered by General Brune, on the last day of the year.

CHAP. XI.

Armistice in Italy—Peace of Luneville—Proclamation by Bonaparte to the French—Capture of the Hannibal, a 74—Attacks upon the Boulogne Flotilla—Negotiations—Preliminaries of Peace—Treaty of Amiens—Elba—English Smugglers—Pacification with the Pope—The Concordat—Death of the Emperor Paul of Russia—Remarks on his Murderers—Northern Confederation broken up—Evacuation of Egypt—Napoleon's Observations—Thievery of a little Chinese—French Expedition to St. Domingo—Changes in the Government of Switzerland—German Indemnities, and Ecclesiastical Secularizations.

ALTHOUGH long before the commencement of this year, it was generally supposed that negotiations were going on, yet as the armistice concluded between General Moreau and the Austrians did not extend to the armies in Italy, the hopes of peace were but feeble, till about the middle of January, 1801, when the French and Austrian Generals in Italy entered into a Convention, by which it was stipulated, that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated by the Austrians, and the fortresses of Brannau and Wurtzburgh delivered up to the French. These stipulations were soon followed by a new agreement at Trevisa, between the Generals Brune and Bellegarde, by which a cessation of arms was obtained in Italy, on condition of surrendering Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara and Ancona, afterwards ceded to the French.

On the 9th of February, 1801, the peace of Luneville, after so many delays, was actually signed. Its conditions were, that the left bank of the Rhine should be the

limit of the French Republic, which should give up all claims upon the right.

According to this treaty, the Austrian Netherlands were ceded in perpetuity to France, and with the left bank of the Rhine, the county of Falkenstein and Frickthal. All the principal articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, were at the same time confirmed. The interests of Europe would not admit that the Emperor of Germany should pass the Adige. The independence of the Helvetic and Cisalpine Républics were admitted: in fact, the court of Vienna agreed to treat upon the bases of the treaty of Campo Formio. This treaty was ratified by all the contracting parties in less than a month, and by the diet of the empire some time after.

The *fêtes* by which this treaty was celebrated throughout the French Republic, were preceded by the following proclamation:

"Frenchmen! A glorious peace has terminated the war on the Continent. Your frontiers are extended to those limits intended for them by nature. Nations a long time separated, rejoin you as brothers, and increase your territories, your strength, and your population, one-sixth.

"This success you owe to the courage of your warriors, to their patience in their labours, and to their love of liberty, their country, and their passion for glory; but you owe it also to the happy return of concord, and that union of interests and sentiments, that has more than once saved France from ruin. Whilst you were divided, your enemies did not expect to conquer you; but this would have been effected by yourselves, and that power which has triumphed over all their efforts, would have been crushed amidst the convulsions of discord and anarchy. Their hopes have been deceived. Let the remembrance of your domestic troubles for ever unite you, and let the consciousness of your strength and your greatness, prevent

the base passions from tarnishing a name which has been consecrated to glory and immortality, by so many exploits!"

The interval between the peace of Luneville, and that of Amiens that followed, was occupied by such formidable preparations on the opposite coasts of England, that an attempt to cripple or destroy those at Boulogne, was not thought unworthy the talents and enterprise of a Nelson.

Some success in the Mediterranean, in the capture of the Hannibal, a British 74 gun ship, in the harbour of Algesiras, was magnified by the French into a great victory: three of their ships, as they asserted, having beaten six of the English! Hence the destruction of the modern Carthage was fondly predicted, from the loss of her Hannibal.

But certainly the various attacks upon Boulogne, may be reckoned among the most interesting events of our naval campaign. The object was, to destroy the French flotilla of gun-boats, &c. in that harbour. On the second of August, 1801, Lord Nelson hoisted his flag as Vice-Admiral of the Blue, on board the Medusa frigate. The daring spirit of this great commander could not remain contented with exertions merely defensive; and therefore, having selected a squadron of men of war, frigates, gun and bomb-vessels, he proceeded to the coast of France, for the purpose of attacking the enemy in their head-quarters at Boulogne. In the morning of the 4th of August, at day-break, he descried twenty-four vessels anchored in a line, in front of the town; and the wind being favourable, he directed the bombs to weigh, and throw shells at them, but to avoid, as much as possible, annoying the town. By their exertions, three flat-boats and a brig were sunk, and six boats driven on shore, five of which were afterwards floated, and with difficulty hauled into the Mole. During this attack, Lord Nelson

was diligently employed in making observations; but the whole affair, as he observed, was of no further consequence, than to shew that the enemy could not, with impunity, come outside their ports. The French, however, in their official accounts, gave another complexion to the transaction, and vaunted it as of the greatest magnitude. They boasted of the vigour with which the fire of the English armament was returned, and the eager solicitations of their soldiers to be allowed to board, an ardour which it would have been very difficult for them to gratify, if their own account was true, that the English kept at a distance of 1900 fathoms, rather more than two miles, from the line of their division. The assailants, they said, threw 900 shells without killing or wounding any one; and two boats, which had sustained some slight damage, were instantly refitted. This was the first engagement of the kind, they added, and perhaps the historian would find reason to notice it. This action, in itself unimportant, was rendered interesting to many, by being distinctly seen from the English, as well as the French shore, the hills on each side being crowded with spectators.

The noble admiral, anxious to derive advantage from the experience gained in this attack, and having made further preparations in Margate Roads, returned to Boulogne on the 15th of August, to attempt bringing off the flotilla, moored in front of that harbour. For this purpose, he formed four divisions of boats for boarding, under Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, Jones, and Parker, and a division of howitzer boats, under Captain Conn, each having it in charge to assail a particular portion of the enemy's force, and all to support each other. They put off half an hour before midnight, in silence, and in admirable order. Owing, however, to the darkness of the night, and the tide and half tide, the divisions separated, and each commander of a division was obliged to exert

his own bravery and judgment, in endeavouring to execute his share of the general plan, without a certainty of the expected co-operation. Another circumstance, adverse to the success of the expedition was, that the French were perfectly prepared. The appearance of Nelson off their shore, sufficiently indicated that some enterprise would be attempted; and the collection of boats around the admiral's and other ships, in the course of a few hours, convinced the enemy that an attack would be made without delay. To what extent they had carried their measures of precaution is not ascertained; on one side it is asserted, that they bound the flotilla with chains, which fastened the vessels to each other, and to the ground; but this the French positively deny; they admit, however, that they had conveyed on board a large body of land forces, and that each vessel was protected by a strong netting, braced up her lower yards.

Captain Parker was the first who came into action; he attacked the part of the flotilla assigned to him, at about half past twelve, running alongside a large brig, off the Mole Head, which wore the commodore's pendant; while a subdivision of the boats under his command pushed on to attack the vessels to the northward. The attempt to board was resisted by the netting already mentioned; and the assailants were received with a discharge of musketry from about 200 soldiers stationed on the gunwale of the brig, which threw Captain Parker, his officers, and two-thirds of the crew, on their backs into the boat, all either killed, or desperately wounded. The flat-boat in which Captain Parker was, being thus deprived of officers and men, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, but was towed off. The subdivision dispatched to the northward, and commanded by Lieutenant Williams, was not more successful, nor did it suffer less severely; the whole boat's crew, in which the lieutenant was, being either killed or wounded.

Captain Somerville, in endeavouring to execute his share of the enterprise, found himself on getting in shore, carried away by the rapidity of the tide, considerably to the eastward of the Bay of Boulogne; but having directed the boats to cast each other off, he was able to reach the flotilla a little before the dawn of day. He attacked and carried a brig, and cut her cables, but was prevented from towing her out, by her being secured with a chain. In this situation, being exposed to a heavy fire of musketry and grape, which the French poured in from the shore, from three luggers, and a brig within half pistol shot, regardless of the injury which must ensue to their own troops, Captain Somerville found himself obliged to quit the prize he could not hope to retain; and as it was broad day, to provide for his own safety, and that of his crew.

Captain Cotgrave, in execution of Lord Nelson's orders, proceeded to attack the largest of the vessels which were to be attempted by his division; but the enemy having opened a heavy fire from the batteries, he considered it improper to await the proceeding of the heavy boats of his division, and cutting the tow rope, advanced singly. His boat was soon sunk by the number of shot which pierced her bottom, and with difficulty he saved himself and crew in another vessel.

The fourth division could not get into action, being unable to bear up against the rapid tide, and the French howitzer boats. But endeavouring to support Captain Parker, after throwing about eight shells into the pier, they were soon carried from their station by the force of the current. In this attempt, therefore, valour, discipline, and conduct, were wasted in a pursuit, where, from the first moment, hope did not shew a probability of success. Lord Nelson paid the homage of sympathetic gratitude to the individuals engaged, by declaring in his official dispatch, that he never witnessed more determined,

persevering courage, nor a greater zeal, and ardent desire to distinguish themselves by an attack, than was shewn by all persons under his command. The loss, which the brave admiral acknowledged to have fallen far below his expectations, was 44 killed, and 128 wounded; in the latter number was Captain Parker, whom Lord Nelson honoured with the title of his gallant good friend, and able assistant: on his return to England he suffered the amputation of a leg, but did not long survive the operation.

The failure was for some time magnified by the French into an affair of the utmost importance: in their accounts it would have seemed that Copenhagen was obliterated, and Aboukir avenged. Rear-Admiral La Touche Treville did not indeed give much foundation for these boastful rodomontades; for although his account of the engagement was intended to shew his own prudence, to conceal his loss, and to exaggerate that of his opponents, it was written with good temper, and its language was not that of insolence or reproach. He allowed that he had foreseen the attack, and prepared for it, by getting on board his flotilla battalions of the 46th, 57th, and 108th regiments; and he was apprized of the approach of the English, by boats stationed on purpose to look out. He denied, however, that the land batteries fired at all, giving as a reason, that they must have killed friends and enemies without discrimination; yet he allowed that all the gun-vessels of the advanced guard had been boarded, though without success. He calculated the loss of the English at between four and five hundred in killed and dangerously wounded, the beach being, as he said, every instant covered with carcasses. To counterbalance this supposed great destruction, and after admitting the boarding of several vessels, he represented the French to have had only ten killed, and thirty wounded. Thus both sides endeavoured to conceal their own loss, and magnify that of their opponent.

The official journal, in contradicting the accounts published by the British government, boasted that the English had been vanquished by the bayonets that had put them to flight in Holland. At the same time, surprise was expressed, that so much importance should be attached to this transaction, which was nothing more than a simple skirmish, or affair of advanced guards.

The failure of this important expedition, however, was very grateful to the French people; whilst their government exhibited an unusual degree of moderation. It was owned, that the First Consul had long been aware, that neither his ports nor his fleets were secure from the enterprise and valour of the English seamen; and that he was no longer desirous of entrusting their safety to the chances of failure, or the caprices of fortune. Ambitious of every new species of glory, he now appeared desirous of the blessing of tranquillity, and of adding to his martial renown, the title of "The Pacificator of Europe."

Bonaparte, some years after, spoke in high terms of Lord Nelson, and attempted to palliate that only stigma upon his memory, the execution of Carracioli, the Neapolitan patriot, which he attributed entirely to his having been deceived by that wicked woman, Queen Caroline of Naples, through the means of Lady Hamilton, and to the influence which the latter had over Nelson.

The ground work of this pacific disposition in the French Ruler was, that for some time past, an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce, and flags of defiance, were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait: so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet boats, and the messengers of the courts of St. James and the Tuilleries. At length, Lord Hawkesbury, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, after a long, but

secret correspondence with M. Otto, announced on the first of October, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on one part, and Spain, France and Holland on the other. This intelligence diffused universal satisfaction all over the kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the First Consul, was brought from Paris to London, by Colonel Lauriston, who, with the French ambassador, was drawn through the streets in his carriage, by the populace of that city.

Amiens, the town assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, had been the residence for some months of the ministers of the respective powers. The Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain; Joseph Bonaparte, Counsellor of State, France; M. Azzara, Spain; and M. Schimmelpennick, Holland. It may be necessary to state here, that by the preliminary articles on which the definitive treaty was grounded, His Britannic Majesty agreed to restore to the French Republic and her allies, all the possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war, the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon excepted. It was further stipulated, that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of His Britannic Majesty, and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem within three months. And, for the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte. The territories and possessions of His Most Faithful Majesty shall likewise be preserved entire. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall, in

like manner, evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. The Republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French Republic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be restored to the same state in which they were before the present war. And, finally, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The conclusion of the first French revolutionary war, which had lasted the same number of years as the siege of Troy, proved a subject of exultation to the French nation. The French Consul hastened to notify the joyful event to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate; but whilst congratulating these bodies on the one hand, he endeavoured to impress all the countries of Europe with the persuasion, that it was the ambition of England alone, which had so long contributed to disturb the tranquillity of mankind.

According to the treaty of peace between the King of Naples and the First Consul, the isle of Elba should have been given up to the French early in 1801; however, by the assistance of the English, who garrisoned Porto Ferrajo, that place held out till the month of October; but was upon the point of surrendering to the French General Wattrin, when the news arrived there of the signing of the preliminaries of peace, according to which, the English were to evacuate all the ports they occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. The French commandant acknowledged the brave defence made by the enemy, by furnishing him and his troops with all the necessaries in his power.

During the war then ended, and especially towards its conclusion, the French government had been much

assisted by English smugglers. Bonaparte confessed, that all the intelligence he received from England, came through the smugglers. "They," said he, "are terrible people, and have courage and ability to do any thing for money. At first they had a part of Dunkirk allotted them; but when they exceeded their limits, and insulted every body, they had a little camp for their sole occupation near Gravelines. At one time there were more than 500 of them at Dunkirk. They brought over newspapers, and dispatches from the French spies in London. They took over spies from France, kept them in their houses for some days, and then dispersed them over the country, and brought them back when wanted. The police had in pay a number of French emigrants, who gave constant information of the movements of the Vendean party at the time the latter were preparing, by the assistance of Georges and others, to assassinate Napoleon. Besides, the police had many English spies in pay—some of high quality, amongst whom there were many ladies. There was one lady in particular, of very high rank, who furnished considerable information, and was sometimes paid as high as three thousand pounds in one month." The smugglers, Bonaparte said, came over in boats not broader than the bath he used at St. Helena: he added, it was really astonishing to see them passing the English seventy-four gun ships in defiance. Dr. O'Meara observed, that they were double spies, and that they brought intelligence from France to the British government. Napoleon allowed this was very likely—"They brought French newspapers; but, as spies, he believed they did not convey much intelligence to England." He observed, that they did great mischief to the government. They took from France annually forty or fifty millions of silks and brandy. They assisted the French prisoners to escape from England: the relatives of the latter used to go to Dunkirk, and make a bargain with the smugglers

to bring over a certain prisoner. All they wanted was the name, age, and a private token, by which means the prisoners might repose confidence in them. They generally performed their promises in a short time, and, for people like them, they had a great deal of honour in their dealings. They offered several times to bring over Louis and the Bourbons for a sum of money; but they wanted to stipulate, that if they met with any accident or interruption in their design, they might be allowed to massacre them. This Bonaparte would not consent to. Besides, he said, he despised the Bourbons too much, and indeed at that time they were no more thought of in France than the Stuarts were in England. They also offered to bring over Dumourier, Sarrazin, and others; but Napoleon professed that he held them in too much contempt to take any trouble about them.

But evidently as the French government was distressed for want of cash during the year 1801, being reduced to the necessity of threatening forced loans, the First Consul seemed to have fixed his thoughts on vast plans of improvement and embellishment. Early in the year he made a journey to St. Quentin, where he purposed to revive the expiring manufactures, and visited for the purpose of resuming them, the discontinued works of the canal of Languedoc. On this point he consulted his most eminent engineers, and purposed, by a canal which should join the river Yonne to the Saone, to form a complete internal navigation from the north of the republic to the south. When the canals of St. Quentin and Burgundy should be finished, a boat from Amsterdam might, without discharging its cargo, arrive through the interior at Marseilles. Other magnificent projects were daily detailed; new bridges were to be built, the public roads improved, fortresses were to be erected, the Louvre completed, the national library placed in a new hall, and museums established in the fifteen principal cities of

France. These, and many other grand projects, were employed to occupy the public attention, while bread was rising to an alarming price, insomuch, that even fear could not restrain the outcries of the people, and all the vigilance of the police could not prevent some disturbance, even in the capital.

Splendid shows were repeated, and these seemed never to lose their effect; but that was only momentary, and government shewed many signs of alarm. The new laws, however rigorous, were not considered sufficient, although their execution was unremitted and unlimited; the press, both in France, and wherever the influence of France extended, was laid under arbitrary restraint; those who published pamphlets in Paris on the Concordat, were arrested and imprisoned; and the Leyden Gazette was forcibly suppressed, because the editor had allowed himself to make some observations on the various constitutions established in Holland. Yet rumours of discord and insurrection were prevalent; the officers of the army of Germany loudly complained that their services were slighted, while all favours were lavished on those who had acted in Italy and Egypt, and even Moreau himself, not without reason, was regarded with jealousy and suspicion. The consular guard was augmented to 16,000 men, and in the midst of triumph, flattery, and uncontrouled power, the Chief appeared distrustful, and many of the people dissatisfied.

In the course of this year all the continental powers that had waged war against the French Republic, were disposed for peace. The Elector Palatine of Bavaria negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the duchies of Juliers, Deux-Ponts, and their dependencies.

But the policy of Napoleon was still more eminently displayed by a pacification with the Pope, which contributed very much to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the sovereign Pontiff, ratified in Septem-

ber 1801, the First Consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy, so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities. His Holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacan sees. A new and more suitable form of prayer for the First Consul was introduced; and it was further stipulated on the part of the Holy Father and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church, should not be disturbed.

By the Concordat agreed to in the ensuing year, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expences of public worship. But its processions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power, while the Chief Consul was to be declared head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests were to make a solemn promise of fidelity.

An event highly important in its consequences took place in Russia in the month of March, this year. The Emperor Paul I. at the age of forty-six years, was said to have died suddenly in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of that month, just at the moment when an English fleet, under the Admirals Hyde Parker and Nelson, were passing the Sound, to chastise the northern powers, for presuming to defend the independence of European navigation. The results of this sudden death, were the astonishment of the confederate powers at its coincidence with the late expedition to Copenhagen. At the moment when these powers seemed desirous to effect a change in the policy of the new Czar of Russia, Alexander solemnly declared that he would renounce the system adopted by his father with respect to England. Thus was dissolved the formidable confederation of the northern powers; leaving few other traces behind it than the destruction of

the Danish fleet on the second of April, and the sudden death of the Emperor Paul. Bonaparte referring to this event when at St. Helena, said, "Alexander employs the murderers of his father. One of them, O. is now his aide-de-camp. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that at Tilsit, he observed to me, that I paid a great deal of attention to B****, and begged to know my reasons for it. I answered, because he is your general. '*Cependant,*' said he, '**** *c'est un vilain coquin. C'est lui qui a assassiné mon pere,* and policy alone has obliged me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business.'—Alexander and the King of Prussia," continued he, "dined with me every day, and in order to pay a compliment to A******, it was my intention, on the day the conversation took place, to have asked B**** to dinner, as commander-in-chief of the army. This displeased A——, who, although he asked B**** to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B****, O****, P***, and others. A cossack in whom Paul had confidence, used to sleep at his door. The conspirators came up and demanded entrance: this the cossack refusing, they fell upon him, and dispatched him after a desperate resistance. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise, got out, and endeavoured to escape to the empress's apartments. Unluckily for himself, a day or two before, he, in his suspicions, had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press; in the meanwhile the conspirators broke open the door, but perceiving there was no one in the bed, they exclaimed, "We are lost! he has escaped." P*** feeling the bedclothes, said, 'the nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off.' When they had found and dragged Paul out of his hiding-place, they presented him a paper, containing his

abdication: he refused at first; but said he would abdicate if they would release him. They then seized, knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance, when, fearful lest assistance should arrive, B**** dispatched him, by stamping his heel into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others held him down. Paul, in his struggles for life, once got B****'s heel into his mouth, and bit a piece out of his skin."

Napoleon, after speaking of the plan agitated between him and the Emperor Paul, for their mutual invasion of India, added, " since that time your ministers have been *imbecilles* enough to get four provinces, which increased their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you."

A singular anecdote relative to this event, is told of Marshal Vandamme. When made prisoner by the Russians in 1813, he was brought before Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding, that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, whilst the other prisoners went to a more southern direction. Vandamme replied with great coolness, " It may be, Sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I have not to reproach myself with having stained my hands with the blood of my father." Bonaparte related, that, upon another occasion, he caused some reflections upon this murder to be served up to Alexander in prose and verse.

The Northern Confederation had been excited by the intrigues of the First Consul, and it is reasonable to conclude, that the maritime war that was to have followed, was a part of the vast plan conceived by the French government, and which only failed in consequence of the death of Paul. The pacific system adopted

by Alexander put a stop to this project; but though this monarch refused to second Napoleon in those views, he did not abandon the cause of France, but offered his mediation for a general peace. Bonaparte, though thus disappointed, pretended to admire and to enter into the spirit of moderation displayed by the new emperor, and also took pains to ingratiate himself into his good opinion, in which he succeeded, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris between France and Russia, on the 8th of October, 1801.

This treaty between Russia and France was immediately followed by the signature of preliminaries of peace between the French Republic and the Ottoman Porte. During the negotiations that had been opened at Paris, between M. Talleyrand and the ambassador from the Sultan, the First Consul had been duly informed of all the disasters successively experienced by his armies alternately engaged with a host of enemies, and deprived of all assistance from France. Lastly, the surrender of Cairo by General Belliard, and the city of Alexandria, put an end to all hope; and such was the address of Napoleon, that he obtained the signature of the Turkish envoy on the 9th of October, before he became acquainted with the latter event, which might have had some effect upon the terms of the treaty. According to this, the French troops were to evacuate Egypt immediately after the exchange of the ambassadors' full powers; prisoners of all ranks were to be set at liberty; and with respect to commerce, the French were to be upon an equal footing with the most favoured nations, and all former treaties considered as renewed.

Napoleon several years afterwards reverting to his Egpytian expedition, observed, the French had succeeded in making friends of the inhabitants in the course of a short time. A handful of Frenchmen was then sufficient to keep that fine country, after having performed prodigies

in war and in politics. Their undertaking was altogether very different from the Crusades. The Crusaders, he said, were innumerable, and hurried on by fanaticism. The French army, on the contrary, was very small, and the soldiers were at first so little inclined to the enterprise, that they were frequently tempted to carry off the colours, and return home. Still the country supplied them with every thing at so cheap a rate, that Napoleon at one time indulged the idea of placing them on half-pay, for the purpose of laying the other half by for them. In fact, he imagined that he had acquired such an ascendancy over them, that he observed to Las Cases, that by a simple order of the day, he could have converted the whole army to Mahometanism. They would have treated it as a joke; the population would have been gratified, and the Christians of the East thought themselves gainers, and approved of it. The English, he said, were struck with consternation at seeing the French in possession of Egypt, as they exposed to Europe the certain means of wresting India from them. It was also his opinion, that if ever 40 or 50,000 families should succeed in establishing their industry, laws and government in Egypt, India would be more effectually lost to the English by the commanding influence of circumstances, than by the force of arms.

It is certain, that, generally speaking, the natives were much taken with the gaiety, manners, and improvements of the French. Bonaparte had a carriage with six horses, unquestionably the first of the kind that had travelled over the desert, and which very much surprised the Arabs.

Napoleon said, that he and the Emperor Paul had been on the best terms together. At the time of his murder, he had concerted a plan with him for an expedition to India, and he would certainly have prevailed upon him to carry it into execution. Paul wrote to Napoleon very often, and at great length. His first com-

munication was curious and original. "Citizen First Consul," he had written to him with his own hand, "I do not discuss the merits of the rights of man; but when a nation places at its head a man of distinguished merit, and worthy of esteem, it has a government; and France has henceforth one, in my eyes."

When Napoleon was in Syria, he noticed the thievery and impudence of a little Chinese, who was one of his servants: he was a deformed dwarf, whom Josephine once took a fancy to at Paris, and was generally placed behind her carriage. She took him to Italy, but his constant habit of pilfering made her wish to get rid of him. It was on this account he was taken with the Egyptian expedition, and as a lift to him half way on his journey home. This little monster was entrusted with the care of the Emperor's wine cellar, and after Napoleon had crossed the desert to Syria, it was found that he had sold, at a very low price, 2000 bottles of delicious claret. He thought that Napoleon would never come back. The robbery was so glaring, that he was forced to confess it, and Napoleon was much urged to have him hanged; but he refused; because, in every sense of justice, he ought to have done as much to those knaves in embroidered clothes, who had knowingly bought and drank the wine. He therefore contented himself with discharging him, and sending him to Suez, where he was at liberty to do as he pleased.

On the 14th of December this year, the ill-advised expedition against the blacks at St. Domingo, sailed from France under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, consisting of twenty-five ships of war, &c., having on board 25,000 men, commanded by General Leclerc, brother-in-law to the First Consul. The result of this, and the fate of the black chief Toussaint, are too well known. It is but justice to add, that the sending of this army to St. Domingo was feelingly regretted by Napoleon during his exile. His neglect to declare St. Domingo free, and acknowledge

the black government, he confessed as a great oversight. Possibly he might also have been touched with the fate of Toussaint and his family; but he said, that after the peace of Amiens, he was continually beset with applications from the proprietors of estates in the colony, French merchants and others, and was obliged to comply with them.

The First Consul observing that Switzerland had for two years past been a prey to different factions, and that the ancient constitution of the Swiss, the first model of a free constitution in Europe, had been replaced by the attempts of several factions, each more monstrous than its predecessor, excited two members of the Helvetic Directory, M. M. Dolder and Savary, to bring about a revolution of the same kind as that of the 18th of Brumaire in France, in 1795. The hall of the sittings of the Swiss Legislative Body was accordingly surrounded, and the two dictators announced that this assembly was dissolved; and farther, the constitution, as it then stood, was declared null and void. A provisional senate was then organized, consisting of twenty-five members, who were to co-operate with M. M. Dolder and Savary in settling a new form of government for Helvetia. In a letter addressed to the French envoy, M. Verninac, they declared the sole object of this political movement was to second the wishes of the people of Switzerland, in whose welfare the First Consul of France had condescended to take a lively interest, and to open them a way towards that moderation and wisdom, by which France had been enabled to ensure her tranquillity at home, and her prosperity abroad. However, no sooner had the French troops been withdrawn from the democratic cantons, than the inhabitants rose in arms, and obtaining possession of the cities of Zurich, Berne, and Fribourg, appointed Aloys Reding, a man of commanding talents, the chief of the insurrection.

Much negotiation ensued, but the most unanswerable reply to all the remonstrances of the divided Swiss, was found in the introduction of a French army of thirty thousand men, under General Ney, into the Swiss territory. A diet formed at Schwitz for the insurgents, upon this dissolved itself by its own act. In the mean time, the confidential agent of the Swiss patriots applied in the most urgent terms to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian ambassadors at Paris, soliciting them jointly to intercede with the First Consul, in order to avert the intended change; but not one of these ministers would admit him to an audience. He met with a more favourable reception from Mr. Merry, the British resident, who sent a Mr. Moore to Switzerland, who finding the people without arms, ammunition, stores, or money to purchase them, his mission failed of course.

On the 10th of December, 1801, Bonaparte communicated his plan of a government to fifty-six Swiss deputies, to which it was in vain to offer any opposition; the Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France; and the Landamman, Louis D'Aufry, issued a proclamation, informing them that they were received into the armies of the First Consul, under whose paternal care they would forget their past sufferings. An address of thanks was also voted by the Diet to Bonaparte, on the ground "that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to their wants, or consistent with the wishes of the people."

The daily extension of the power of France, was not viewed by the Emperor of Germany without serious apprehension; and though the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville bound the Imperial cabinet to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiatical sovereignties, the government was nevertheless extremely averse to the prosecution of this unpleasant business.

In order to bring this complex affair to some decisive termination, the Emperor Alexander was probably solicited to take an active part, conjointly with France, in the mediation of the existing differences. Nothing, however, was effectually done till the 17th of July, 1801, when the Emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, stating, that he found the parties principally interested,' had applied to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of those powers, in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for: that Russia had proposed to open negotiations at Paris in February, 1802; that soon after a convention was concluded between France and Russia, *without* the participation of his Imperial Majesty, and that he was now desired to direct the definitive arrangement so begun, according to the constitution of the empire. The Emperor seeing his authority about to be wrested from him, found it necessary to submit; but obtained terms for his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, more advantageous than those originally projected. According to the plan of the indemnities, the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar. The Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made Electors; the King of Great Britain accepted the cession of the Bishopric of Osnaburg in perpetuity, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey and Hoexter. The Prince of Orange, for the surrender of the Stadtholder, and other claims and possessions in Holland and Belgium, received the Bishoprics of Fuld and Corvey, and the city of Dortmund.

Thus the influence of France rose predominant, even in the Diet of Ratisbon; and in consequence of the abolition of the two ecclesiastical Electorates of Treves and Cologne, the constitution of Germany suffered a more serious infraction than that effected after the thirty years' war, by the treaty of Westphalia.

CHAP. XII.

Assembly of the Consulta at Lyons—Ambition of Bonaparte—Speech delivered by him to the Cisalpine Deputies—Reconciliation with Melzi, and return to Paris—Negotiations with the British Cabinet—Treaty of Amiens—Bonaparte's Character of Marquis Cornwallis—Napoleon assumes the Title of Grand Pacificator—Remarks on the Conduct of Mr. Pitt—Treaty with Spain—Effects of Bonaparte's Elevation—Proscribed Persons—Napoleon voted Consul for life—New Constitution of the Legislative Body—Appointment of Second and Third Consuls—The Legion of Honour, and exaltation of the Senate—Concordat with the Pope—Anecdote of the Pontiff—Enemies of Bonaparte increased—His power of Persuasion—Paris visited by Mr. Fox, and his Reception—Complaints against English Newspapers, and French Emigrant Bishops, &c. in the Island of Jersey—Piedmont annexed to France—Complaints against French Troops in Holland, and of the English in Egypt—Concluding Reflections.

One of the first public acts of this year, calculated for the aggrandizement of the First Consul, was the assembling of the Grand Consulta of the Cisalpine republic at Lyons. Here a new constitution was hastily formed, and the name was changed from the Cisalpine to that of the Italian republic.

The ambition of Bonaparte had doubtless been the grand stimulus on this occasion. The independence of the Cisalpine republic, had been an express article in the treaty of Luneville; but even pending the consequent negotiations, the First Consul set off for Lyons on the 9th

of January, to meet the Cisalpine deputies whom he had summoned there, accompanied by Josephine, M. Chaptal, minister of the interior, and other persons belonging to his court. But though he entered Lyons at ten o'clock on the night of the 11th, he was received with great parade, being met by a guard of honour, formed of the young men of the best families. Bonaparte dreaded the loss of the influence he had acquired in Italy, which might probably open the way to the return of the Austrian government. He therefore resolved upon forming the government of the Cisalpine republic in such a manner, that it should always be dependent upon France, or rather upon him. The provisional government that he had established at Milan, at his instigation now passed a decree, appointing the convocation of an extraordinary assembly at Lyons, charged with forming new bases for the Cisalpine republic, under the auspices, and in the presence of the first magistrate of the French republic. But though it appeared ridiculous to assemble the representatives of a nation on any other soil than their own, to deliberate upon the formation of a constitution, such was the enthusiasm with which Bonaparte had inspired them, that several of the most considerable persons among the Cisalpines contended for the honour of making a part of this *Consulta*, or constituent assembly, consisting of four hundred and fifty-two members.

Bonaparte assisted at the first sitting, in a tribune placed opposite the chair of the president, ornamented with trophies of arms, commemorating his victories obtained in Italy and Egypt. The Tyber and the Nile were seen at the feet of the conqueror, and above him a heaven without clouds. A committee of thirty-five members, appointed by scrutiny, presented to the assembly the project of a constitution, which was adopted almost without discussion. This precipitate act established a legislative corps, a council of state, and a president of the

republic, in whom alone the executive power should reside. In communicating this project to the assembly, the committee announced, that circumstances appeared too alarming to them, to permit the new state to exist without foreign aid; they therefore thought it necessary to request that General Bonaparte would so far honour the Cisalpine republic, as to continue to govern it, by associating it with the direction of affairs in France, till it should be acknowledged by all the other powers of Europe. Bonaparte not being able to refuse a situation that by his intrigues he had chosen for himself, proceeded in great splendour to the Consulta on the 26th of January, 1802, where he delivered a speech in Italian, from which we have extracted the following remarkable passages:

"The Cisalpine republic, acknowledged since the peace of Campo Formio, has already experienced many vicissitudes. The last efforts for a constitution did not succeed happily. Invaded by the armies of the enemy, its existence no longer appeared probable, when the French people, for the second time, drove him from your territory. Since this period, every attempt has been made to dismember you; but the protection of France has saved you. You have been acknowledged at Luneville, and increased by a fifth. You are more powerful, more consolidated, and have more hopes. You have furnished me with the documents necessary to the fulfilment of the noble task that my duty has imposed upon me, as first magistrate of the French people, and as the man who has contributed the most to your establishment as an embodied nation.

"The choice that I have made of those who are to fill the places of your principal magistrates, has been independent of every idea of party or local considerations. As to president, I have not found any person among you who has sufficient claims upon the public opinion, or is

sufficiently independent of the spirit of locality, or who has rendered sufficient services to the country, to induce me to confide such a trust in him. I am strongly penetrated by the *process verbal* that you have communicated to me by your committee, in which the interior and exterior circumstances of your country are analized with equal truth and accuracy. I comply with your wishes. As long times and circumstances will permit, I shall pay particular attention to your affairs."

At the conclusion of this discourse, frequently interrupted by the acclamations of the auditors, they proceeded to the solemn reading of the Constitutional Act of the Cisalpine Republic; when all the members, as it were, rose spontaneously, and demanded that the word *Italian* should be substituted for that of *Cisalpine*, as more conformable to the true genius, and hopes of the nation. Bonaparte assented to this request, and this important change was immediately proclaimed, as were also the names of those of the vice-president, and other superior magistrates who were appointed to govern the Republic under Bonaparte's direction. Melzi was vice-president, Guicciardi secretary of state, Spannochi grand judge. Lastly, that the day should terminate with something like feeling, as well as solemnity, Bonaparte invited the Ex-Count Melzi to come and sit by him; when embracing the president, the assembly was visibly affected. Melzi was the descendant of a noble family, and one of the most considerable personages in the ancient Duchy of Milan, but had always been a strenuous opposer of Bonaparte, whom he suspected and loudly censured, on account of his ambitious views. The First Consul having thus terminated this business to his satisfaction, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 30th of January, and was received with those acclamations that always attended his entry into that capital.

But it appears that none of the political intrigues or

negotiations in which Bonaparte engaged, had in the least degree allayed his ardent desire for concluding a peace with England. Conformably to the fifteenth article of the preliminaries that had been signed at London, in October 1801, the French, English, Dutch, and Spanish plenipotentiaries repaired to Amiens, and were seriously engaged in negotiating a peace, intended to fix the stability of Europe. Even at this time, the possession of the island of Malta, fated to prove the cause of the renewal of the war, proved such an obstacle, as to occupy the negotiators two months, before they could come to an agreement as to what power should be put in possession of the object of debate. At length, however, the definitive treaty of peace between the French republic and the other powers, was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802; viz. by Joseph Bonaparte on the part of France, Marquis Cornwallis for England, the Chevalier Azzara for Spain, and M. de Schimmelpenninck for Holland.

The tribute paid to the noble Marquis Cornwallis on this occasion, when Napoleon was afterwards an exile at St. Helena, is expressed in the most grateful terms. He described him as a man of probity, a generous and sincere character, "*Un très brave homme.*" "He was," said Napoleon, "the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English;" his integrity, fidelity, frankness, and the nobleness of his sentiments, impressed Napoleon with a very favourable opinion of our nation: he recollected Cornwallis saying, "There are certain qualities which may be bought; but a good character, sincerity, and a proper pride, and calmness in the hour of danger, are not to be purchased." Napoleon gave him a regiment of cavalry to amuse himself with whilst at Amiens. The officers esteemed him much. He never broke his word. At Amiens the treaty was ready, and was to be signed by him at the Hotel de Ville, at nine o'clock: something happened

which prevented him from going; but he sent word to the French ministers, that they might consider the treaty as having been signed, and that he would actually sign it on the following day. A courier from England arrived at night, with instructions to him to refuse his assent to certain articles; but Cornwallis was a man of such strict honour, that he wrote to his government that he had promised, and that having once pledged his word, he would keep it: that if they were not satisfied, they might refuse to ratify the treaty. Bonaparte added, that he was much grieved to hear of the Marquis's death; that some of his friends occasionally wrote to him, to request favours for prisoners in France, which he always granted.

The treaty of Amiens, which consolidated the colossal power of Bonaparte, by conferring upon him the title of the Grand Pacificator, was not received with such joy in England as in France. The new acquisitions of the French republic, appeared to the eyes of the discontented English in the shape of usurpations, or concessions which Lord Cornwallis was by no means authorized to sanction. The circumstance that seemed the most surprising in France was, that Mr. Pitt, then no longer in the ministry, defended the treaty of Amiens with his usual eloquence. He said he had thought, and he still thought, that the restoration of monarchy in France, would be a happy event, both for that country and for Europe; but as this object could not be obtained, his government, he thought, should avail itself of that which was actually within its reach, and take into consideration the present state of the two countries; as the losses of France in its population, its capital, and its industry; and to balance these with the advantages that England had acquired; as the union with Ireland; the increased reputation of the arms of England upon sea and land; the consolidation of the empire of the Indies, and the unexampled progress of commerce.

In March, Bonaparte announced to his good city of Paris his treaty with Spain, by which Louisiana was given up to the French republic, together with the Duchy of Parma, and the Isle of Elba. Bonaparte's return from Lyons was announced in the metropolis by repeated discharges of cannon, a circumstance the more remarkable, as none of the ancient *regime* ever required such a compliment in the height of their prosperity.

This personal elevation seemed to have had a visible effect upon Bonaparte about this time, as it was observed that he assumed a greater degree of reserve, keeping not only his general officers, but his intimate acquaintance, more at a distance than ever. Even in his legislative councils, he began to display some arbitrary feelings; and by that regulation which caused one-fifth of the Legislative Body to go out annually by ballot, he contrived to get rid of considerable opposition. He had even the temerity to proscribe Chenier, the poet who had been the author of one of the most popular songs in France, during the Revolution, the famous Marsellois Hymn. Chenier, in fact, wrote most of the revolutionary songs at an early period, and greatly contributed to the animation of the public spirit: he was therefore considered as a dangerous person; as was also Benjamin Constant, a persuasive orator, and known to be a man favourable to peace, but such a peace that should be followed by civil liberty, instead of military despotism. Hence many of the republican legislators began to perceive, that any opposition offered to Napoleon must be attended with the loss of their situations and salaries.

On the 6th of May, 1802, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the French Tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly, to confer some striking mark of the public gratitude on the "Great Pacificator." This proposal was agreed to, and having received the concurrence of the other Constituent

Bodies, the Senate, on the 8th, declared the re-election of Bonaparte to the Consular dignity for ten years, succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. When this proposal was communicated to the First Consul, he declared that "it was the suffrages of the people that invested him with the Chief Magistracy, and that he should not consider himself secure of possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining him in that situation should not be ratified by the public voice." In compliance with his wish, registers were opened in the different departments, for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens; but the question was materially *changed;* it now stood, "Shall Bonaparte be elected First Consul for life?"—A second question was subjoined; "Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?"—Both questions were carried by an immense majority: 3,577,259 citizens voted in the affirmative, and 9074 in the negative. In the Tribunate, only one dissentient voice was heard, that of Carnot, the minister at war. It was also opposed in the Senate by Garat, Sieyes, Gregoire, and Lanjunais.

In pursuance of the plan proposed by the First Consul, a new constitution was soon after laid before the Legislative Body. It was finally arranged, and accepted in the course of a single sitting, and immediately proclaimed to the people. The Consuls were appointed for life. The First Consul was to present the names of the other two to the Senate, who might reject the first and second so offered, but must accept the third presentation. The First Consul was to name his successor, and to have the power of pardoning in all cases; of making war and peace; and to prescribe to the Senate such subjects only that they might deliberate upon.

To this oligarchal assembly also belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law; of determin-

ing when persons arrested in extraordinary cases, were to be brought before the tribunals; of dissolving the Legislative Body and the Tribunate.

The First Consul, further considering his authority incomplete, whilst any power was left in the state that did not immediately emanate from himself, and ever anxious to aggrandize the army, now determined upon the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Hônour. To this, the legislature agreed, and that it should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. Each cohort was to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The First Consul was always to be chief of the legion, and of the council of administration, and the members were to be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer was to be five thousand francs, and of each legionary two hundred and fifty. All military men who had received arms of honour, were members, as well as those citizens who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who had caused the government to be respected. Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the First Consul, was elected Grand Master of this new order; and the more fully to rivet the interest of the government, the members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour were appointed members of the Senate. In fact, to depress the authority of the Legislative Body, founded, though imperfectly, on the principle of representation, and to exalt the Senate, who depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the First Consul, were the principal objects of Napoleon, by which political liberty was in a great measure annihilated.

This acquisition of the consulship for life, and the terms obtained by the Concordat with the Pope, had filled the minds of the people at large with sensations of pride and gratitude. A new Pontiff had been invested

with the purple, as head of the Romish church, on the 13th of March, 1800: Chiaramonti, the Pope elect, took the name of Pius VII., and owed his promotion in a great measure to the influence which the First Consul had exercised in the Conclave. It seemed that he was inclined to take the conduct of one of his predecessors, Benedict XIV. as the model for his own. He sent Cardinal Gonsalvi into France, to negotiate a Concordat upon bases a little less *ultramontaine* than those of the famous Concordat agreed to by Francis I. and Pope Leo the Tenth.

On the 15th of July, 1801, a convention was signed by Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the Consul, and the two representatives of the Holy See, Cardinal Gonsalvi and Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth. This treaty, which had been kept secret by both parties, caused the re-opening of the churches, and was made public in Paris at the same time as the treaty of Amiens, being solemnly promulgated on Easter day, by sound of trumpets and several discharges of artillery. The pomp of such a religious ceremony in a city where nothing of the kind had been witnessed for many years, and the brilliant procession, in which the Pope's Legate figured with the First Consul, collected innumerable spectators, who could not conceal the pleasure they felt in this partial restoration of the religion of their fathers.

The answer given by Bonaparte to the message from the Conservative Senate, announcing the prolongation of his Consulship for ten years, contained expressions in some degree prophetic: "Fortune," said he, "has smiled upon the Republic, but fortune is inconstant: how many men upon whom she has heaped her favours, have not lived too long by some years. The interest of my glory and happiness seem to have marked the period of my public life, at the moment when the peace of the world is proclaimed: but you think that I owe the nation a new

sacrifice; I will make it, if the wishes of the people correspond with the command authorized by your suffrages."

This personal elevation had its ample share in contributing to the number of Bonaparte's enemies. In fact, it does in some measure appear astonishing, how any individual could persuade a whole nation, day after day, to yield him up such a portion of their rights and privileges. However, among many instances that might be adduced of Napoleon's power of persuasion, one that occurred about this period is not the least remarkable.

In the beginning of the summer of 1802, some officers of rank, enthusiastic republicans, took considerable umbrage at Bonaparte's conduct, and determined to go and remonstrate with him upon the points that had given them offence, and to speak their minds to him very freely. In the evening of the same day, one of the party gave the following account of the interview.

"I do not know whence it arises, but there is a charm about that man, which is indescribable and irresistible. I am no admirer of his; I dislike the power to which he has risen: yet I cannot help confessing, that there is something in him which seems to speak him born to command. We went into his apartment, determined to declare our minds to him; to expostulate with him warmly, and not to depart till our subjects of complaint were removed. But in his manner of receiving us there was a certain *je ne sais quoi*, which disarmed us in a moment; nor could we utter one word of what we had intended to say. He talked to us for a long time with an eloquence peculiarly his own, explaining with the utmost clearness and precision, the necessity for steadily pursuing the line of conduct he had adopted, and, without contradicting us in direct terms, controverted our opinions so ably, that we had not a word to say in reply; so that we left him, having done nothing else but listen to him, instead of

expostulating with him; and fully convinced, at least for the moment, that he was in the right, and that we were in the wrong."

During the summer of 1802, Paris was visited by a very great number of Englishmen of rank and distinction, and among the rest, by Mr. Fox, who was received by the First Consul, and indeed by the whole French nation, with the highest marks of honour and respect. His arrival in France was announced in the Moniteur: even at Calais, Mr. and Mrs. Fox were waited on by the Municipality in their scarfs, when, after expressing his congratulations, the mayor enquired of Mrs. Fox, if they would order any particular play for the evening. At Lisle, Mr. Fox experienced similar attentions, the theatre being illuminated for his reception. At Paris, crowds hastened to hail him: he here received addresses from all the learned and public bodies; he was visited by persons of the greatest celebrity; and his reception at the new French court was perfectly flattering. To talk of Mr. Fox was not enough: it became the rage with the Parisians to imitate his speaking, his dress, his manners, his looks, his habits, and even his dinners. It was the fashion to be a thinking man—to think like Mr. Fox! Not only among statesmen and generals was Mr. Fox distinguished, and his society courted; he attracted every eye at the opera; his picture was in every window, and medallions bore his likeness; while the enchanting Madame Recamier, constant in her attentions to him, whirled or paraded him through the whole circle of beaux and elegantes.—"Come," said she, "I must keep my promise, and shew you on the promenade. The people of Paris must always have a spectacle: before you came I was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, Sir."

Whatever were his intentions, Bonaparte therefore

enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that he had secured his object. Mr. Fox, we are assured, always recalled this period of his life with satisfaction. "Bonaparte," observed Mr. Fox, after their interviews together, "is a man as magnificent in his means, as in his ends: he is a most decided character, and will hold his purpose with more constancy, and through a longer interval than is imagined; his views are not directed to this kingdom, he looks only to the Continent. His commercial enmity is but a temporary measure, and never intended to be acted upon as permanent policy."—"I never saw," added Mr. Fox on another occasion, "so little indirectness in any statesman as in the First Consul. He made no secret of his designs."

Napoleon, during his residence at St. Helena, having occasion to speak of Mr. Fox, which he did in very warm terms, mentioned the cordial reception he met with in France, and related, that one day Mr. Fox went with his family to see St. Cloud, where there was a private cabinet, which had not been opened for some time, and was never shewn to strangers. By some accident, Fox and his wife opened the door and entered. There he saw the statues of a number of great men, chiefly patriots, such as Sydney, Hampden, Washington, Cicero, Lord Chatham, and among the rest, his own, which was first recognized by his wife, who said, "My dear, this is yours!" This little incident, though trifling, gained Fox great honour, and spread directly through Paris.

Unfortunately for the continuance of the promised happiness of this period, the war of *words*, which finally led to a rupture of the peace of Amiens, commenced soon after the treaty had been signed. On the 4th of June, 1802, a dispatch from Mr. Merry, the British minister at Paris, was received by Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, stating that M. Talleyrand had complained to him of the countenance given by the British

court to the French princes, the *ci-devant* French bishops; to Georges, and other individuals inimical to the French government; that it was the First Consul's wish that the British government should remove those persons out of the British dominions; and he thought the residence of Louis XVIII., then at Warsaw, was the proper place for the rest of the family. M. Talleyrand added, that the First Consul solicited no more than the British government had demanded of France when the Pretender resided in that country.

In the month of July, M. Otto, the French minister at London, transmitted a note to Lord Hawkesbury, demanding, in the name of his government, the punishment of M. Peltier, for a gross libel which he had published on the First Consul and the whole French Nation. He also complained of the libellous paragraphs in the *Courier de Londres*, a French paper published in London, and others by Mr. Cobbet, &c.

M. Otto afterwards complained of the French emigrants in the island of Jersey, and solicited their removal, together with the Bishops of Arras, St. Pol de Leon, and others in London, who, under a pretext of religion, sought to raise disturbances in France. In answer to this he was officially informed, that the British government could not make any concession to a foreign power, which could in the smallest degree be dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of the country; nor proceed against the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol, before any proof had been adduced of their guilt; but that measures were in contemplation for the removal of Georges, and the lower classes of royalists out of the country; and in respect to Peltier, his offence was referred to his Majesty's Attorney-General. In the mean while, it appears that aggrandizement of territory, as well as of influence, was an object which the First Consul always kept in view. In September the Senatus

Consultum at Paris passed an act, by which Piedmont was formally united to France. It was divided into six departments; the Sezia, the Po, the Doria, the Stura, the Tanaro, and the Marengo.

In the month of October a dispatch from Mr. Liston, dated from the Hague, was addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, complaining, that a French corps of ten or eleven thousand men, who were to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remained there. As to the guarantees for Malta, in case of our giving it up, there also seemed to be no small reluctance in Prussia and Russia. In the mean time Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuilleries, and M. Otto was superseded by General Andreossi at the court of St. James. Lord Whitworth received a dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury, dated November 30, 1802, which related to a complaint made against England, of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, that provides for our evacuation of Egypt. On this subject his lordship was instructed to state, that although General Stuart had informed Colonel Sebastiani of his inability to leave Egypt till he should receive specific orders for that purpose, yet that this delay had arisen entirely from a misunderstanding on the part of the General: but to obviate any further difficulties, fresh instructions had been sent to him, directing him to remove the king's troops from that country as soon as possible.

From these, and similar causes of contention still nourished by the enemies of peace, it was easy to see that her olive branch would not wave much longer over the nations that had scarcely begun to experience her blessings. The interval she had this year introduced, was only a pause between the shocks of an earthquake about to renew its devastation. But even at this period,

still distant from the winding up of the catastrophe, Europe had already been shaken to its centre, and whole nations had alternately appeared upon the theatre of war, in consequence of the French revolution, the issue of which had even then baffled all human calculation.

Forced to entertain fourteen armies at once, to oppose a proportionate resistance to the enemy's preparations, France was compelled to search for men capable of commanding, amongst her own population. They appeared as soon as called for, and spreading themselves wherever the flames of war were lighted up, they every where performed prodigies. As victories became more frequent, bravery, excited by emulation, became more brilliant; and the battles in which the greatest number of warriors were engaged, were of the most sanguinary description. The French armies that fought at great distances from each other, animated their own courage by the communication of the details of their mutual success, which in an energetic manner they then called exchanging victories. From this reciprocal ambition of glory, and the general concourse of so many minds, excited by military enthusiasm, the natural result of all, was what actually happened, a general agitation throughout Europe.

The memory of any invasion of territory upon a grand scale, had been lost in Europe for a considerable period. But the French Revolution, in breaking the bands that had united the various states, at once destroyed that equilibrium that the different courts had established at so great an expence, and in which their principal safety consisted. United against France alone, these same courts gave a fatal example to the great nation they wished to punish, and which inspired it with a wish for vengeance, that for a long time remained unallayed.

The French nation, irritated by the efforts made to compress it within narrower limits, caused its armies to

overrun several countries at once, and they seemed resolved not to lay down their arms, till they should have converted their vanquished foes into friends or subjects. Such a system, followed up with such obstinacy that nothing but the force of the elements could prevent its entire developement, could not but produce those unexpected revolutions, which all at once transformed the face of several states. In fact, what epoch was ever so fruitful in great changes? When did the fortune of war exercise a more powerful influence, or give place to so many political vicissitudes? Some nations were expunged from the map of Europe; great states were weakened; thrones overturned; republics established, and kingdoms created; princes became obscure individuals, and obscure individuals became princes and kings. All the ancient social relations were destroyed; constitutions abolished or modified; a new direction given to commerce, and an immense spring communicated to every branch of civilization, in the midst of a general war, without end or object.

Such was the spectacle worthy the observation of all ages, which the astonishing events of the French revolution presented, in its rise and progress.

At an instant too, when no one thought that religion would ever again light up the flames of war for the sake of theological dogmas, the Catholic, and royal army of La Vendée, at first few in number, soon increased from the concourse of all the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. Several veterans were to be found among these Frenchmen, snatched from their peaceable operations, to defend their worship and their sovereign. Their rapid successes inspired them with the confidence necessary for forming greater enterprises. Preceded by the sign of the cross, which floated upon their standards, encouraged by the priests and bishops that marched at their head, in less than three months they collected an

hundred thousand men, obtained several victories, and conquered a part of the territory of the French republic. Actions of the greatest *eclat*, exploits almost fabulous, events bordering upon the miraculous, added lustre to each of the contending parties, at the same time that acts of the most atrocious kind, the excess of the most dreadful retaliation, terrible and unpardonable reprisals, signalized this epoch of civil dissention.

Torn by this intestine war, and at the same time attacked by all the powers of Europe, France, after the battle of Neerwinden, saw foreign armies suddenly precipitating themselves upon her territory like a torrent. What energy must not those men possess, who did not despair of saving the country at such a moment as this? But notwithstanding this danger, new armies were organized, and for a long time sustained the struggle with great loss. French soldiers seemed to derive advantages from defeats. Generals were formed in the art of commanding and manœuvring upon their own frontiers. At length, the battles of Hondschoot and Watigney were gained; the lines of Weissemburg were forced, and the victory of Fleurus, opened to the French a career of victory, which was only suspended by the treaty of Amiens in 1802.

CHAP. XIII.

Symptoms of an approaching Rupture—A Dispatch from Lord Whitworth—Philippic against English Newspapers —Malta—Report of the French Colonel Sebastiani, on the State of Egypt—Pacific Disposition of Mr. Fox—Assassins sent from England to France—Proposal made to the King of France at Warsaw—Dignified Answer—Lord Whitworth's Interviews with the First Consul—Veracity of Lord Whitworth's Statements of Bonaparte's Conversation, strongly impeached—Napoleon's Character of Official Documents published in England—Negotiations at Paris—Real object of the Renewal of the War avowed—Arrival of Lord Whitworth from Paris—Commencement of Hostilities, and Seizure of British Subjects in France—French Declaration—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elba and the Weser.

EVEN previous to the commencement of this year, peace might have been seen gradually vanishing from the clouded hemisphere of politics; but now, of its final departure very little doubt remained. A dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 27th of January, consisted of the report of a conversation that had taken place on the Tuesday evening preceding, relative to two points equally important to the maintenance of a good understanding between the two countries. This occurred between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand, who pronounced a most bitter philippic against English newspapers, and assured Lord Whitworth that the First Consul was extremely hurt, to find that his endeavours to conciliate, had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase their abuse. To this, his lordship replied, that whatever was said in the English

papers, might be considered as a retaliation for what was published in those of France. Secondly, that what was officially published in that country, was by no means so in England; that the English government could not have any similar controul over the papers, as the First Consul had in France; and that till he could so far master his feelings, as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, this state of irritation must remain without a remedy. On the subject of the evacuation of Malta, the French minister said, another Grand Master would soon be elected, and that all the guarantees were ready, excepting those of Russia, whose scruples on that point would be easily overcome; consequently, the time would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for retaining possession of Malta. To this, Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report this conversation to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and would communicate the answer to the French minister, as soon as it was received.

In this answer the British minister was directed to reply, "That the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent; and that his Majesty was warranted in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation to the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, was willing to have waived the pretensions he might have of this nature, if the notice of his government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. His Majesty therefore could not regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions, without feeling

it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussions relative to Malta, unless he should obtain satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, inserted in the Moniteur of the 30th of January, consists of observations made in the discharge of a mission undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Syria and Egypt. The remarks of the Colonel are more military than commercial. "The Egyptian Astrologers," says he, "make predictions every day, on what concerns the First Consul. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all liked to talk of him—all offer up prayers for his happiness. Even Dgezzar, the Pacha of Acre, conceived a high esteem for the French, and speaking of Bonaparte, said, "in stature he is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know he is deeply regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again." On the 16th of October, 1802, Colonel Sebastiani waited on General Stuart, who had the weakness to acknowledge, that he had not then received orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. From this he concluded that General Stuart was a man of *mediocre* talents. Not so the Chevalier Sades, a Frenchman, his aide-de-camp. The English army in Egypt, Sebastiani estimated at 4430 men, occupying Alexandria and the neighbouring forts. Corn, rye, wood, and provisions, were furnished by the Pacha of Cairo, without any payment, and great waste was made. The Turkish force amounted to about 18,000 men, without discipline, and destitute of the first principles of the military art. The Pacha of Alexandria is little better than a prisoner to the English. On announcing to the Capitan Bey, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt, this communication afforded great pleasure; they did not conceal their grief, occasioned by the stay of the English

in Egypt. Dgezzar too said, that he should himself be the French commissary at Acre, and should take care that their countrymen should be well received; he desired that the commissary sent by the First Consul should reside at Seide, as that was the most commercial part of his dominions. The Colonel added, that the Ionian Isles would declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity might offer; and that 6000 French would be sufficient for the conquest of Egypt.

Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seemed to think, that had Fox lived, there would have been a peace, and that England would have been contented and happy. "He was," said he, "received with a sort of triumph in every city in France, through which he passed. *Fêtes*, and every honour the inhabitants could confer, were spontaneously offered wherever he was known. It must have been a most gratifying sensation to him, to be received in such a manner by a country which had been so long hostile to his own, particularly when he saw that they were the genuine sentiments of the people. Pitt, probably, would have been murdered. I liked Fox, and loved to converse with him."

Napoleon recounted the noble manner in which Mr. Fox had related to him the proposal made to assassinate him while he was in the administration, which generous act Bonaparte did not fail to compare with the treatment he received at St. Helena, and with the attempts made upon his life by hired wretches in 1803, who were landed in France by British ships of war. He also mentioned what many persons well remember, viz. that his assassination had been recommended in the English ministerial newspapers of the time, as a meritorious action.

Alluding to these assassins, Napoleon said, "They had republished in London at the same time, a pamphlet called, '*Killing no Murder*,' which had been originally printed in Cromwell's time; for the purpose of inculcating

a belief that assassinating me was a praiseworthy and meritorious action, and by no means a crime. Fox indeed was of a contrary opinion. That great man wrote to Talleyrand, and informed him that a *coquin* (a scoundrel) had applied to him in London, with a proposal to assassinate me."

On the 26th of February, 1803, a personage of prominent distinction, employed by high authority, waited on the King of France at Warsaw, and verbally made to his Majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the most astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the Bourbon family: the envoy, moreover, observed, that as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his Majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His Majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which is never obliterated from elevated minds, and which made him cling as tenaciously to his rights as he did to the happiness of France, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered on the 28th of February to the person who was deputed to him.

ANSWER OF THE KING.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may have been the intention of the Almighty, respecting my race and myself,

but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me, by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a decendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself, even in captivity and in chains. As successor of Francis the First, I shall at least aspire to say with him, '*We have lost every thing but our honour.*'

(Signed) "LOUIS."

On the 2d of March the King wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructing him to make known the same to the Princes of the Blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it, who did not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the Princes, who, with equal alacrity and unanimity, signed an adhesion to the answer of the King, of the 28th of February.

This overture left no doubt on the minds of persons of discernment, that Bonaparte having determined to extinguish even the name of Republic in France, aspired to the Imperial purple; and the events which rapidly succeeded, confirmed what at first appeared to be mere conjecture.

But to return to the complaints respecting Malta, and other obstacles to the continuance of peace on the part of Great Britain. It appears that on the 18th of March Lord Whitworth received a message from the First Consul, requesting to see him at the Tuilleries. At this interview, Bonaparte entered into a heated expostulation respecting the provocations he had received from England; and principally he complained of the non-evacuation of Malta, and of the abuse thrown out against him in the English papers. He said, "he would rather see Britain in possession of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, than of Malta." In speaking of

Egypt, he said, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending 25,000 men to Aboukir. "This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it for a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war: sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte."—"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition."—He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion—He then expatiated on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of 480,000 men—for to this amount it is, said he, to be immediately completed—all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it—The First Consul concluded with declaring—"To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the English prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty."

For some days Lord Whitworth had no means of ascertaining the effects produced on the mind of the First Consul by his latest communications; but as the court was held at the Tuilleries on Sunday, March 13, his Lordship, in his dispatch of the 14th, said, "The First Consul accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation.

He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him I had received letters two days ago. He immediately said, "And so you are determined to go to war?" "No," I replied, "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace."—"We have already," said he, "waged war these fifteen years."—As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed, "that is already too long."—"But," said he, "you wish me to carry it on for fifteen years more, and you compel me to it."—I told him that was very far from his Majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Count Marcoff, and the Chevalier Azzara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, "The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They pay no regard to treaties. We must henceforth cover treaties with black crape."—He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by saying something personally civil to me—"Why these armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm, I must arm too: if you will go to war, I must go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but not to intimidate her."—"We desire," said I, "neither the one nor the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her. It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties—woe to those who pay no regard to treaties: they shall be responsible to all Europe."—All this passed loud enough to be heard by two hundred people who were present.

Lord Whitworth added his persuasion, "that there was not a single person in the room, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of Bonaparte's conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on this occasion.

M. Talleyrand, in answer to Lord Whitworth's repre-

sentation on this treatment, assured him it was far from the First Consul's wish to distress him; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges brought against him by the English government, and that it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe.

But when Napoleon, during his exile, was questioned as to the *manner* in which this famous interview with Lord Whitworth was carried on, he answered, "I was by no means violent.—Lord Whitworth said, on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards, when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body; especially of those ambassadors, who remonstrated with him, and said, 'My Lord, how can this account be correct? You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion, that all would go on well.'—He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true!'"

Now, upon these different statements strong doubts must be admitted, unless we can allow that the opinion of Bonaparte himself, as expressed to Mr. O'Meara, upon the nature of our official documents in general, is founded on facts. "A false account," he said, "is sent to be submitted to the public, and deposited in the archives; and a secret one, stating the *truth*, for the ministers to act upon; so that upon an inquiry being made by parliament, they, the ministers, have a set of documents in the archives, ready to submit for inspection; from whence conclusions are to be drawn, and decisions made. In this

manner, though the contents are *untrue*, the ministers cannot be accused of imposing false statements upon the parliament, because they were officially transmitted to them; and the public and parliament are satisfied. References are made, and every thing appears fair; yet the ground-work of the whole is *false*."

He accounted for this, from the obligations the British ministers are under to communicate every thing to the people; and thus making them judges of their conduct, by entering into explanations with them, they were compelled to defend themselves, by adapting their communications to their own convenience.

Another anecdote related of Lord Whitworth by Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, seems to possess a still less portion of credibility: "Two days before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the French minister, and others about Bonaparte, of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge him as king of France, provided he would give up his claims upon Malta to England!"

Still the British ambassador was not withdrawn; but carried on negotiations till his government proceeded so far as to require the cession of Malta by the French, when the ambassador was told, that no consideration on earth would induce the First Consul to consent to the cession of Malta in perpetuity, in any shape whatever. This was given up by the British minister, who gave his consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, provided the island of Lampedosa could be obtained of the King of Sardinia. Lord Whitworth then begged M. Talleyrand to consider that England was actually in possession of Malta, and that therefore every modification tending to limit that, was in fact a concession on the part of his Britannic Majesty.

This argument, so nearly allied to an insult, coming from the mouth of an ambassador, was little calculated

to soften the untoward disposition of the First Consul. Accordingly, on the next day, M. Talleyrand was instructed to declare, that the First Consul "would on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta (for ten years), and that, rather than submit to such an arrangement, he would even consent to our keeping it for ever; on the ground that, in the one there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion; that therefore his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose, was the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or any of the other small isles, of which there are three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa, sufficient for a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea."

In a third conversation that took place, on Saturday the 23d of April, but with no material variation, the French minister offered Lampedosa, and Lord Whitworth peremptorily required the formal cession of Malta. On the 26th of April, Lord Whitworth communicated the *ultimatum* of the English court *verbally* to M. Talleyrand, who desired to have it stated in writing; but to this Lord Whitworth strangely replied, "he had no authority to do so, and he would not take the responsibility upon himself." The French minister forcibly, but unavailingly replied, "that verbal and fugitive conversations were insufficient for the discussion of such immense interests, in which no expression could be indifferent."—He at length, however, consented to receive the verbal notification of Lord Whitworth, who desired M. Talleyrand to recollect, that Tuesday, May 3d, must be the day of his departure.

Lord Whitworth afterwards complained of the delays of the French government; but these were evidently

occasioned by his refusal to communicate the *ultimatum* of his court in writing. A mode of proceeding so totally new, excited the greatest surprise, when the rupture of a formal treaty was in question; and yet, after several days had been spent in fruitless expectation, the First Consul, to shew his desire for peace, ordered that the verbal propositions of Lord Whitworth should be replied to in the same manner as if they had been regularly made under the official signature of the ambassador. It also appeared, that the high and haughty spirit of the First Consul, moderated in all probability by the persuasions of Talleyrand, at length yielded to circumstances; and no longer insisting on the evacuation of Malta, was willing to refer the question to the other contracting powers of the treaty of Amiens. The British minister, it seems, had evaded any conclusion respecting the cession of Malta, under the pretext, conveyed in an official note, that Russia had refused her guarantee, though the Emperor of Germany and Prussia still remained as such. This was a false assertion; for nearly at the same hour, "Providence," Napoleon observed, "which is sometimes pleased to confound bad faith, caused a courier to arrive from Russia, addressed to the plenipotentiaries of that power at Paris, and at London, by which his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, manifested with particular energy, the pain he felt, at learning the resolution of his Britannic Majesty to keep Malta. He renewed the assurances of his guarantee, and 'declared, that he accepted the demand made of his mediation by the First Consul, if both the powers would accede to it.'"

Lord Whitworth being informed of the misrepresentation of his court, with respect to Russia, without entering into any explanation, or making any endeavour to contradict or discuss this d claration, informed the French minister, that he was ordered to depart within thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note, and

renewed his demand for passports, which were forwarded to him, and he left Paris on the 13th of May, 1803, to return no more.

It may be remarked as a singularity in the national character, that the late war, which has been so generally condemned for its ruinous consequences, since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, was at that period one of the most popular into which the nation had ever entered.

In England, at this crisis, nothing was hearkened to which could tend in the least to fix the charge of culpability, or even indiscretion, on ministers. On the contrary, it was gravely and pompously said to be "a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England;" and such puerilities passed as equivalent to just and logical conclusions. It necessarily follows, that the absolute and peremptory determination of the English government to retain possession of Malta, in contempt or defiance of the treaty of Amiens, was a flagrant and inexcusable violation of public faith, and resembled the pretext for the memorable war with Holland in 1672.

At both periods, all was violence, precipitation, and folly. All the art and address of ministers were miserably vulgar and trite, and made use of to excite the nation almost to frenzy against France, as the unprovoked assailant of Britain; and thus to preclude, as far as possible, any prospect of future accommodation. In the mean time, Europe had begun to experience the benefits of a general peace, and was far from suspecting that the peace of Amiens was nothing more than a truce, concerted, in some measure, between the sovereigns, enemies of France, for the purpose of gaining time, and a better opportunity for trying once more the fortune of arms. The French nation had yielded to that heedless enthusiasm with which their first magistrate had inspired

them, and like many other individuals, could see nothing in him but "the man called by destiny" to put a period to the calamities of the revolution, to heal the wounds of the country, and bring back prosperity and abundance.

Bonaparte, without any violent efforts, but rather by gradual advances, had nearly usurped all the attributes of sovereignty; and the French, by their blind confidence in him, had made these concessions so much the more willingly, having persuaded themselves that, faithful to his oaths and promises, he would never abuse the faith of the nation; they therefore devoted themselves in a manner to the maintenance and consolidation of the great work, to which he had so powerfully contributed by the ascendancy of his genius.

The treaty of Amiens had already procured several advantages for England; but it did not by any means guarantee the constant preponderance of its commercial speculations. Peace rather introduced a competition, of which the English merchants soon became extremely sensible, and which has been so bitterly felt since the conclusion of the late war. After the peace of Amiens, the British government could not witness the activity and industry of the French, without jealousy and alarm. Re-animated by the peace, and encouraged by the First Consul, the commerce of France seemed taking such a flight, as would be likely to justify the criminations of the peace, by the parliamentary members in opposition to ministers.

In consequence of this turn of affairs, the cry for war was soon heard throughout the three kingdoms. The return of that monopoly which had lately been the cause of commercial prosperity, was daily and ardently invoked by all classes, with few exceptions. The minister yielded without hesitation to this movement of public opinion: this was the less surprising, as he had been re-

proached with neglecting to renew the ancient treaties with France, and especially that of 1783, which was extremely favourable to British commerce. The ministers then contemplated the obligation they were under to renew the war, with a secret pleasure, and seemed to think that a favourable opportunity now offered, to put the last hand to the annihilation of the navies of France and her allies; and this object being obtained, England would enjoy the sovereignty of the seas, alone and uncontrolled.

Thus it will appear, that Malta was made the apple of discord, and the fatal brand by which the flames of war, scarcely extinguished, were again lighted up.

On the 19th of May, 1803, Lord Whitworth arrived in London from Paris, and on the day preceding, his Britannic Majesty's declaration of war had been issued. The peace of Amiens had continued one year and sixteen days. In the course of a few days after this declaration had appeared, the First Consul gave orders for the seizure of all the British subjects in France, and in those countries occupied by the French armies. These persons, it is understood, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war, upon parole: and according to the words of the First Consul's decree, were "to answer for those citizens of the republic, who may have been made prisoners by the subjects of his Britannic Majesty previous to any declaration of war." Upwards of 11,000 persons were said to have been arrested in France, in consequence of this unexpected measure. These consisted of many of the nobility, commercial men, and travellers. The seizure of two French merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, by two English frigates, was stated as the immediate cause of this retaliating measure. But Napoleon asserted to O'Meara, that there was property to the amount of many millions' (of francs) and above 200 ships, seized, before he detained the English in France.

Bonaparte observed, whilst at St. Helena, that our ministers made a great outcry about the English travellers whom he detained in France, "although they themselves set me the example, by seizing upon all the French vessels, and persons on board of them, upon whom they could lay their hands, either in their harbours or at sea, before the declaration of war, and before I had detained the English in France. I said then, if you detain my travellers at sea, where you can do what you like, I will detain yours by land, where I am equally powerful."

But after this, it appears that the onus of detaining the English in France, was justly transferred from the shoulders of Napoleon to those of the British ministers; for we are informed in his Memoirs, "that he offered to release all the English he had detained in France before the declaration of war, provided their government would in like manner release the French, and their property seized on board of their ships. But this, ministers refused."

The French government, on the 20th of May, published a declaration on the causes which led to the recall of their ambassador from London, and on the renewal of the war with Great Britain. In this paper it is stated, that the present age and posterity will see all that has been done by France to put an end to the calamities of war; but nothing has been able to interrupt the course of the projects formed to enkindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens had been negotiated amidst the clamours of a party in England, hostile to peace; and scarcely was it concluded, before it became the object of the bitterest censure. Soon after, alarms were disseminated; dangers were pretended, to establish the necessity of such a peace establishment as to be a permanent signal of new hostilities. At length, an unexpected message all at once terrified England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia.

Soon after, formidable armaments took place on the British coast, and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea was covered with her ships of war; and it was in the midst of these preparations, that the cabinet of London demanded of France the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. Every proposition made by France was rejected, and the demands of England became more imperious and more absolute. It was not in the principles of the French government to yield to menaces; it was not in their power to bend the majesty of the French people to laws prescribed to them by forms so haughty and so new.

This declaration was no sooner promulgated, than all the French armies were put in motion: that of Italy was strongly reinforced; and on the side of Germany they were no less active. A considerable French army was assembled in Holland, and another on the frontiers of Hanover, by which that Electorate was soon overrun, notwithstanding the Duke of Cambridge was sent over as Commander-in-Chief. The proclamations he issued there, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country, produced no material effect upon the people, who seemed more disposed to listen to the warning voice of the French General, than to the patriotic calls of a British Prince. The city of Hanover was occupied on the 5th of June, and a decree was soon issued by Bonaparte, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser by the vessels of British merchants, which rivers were soon declared in a state of blockade by the English. In the month of September, several towns on the French coast were bombarded, particularly Dieppe and Granville, as were also the Dutch ports from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haerlem, to Scheveningen, and many vessels destroyed.

CHAP. XIV.

Annual French Exposé—Discovery of the Plot of Pichegru and Georges—Case of Captain Wright—Napoleon's own Account of the Conspiracy—Defence of the Execution of the Duke D'Enghien—Duplicity of Talleyrand—The Duke de Berri—Character of Pichegru, Moreau, Georges Cadoudal—Violation of the German Territory—British Envoys charged with Traiterous Conduct—Lord Hawkesbury's Apology, and Talleyrand's Reply—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold—Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor of the French—Promotion of great Officers and Generals—Protest of Louis XVIII—Arrival of the Pope at Paris—Ceremony of Bonaparte's Coronation—M. David's Grand Picture—Distribution of Colours in the Champ de Mars—Refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Bonaparte as Emperor of France—Napoleon's Visits to Boulogne.

THE French Legislative Body was this year assembled on the 7th of January, and on the 16th the annual *exposé* of the state of the republic was submitted to that assembly. This was the last publication in which the Ruler of France was to be contemplated as a citizen, giving an account to his fellow-citizens of the origin and success of his measures; but this represented the state of the republic in the most captivating colours. This *exposé* was designed to shew that the war had not even interrupted the plans marked out for a time of peace: the construction of roads, bridges and harbours, as well as the promotion of all objects of a similar nature, proceeded with undiminished zeal and activity. The finances were described as being in the most pros-

perous situation. The revenues were collected with unprecedented facility, and public credit had maintained itself against the shocks of war. In Hanover, success had invariably attended the French troops; the Hanoverian army, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms, and the cavalry of the republic had been remounted, at the expence of a possession dear to the King of England. It was in conclusion declared, that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the United States, Helvetia, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire; and that the tranquillity given to the Continent by the treaty of Luneville, was secured and ratified by the proceedings of the Diet of Ratisbon.

The public mind being thus prepared to repose implicit confidence in Napoleon's government, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects, and to elevate him to the summit of his ambition. Early in the month of February, a plot was detected, the object of which, was the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy, were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confident of General Moreau. It likewise appeared to a certain extent, that this general had been made acquainted with Pichegru's views, and that he had held secret meetings with that general, since his return from England to Paris. Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were soon put under an arrest, and the treason against the Consular government announced to the republic, in a report to the First Consul, made by Regnier, the minister of justice, who ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative propositions, and in

copious addresses. The Tribunate, the Senate, and the Legislative Body, all vied with each other in terms of courtly adulation, which was followed by the army and navy. To the addresses of felicitation delivered from the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, the First Consul replied:

"Since I have attained the supreme magistracy, many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded dangers, which gave me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this plot had been successful, for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate, and the will of the French people, have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it will be useful for the nation, but I wish the French people to understand, that existence without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and for them have no object."

Connected with this conspiracy was the case of Captain Wright, who died in the prison of the Temple, to which Pichegru had also been committed: both these officers were for some time supposed to have been assassinated privately. Captain Wright, who was cruizing in a corvette in the bay of Quiberon, was becalmed, and taken by the French gun-boats. Wright had previously been fellow-prisoner with Sir Sidney Smith, and had served with him in Egypt and Syria. Wright had unfortunately been accused as the officer who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. Captain Wright was again conveyed

to Paris, and immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation to disclose the names of the persons by whom he had been employed, and by so doing fell a victim to his sense of honour and fidelity.

The account which Napoleon himself gave of the perpetrators of this conspiracy, at a period when no false colouring could in the least avail him, was as follows:

"In different nights of August, September, and December, 1803, and January 1804, Captain Wright landed Georges, Pichegru, Riviere, Coster, St. Victor, La Haye, St. Hilaire and others, at Beville. The latter four had been accomplices in the affair of the infernal machine, and the others were well known as chiefs of the Chouans. Pretending to be smugglers, they concealed themselves by day in lodgings prepared for them, and travelled only in the night. They had plenty of money, and were at Paris some time before they were discovered, though the police knew from Mehée de la Touche, that a plot was going on: this man, though paid as an English spy, informed the French police of all he knew. He had several conferences with Mr. Drake, the British chargé d'affairs at Munich."

When some of the persons landed by Wright were taken up and examined, it appeared that one Mussey, who lived at Offenburg along with the Duke D'Enghien, was very active in sending money to, and corresponding with those who had been secretly landed on the coasts. Querel, a surgeon, confessed he had been brought from England in Wright's ship along with Georges and several others, and that Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the First Consul.

An emigrant of the name of Bouvet having hung himself in a state of despondency, was cut down by a gaoler, and while recovering his senses, burst out in incoherent expressions, saying Moreau had brought Pichegru from London; that he was a traitor, and had persuaded them

all that the army were for him. These expressions excited the attention of the police: they knew that a brother of Pichegru's, who had once been a monk, lived in Paris; he was arrested, and acknowledged he had seen his brother a day or two before. Moreau was also arrested. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who had what he demanded, an hundred thousand francs.—Georges eluded the vigilance of the police nearly three weeks, and was then betrayed and taken, after having shot one of his pursuers. All his accomplices were afterwards apprehended. Pichegru boasted of having been employed by the Bourbons, but afterwards finding his case desperate, he strangled himself in the prison: Georges, Coster, and seven or eight more, were executed. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, which was commuted into banishment to America.

By the confession of some of these conspirators, it was discovered that the Duke D'Enghien was an accomplice, and only waiting on the frontiers of France for the assassination of Bonaparte, when he was to have entered France as the King's Lieutenant. "Was I," said Bonaparte, "to suffer that the Count d'Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me, and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country I governed, to profit by my assassination? According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to have him assassinated, in retaliation for the numerous attempts caused by him to be made upon me. He was seized, brought into France, and condemned by a law made long before I had any power there. He did not deny having borne arms against the republic; he behaved with great fortitude before the tribunal." When he arrived at Strasbourg he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he offered to discover every thing, if pardon were granted to him; said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to Bonaparte. This letter was de-

livered to Talleyrand, who concealed it till some time after the Duke's execution.

Had the Count d'Artois been in the Duke's place, Bonaparte said he would have suffered the same fate; "and," continued he, "were I *now* placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner."—The police learned by the means of Mehée's authority, that the Duke D'Enghien was concerned in a plot to *terrasser*, viz. overthrow, the *Premier Consul*, no matter by what means.

While the Duke was on his trial, Madame la Marechal Bessieres said to Colonel Ordener, who had arrested him, "Are there no possible means to save that unhappy man? Has his guilt been established beyond a doubt?"—"Madame," replied he, "I found in his house sacks of papers, sufficient to compromise the half of France." The Duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light, as has been represented.

Napoleon further stated, that the Duke de Berri also was to have landed at a certain place in Picardy, to have excited insurrection and assassination. Bonaparte received information of this, and sent Savary to the spot to arrest him. If he had been taken, he would have been instantly shot. He was on board an English vessel that was close upon the coast; but a certain signal previously agreed upon, not being made from Beville, the Duke was intimidated, and stood off again to sea.

Bonaparte added, there was something glorious in Captain Wright's death. He preferred taking away his own life to compromising his government.—The principal reason why Napoleon wished Wright to live, was to be able to prove by his evidence, on his trial, that * * * had caused assassins hired by the Count d' * * * * to be landed in France to murder him; and Wright's trial was to have been carried on in the presence of the ambassadors of the powers then in friendship with France.

Pichegru, as a general, Bonaparte said, was a man of

no ordinary talent; far superior to Moreau, though he had never done any thing extraordinary, as his success in the campaigns of Holland was greatly owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of twenty thousand of his men, by throwing them purposely in the enemy's hands, with whom he had an understanding. Near Mentz, when acting with Kleber, he was guilty of another act of treachery. One of Pichegru's projects was, to get Louis to come and join the army under his command, and cause himself to be proclaimed king.—To ensure success, he signified to Louis, that it would be necessary to bring with him a large sum of money, as he said that *Vive le Roy* lay at the bottom of the throat, and would require a great quantity of wine to bring it out of the mouth.

Napoleon thought Moreau was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army of an hundred thousand men. He did not know how to profit by the number of his troops, or by their positions. Very cool and calm in the field, he was more collected, and better able to command in the heat of an action, than to make dispositions prior to it. He was often seen smoking his pipe in battle: he was not naturally a man of a bad heart. *Un bon vivant, mais il n'avait pas beaucoup de caractère.* He was led away by his wife, and another intriguing creole. His having joined Pichegru and Georges in the conspiracy, and subsequently having closed his life fighting against his country, will ever disgrace his memory.

Georges Cadoudal, the Vendean Chief, Napoleon said, was an *ignorant beast*. He had courage, and that was all. After the peace with the Chouans, Bonaparte endeavoured to gain him over, as a useful person. He sent for him, and spoke to him a long time. His father was a miller, and as he was an ignorant fellow himself, Bonaparte asked him why he wanted to restore those Bourbons,

saying, "If even you were to succeed in placing them upon the throne, you would still be a miller's son in their eyes. They would hold you in contempt, because you are not of noble birth." But I found that he had no heart, in fact, that he was no Frenchman.—A few days after he went over to London.

General Moreau, as before observed, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. To Arnaud Polignac, M. de Riviere Lajollais, and M. de Lozier, pardons were granted. How far General Moreau was implicated, will best appear from his own weak defence. Some of the parties concerned with him were allowed to state, that he first engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing government, and to restore Louis XVIII., but afterwards preferred assuming the office of Dictator himself, and was making exertions for that purpose. In an exculpatory letter written by Moreau to the First Consul, he acknowledged that distant overtures had been made to him, to enter into correspondence with the French Princes: but to those proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he returned no answer. The part of giving information to government, he said, was repugnant to his character, as such an office was always judged of severely; that it becomes odious, and it is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it. Duty, he observed, might sometimes yield to public opinion.

Such was the substance of General Moreau's letter. If he were conscious of the integrity of his conduct, he should have demanded to be brought before a public tribunal. His great and well-merited popularity would have confirmed a just assertion of his innocence. The truth appears to be, that he was privy to the conspiracy against the government and person of Bonaparte; but that there was not the least evidence that he had ever taken any active part in perpetrating the designs of the

conspirators. After some delay, Moreau was permitted to embark for the United States of America, where he remained till 1813, when the sovereigns of Europe, duly appreciating his talents, called him from exile, and gave him a distinguished rank in their military councils.

The seizure of the Duke D'Enghien, before-mentioned, took place at Ettenheim, on the Rhine, in the night of the 15th of March, 1804, when Ordener, one of Bonaparte's generals, crossed that river in three divisions. The guards of the Elector finding all resistance useless, opened the gates of Ettenheim, where the French troops seized the Duke, and a few old priests and invalids that lived with him, and putting him in irons, repassed the river, and conveyed him to France. Several notes on this unusual seizure, and on the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered both to the Diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs. Those by far the most spirited, came from the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.

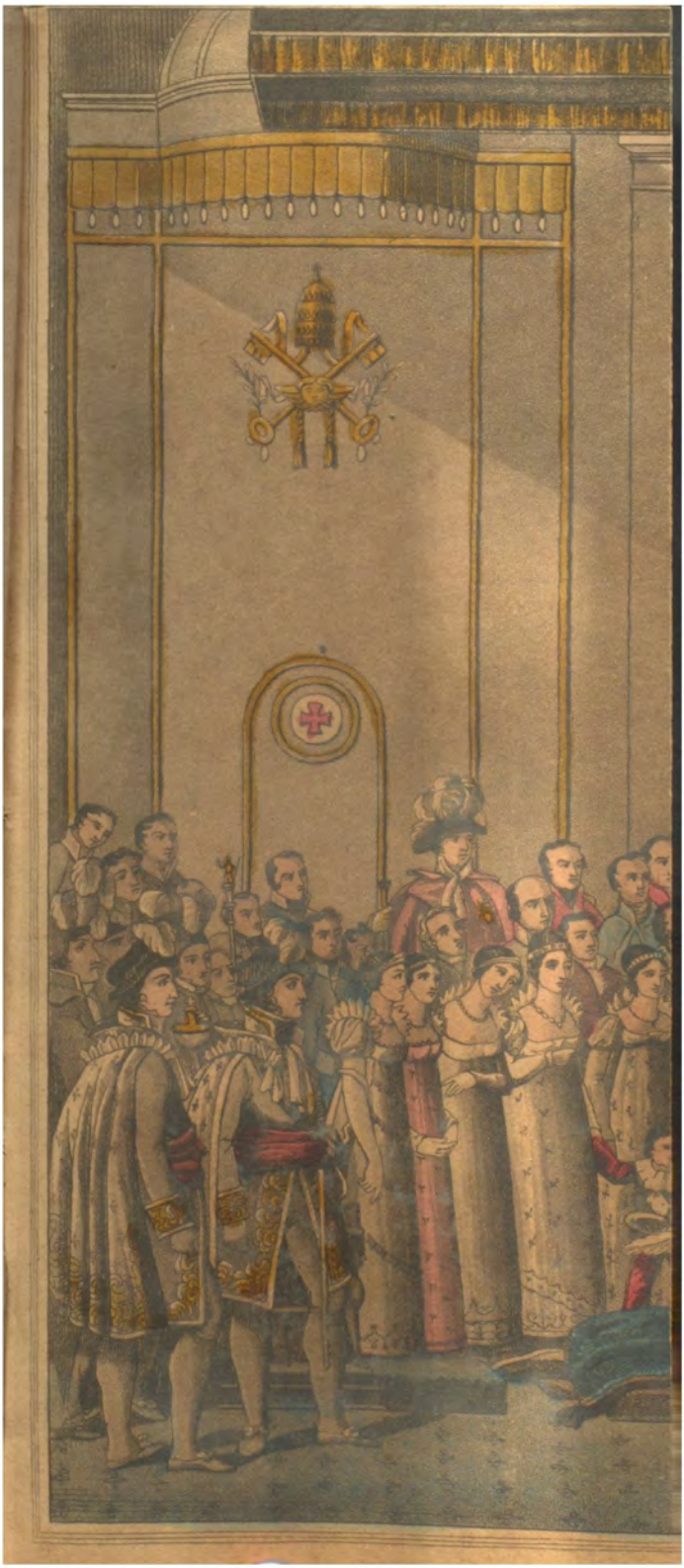
Another report from the French grand judge, issued soon after, complained that the British minister at the court of Munich, was engaged in a conspiracy with persons whose object was to overthrow the government of France: that these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which was to be used in gaining over persons employed in the powder-mills in France, and in taking every measure to disorganize the armies, &c. The principal object of M. Regnier, the grand judge, was to implicate Mr. Drake, the British envoy at Munich, in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents. Some of the representatives of foreign states condemned the conduct of the British envoy in strong terms of severe reprehension, particularly the Danish and the American ministers.

On the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake from Baron Montgelas, prime minister to the

Elector of Bavaria, expressive of the regret of his Serene Highness, that his capital should have been made a central point of criminal correspondence, so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested; and intimating that it was due to his own dignity to declare, that from the present moment, it was no longer in his power to prolong the residence of Mr. Drake in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith, British envoy to the Elector of Wirtemburg, who was stated to have been implicated in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stuttgard.

The impression made by these transactions in every court of Europe, rendered it necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly a circular was addressed by Lord Hawkesbury to each of the foreign ministers resident at the court of London. In this his lordship maintained, that any accredited minister holding correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, would do no more than had been uniformly done by other ministers under similar circumstances, and which they considered they had a right to do with respect to the countries with which their sovereigns were at war.

This position of Lord Hawkesbury was commented upon in a circular note from M. Talleyrand; in which he asserted, "that diplomatic agents had at all times been considered as ministers of peace,—organs of conciliation,—but the British government wished to make them the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers, the fomentors of seditions, the paymasters of assassins;" and this note concluded with a threat, that Bonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body on the Continent, unless the government restrained it within the limits of its functions.



Soon after this, on the night of the 24th of October, 1804, a body of two hundred and fifty French troops landed from Harburgh, between Hamburgh and Altona, and proceeded to the house of Sir George Rumbold, the British minister, whom they seized, together with his papers, and afterwards conveyed to Paris. Having been confined in the Temple about three days, he was conducted towards the coast of the channel, and compelled to enter into a stipulation not to return to Hamburgh. He was then, with his servant, conveyed in a carriage to Boulogne, and afterwards to Cherbourg, from whence he embarked in a flag of truce, and landed at Portsmouth. The French minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to justify the seizure of Sir George Rumbold, upon the ground of his being concerned with Mr. Drake at Munich.

But neither internal conspiracies nor external wars, appear to have diverted the mind of the First Consul in the least, from prosecuting the schemes of his ambition. To secure himself the permanent exercise of sovereign power, after the chief magistracy had been conferred on him for ten years, he seemed to think the title of First Consul was too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he really aspired to the Imperial purple. Thus a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual serving in the army of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest rank, and after obtaining the chief authority in the state, was invested with the title of Emperor of the French.

The measure of conferring on Bonaparte this rank and title, and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was for the first time agitated in the Tribunate in the beginning of May; when M. Curée submitted a proposition to that effect

M. Carnot also strongly opposed this measure, which, however, was carried on the 3d of May, when the Tribunate proceeded to vote,

"That Napoleon Bonaparte, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French Republic. That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture: that in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

This decree being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the vote of one member, who spoke against its adoption.

On the 18th of May the Senate, in an address presented to the First Consul, entreated him to consent, that, for the glory and happiness of the republic, he might be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French.

After Napoleon had given his consent, the Senate was admitted to an audience of her Majesty the Empress, when the Consul Cambaceres addressed her on the part of that body. The *Organic Senatûs* was then proclaimed by the Emperor. His Imperial Majesty nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector, Prince Joseph Bonaparte; to to that of Constable, Prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of Arch-chancellor of the Empire, the Consul Le Brun. The Arch-chancellor, the Arch-treasurer, the Constable, the Ministers, the Secretary of State, and General Duroc, Governor of the Imperial palace, took their oaths before the Emperor. On the 20th of May the Emperor decreed the following Generals to be Marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Da-

voust, and Bessieres. The title of Marshal was also given to the senators Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

The question, whether the throne should, or should not be hereditary, was submitted to the people, who, as might have been expected, decided in the affirmative by an immense majority.

About this time Louis XVIII. issued a protest against Bonaparte's assumption to the Imperial title, as well as against all the subsequent acts to which it might give birth. This protest was dated, Warsaw.

On the 9th of July Bonaparte issued an Imperial decree, directing that the oath should be taken, and the coronation ceremonies performed in the Champ de Mars on the 18th Brumaire, or 9th of November, the day on which the power of the Directory had been subverted by Bonaparte, and the consular power established on its ruins.

In order to heighten the solemnity of the occasion, the Pope was sent for, and left the Vatican on the 3d of November, accompanied by four Cardinals, two Archbishops, and a numerous suite. The journey of the Sovereign Pontiff was distinguished by the homage paid him by the faithful in Italy and France, as head of the church. Having arrived at Fontainebleau on the 25th of November, he was met by Napoleon at a place called *la Croix de St. Herens*, and arrived on the 29th of November at the Tuilleries, where apartments had been prepared for him, escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty hussars, who were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory.

Circumstances arose, which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the preceding day, the Senate went in a body to the Tuilleries, where they were presented by Joseph Bonaparte. The president Neufchateau made a complimentary speech, to which the Emperor re-

plied, "I ascend the throne to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom from the midst of camps I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed on them; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and confusion of social order, are the result only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You senators, whose counsel and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the support and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The weather on the 2d of December was extremely unfavourable; snow had fallen on the preceding evening, but on the following morning the sun rose extremely bright.

In the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, and of a procession of the most imposing appearance, the Pope, Napoleon, and Josephine his spouse, attended the church of Notre Dame, where Pius VII. officiated with all the pomp of the Roman church. The new Emperor had presented to the Cathedral the sacred vases of vermillion enriched with diamonds, and magnificently ornamented, and generally with every thing necessary for the celebration of the coronation, which was accordingly performed on Sunday the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries invited by the Emperor, met at the palace of

Justice by seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, each escorted by a corps of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The Pope left the Tuilleries at nine o'clock, and at ten the departure of the Emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery. Here we may remark, that never before had a Pope been obliged to leave his own dominions for the purpose of crowning either emperor or king. It was reserved for the aspiring Napoleon thus to surpass all other crowned heads, in exacting obedience from the nominal head of the church, to whom all other monarchs had been in the constant habit of doing homage.

The Pope and the Emperor repaired to the Archiepiscopal palace, where his Holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the Emperor put on the Imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church of Notre Dame. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte, and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the Empress upon a cushion; Marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the Empress's mantle. The Empress, with the Imperial mantle, was supported by the Princesses. Marshal Kellerman carried the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon his sceptre; General Beauharnois his Majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier the Imperial globe; and the Grand Chamberlain the basket to receive the Emperor's mantle. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame.

The Imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church. Upon the throne was seated the Emperor in his ornaments; the Empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm chair. Two steps lower than the Emperor, on the left, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the Pope was seated, was raised

near the altar. At the moment their Majesties entered the porch, the Pope descended from his throne, and advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator*. The Emperor and the Empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their Imperial ornaments. The Grand Elector took off the crown from his Majesty's head; the Arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the Imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the Constable of the Empire. In the mean time the Empress's attendants took from her the Imperial mantle and ornaments, which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the Pope.

Then followed the cermony of inauguration. The Grand Almoner of France, with the first of the French Cardinals and Archbishops, conducted their Imperial Majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His Holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the Emperor and Empress; one on the head, the other two on the hands. They were then reconducted to the throne, when the Pope performed the mass. His Holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. The Imperial mantles being consecrated, the Emperor and Empress put them on again, and the Emperor afterwards placed the crown on the head of the Empress. An eye witness to this coronation asserts, that immediately after the Pope had blessed the two crowns, Napoleon in a manner snatched that which was intended for him, placing it himself on his own head. Napoleon then took the other crown and placed it upon the head of Josephine, who remained upon her knees at the foot of the altar. After this the Pope, preceded by the Master of the Ceremonies, followed the Emperor from the altar to the throne, where, having pronounced a prayer, he kissed

the Emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat Imperatur in æturnum!*"

When divine service was finished, the Emperor sitting with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the Gospels, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies pronounced the oath prescribed, before the three presidents of the Senate, the Legislative Corps and the Tribunate. After this, the principal herald at arms cried aloud—"The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned!"

At this instant the roof of the church of Notre Dame resounded with the repeated cries of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Imperatrice!*"—The Pope was then re-conducted by his clergy, and the procession returned nearly in the same order as it came.

On the following day the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets, distributing a great quantity of medals of different sizes, intended to commemorate the coronation. On one side of the medals the Emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend, *Napoleon Empereur;* on the reverse was the inscription, *Le Senat et le Peuple,* with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and a warrior newly clothed with the Imperial attributes.

Some time before Napoleon's coronation, he related, that the Pope wished to see him, and made it a point to visit him in person. "He had made many concessions: he had come to Paris for the purpose of crowning me; he consented not to place the crown on my head; he dispensed with the ceremony of the public communion. He expected many compensations in return: he at first dreamed of Romagna and the Legations, but he began to suspect he should be obliged to give up all that. He then lowered his pretensions to a very trifling favour, as he called it, of Napoleon's signature to an ancient docu-

ment, *a worn out rag,* which he held from Louis XIV.—'Do me that favour,' said he; 'in fact, it signifies nothing.'—'Cheerfully, most Holy Father, and the thing is done, if it be feasible.' It was, however, a declaration, in which Louis XIV. at the close of his life, seduced by Madame de Maintenon, or prevailed upon by his confessors, expressed his disapprobation of the celebrated articles of 1682, the foundations of the liberties of the Gallican church. The Emperor shrewdly replied, that he had not, for his own part, any personal objection, but that it was requisite for him, as a matter of form, to speak to the Bishops about it; on which the Pope repeatedly observed, that such a communication was by no means necessary, and that the thing did not deserve so much publicity. 'I shall never,' he remarked, 'shew the signature; it shall be kept as secret as that of Louis XIV.'—'But if it signifies nothing,' said Napoleon, 'what use will there be in having my signature? And if any signification can be drawn from it, I am bound by a sense of propriety, to consult my doctors.'"

This formal assumption of the Imperial dignity by Bonaparte, gave a new turn to the political affairs of Europe, especially as the Emperor Francis, in consequence of previous negotiations, had sanctioned a decree, issued from Vienna, by which the title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Emperor of Austria. It was urged, that upon conferring upon his family an hereditary Imperial title, he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and that of France in the present day. When this was announced to the Diet of Ratisbon, it excited no attention, except from the Swedish envoy, who thought this measure was not to be laid before the Diet as a notification, but as a subject for deliberation.

The prospect of peace on the Continent was soon overclouded by an energetic note, which had been presented to the Diet of Ratisbon from the Emperor of Russia, on

the seizure of the Duke D'Enghien. To this, the French minister replied, in a tone of lofty indifference, "that the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia were undoubtedly the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire; and the German princes being satisfied, Napoleon felt himself in no way responsible to the Emperor of Russia, on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it were the intention of his Majesty to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly?"

The departure of General Hedouville from Petersburg, and much angry correspondence, followed between the French and Russian ministers at Paris, in which Sweden also became a party against France, though fortunately the subsisting relations of commerce between France and the north, were allowed to remain uninterrupted. But towards the close of the year 1804, the Emperor Alexander, after his diplomatic correspondence had been closed for some time with Bonaparte, entered into very active negotiations with the British government, at the head of which Mr. Pitt was again placed, with a determination to signalize his administration by some extraordinary effort.

But while many were in daily expectation of being again disturbed by the din of arms, Napoleon was by no means unmindful of the arts of peace. Some months before his coronation, he had expressed his wish of transmitting to posterity, a picture of the grand ceremony, by a work worthy of the high fame of the artist.

M. David eagerly embraced the proposal. Immediately the Emperor sent for Prince Murat, then governor of Paris, and for Count Segur, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and in the presence of his first painter, ordered them to chuse the most convenient place for him, to see the whole ceremony, and to draw it with exactness.

The place selected, was above the chief altar, so that

the painter could see perfectly the choir of the church, in which the coronation was to be performed, and in which all the distinguished persons intended to be present, were to be assembled.

Immediately after the ceremony, M. David, full of his subject, went home and sketched out the design of his work. The rough draught was made on the proportion of 18 inches by 12. The picture is 33 feet long, and 21 high.

The greatest known picture in the world, the Nuptials of Cana, by Paul Veronese, is only 33 feet long, and 18 high. This size renders it difficult to find a room large enough for the exhibition of a picture which contains 210 persons, of whom near eighty are represented from head to foot. Many of the likenesses are very striking.

This work was the result of four years' labour. On the one hand, the opposition of the Romish clergy; on the other, the Emperor's orders, sometimes very difficult to put in harmony with the exact truth; and also the pretensions of powerful men, who were all ambitious of the most conspicuous place, increased the difficulties of the execution.

The Cardinal Caprara, for instance, who appears bareheaded, wished to have his wig on, such being the custom followed in Romish ceremonials: M. David was desirous of painting quite bare, a head, the colour of which promised so beautiful an effect.

In like manner, the Emperor had ordered the Turkish envoy to be exhibited with all the other ambassadors: to this the envoy objected, because the law of the Koran forbade his entrance into a Christian church. After many negotiations, and a great loss of time, he gave his consent, under the consideration that the post and character of ambassador belongs to all religions.

M. David was often interrupted in his work by the foreign artists at Paris, who were daily soliciting the

permission of being admitted into his painting-room. It was difficult to resist so flattering an eagerness. Camucini, the prince of the Roman school, and the famous statuary Canova, daily made use of that permission. Camucini, at his last visit, found the artist surrounded by many of his scholars, all of them profoundly silent, in admiration of his composition. On taking leave of M. David, the Italian painter bowed to him, with these remarkable words: *Adio, il più bravo pittore di scholari ben bravi.*

On his return to Rome, Canova, to fulfil what he esteemed a duty towards the author of this astonishing work, proposed to the Academy of St. Luke, to receive him as an honorary member. Impelled by their esteem for M. David, the Academicians set aside all their usual forms, and unanimously elected him. Canova was chosen to acquaint M. David with that particular circumstance of his nomination.

The picture was finished about the month of November 1807. Previous to its public exposition, the Emperor appointed a day to see it himself; it was on the 4th of January 1808. Accordingly, on that day, and to honour the artist the more, he proceeded in state, attended by a detachment of cavalry and military music, accompained by the Empress, and the Princes and Princesses of his family, and followed by his ministers and the great officers of the crown, to the painting-room, where M. David was in waiting to receive him.

In the meantime the passions were at work. Severe criticisms had already reached the Emperor and his court. The picture (according to some) was not the Emperor's coronation, but that of the Empress. Under the impossibility of describing all the ceremonies which he had witnessed (and the most interesting part of them being that in which the three chief personages of the piece were acting), the artist chose for his work, the moment in which the

Emperor places the crown on the head of his consort: his reason for this preference was, that if he had represented Napoleon taking the crown from the altar, the Pope, and the Empress herself, would have been only witnesses of an act in itself undoubtedly very solemn, but one with which their presence had no necessary connexion; the coronation of his spouse, on the contrary, supposed that that of her Imperial husband was already over. The Emperor was then acting as master and sovereign. The Empress was receiving the insignia of the state conferred on her; and the Pope was performing the religious functions for which his presence had been required.

This idea, therefore, which at first had been so much criticized, was fully approved by the Emperor, to whom indeed the original conception of the artist had already been submitted. After having observed, and attentively examined the work, Napoleon said:

"M. David, this is very well, very well indeed: you have guessed my whole thought; the Empress, my Mother, the Emperor, are all most properly placed; you have made me a French Knight, and I am pleased that you have thus transmitted to future ages the proofs of affection I wished to give to the Empress." And, after an instant of silence, his hat on, the Empress standing on his right hand, M. David on his left, and the picture in front, the Emperor advanced two steps, and facing the author, pulled of his hat, and bowing profoundly, "M. David," said he, raising his voice, "I salute you."

"Sire," answered the painter, "I receive the compliment of the Emperor in the name of all the artists of his empire; happy myself, in being the one whom you deign to make the channel of such an honour."

When, in the month of October 1808, the picture was placed in the Museum, the Emperor wished to see it again. M. David accordingly attended him in the hall of the Louvre, surrounded by many of his pupils. After con-

ferring the decoration of the Legion of Honour on the most distinguished of them, whom, at the Emperor's desire, M. David had pointed out to him, "It is fit," said Napoleon, "that I testify my satisfaction to the master of so many distinguished artists; I promote you, therefore, to be officer of the Legion of Honour. M. Duroc, give a golden decoration to M. David."—"Sire, I have none with me."—"No matter," replied Napoleon, "don't let this day pass without executing my order."

The Grand Maréchal, although no friend to M. David, was obliged to obey; and, on the same evening the insignia was sent to the painter.

Not content with honouring the artist himself, the Emperor was pleased to see his esteem for him shared by all the great persons who appeared at his court. The King of Wirtemburg, at his suggestion, came to see M. David's work. On being shewn the picture of the coronation, astonished at the luminous brightness spread over the group, in which are placed the Pope and Cardinal Caprara; "I did not believe," said the king to the painter, "that your art could operate such wonders. White and black, in painting, afford but very weak resources. When you produced such an effect, doubtless you must have had a sun-beam upon your pencil."

Such a compliment discovered a peculiar and perfect knowledge of the art. M. David, astonished, after many thanks, added, "Sire, your reflection, and your way of expressing it, bespeak the artist, or the well-informed amateur. Your Majesty has then learned to paint?"—"Yes," answered the king, "I sometimes occupy myself with that art; and all my brothers possess a similar taste. The one who very often calls upon you, has obtained some success in it. His performances are not at all like royal paintings, they are worthy of an artist. M. David," added he, "I dare not hope to obtain a copy of this picture; but you may indemnify me, by placing my name at the

head of the subscribers to the engraving. Pray, don't forget me."

The fifth of December was consecrated to the distribution of the new colours that were to conduct the warriors of the empire to victory. This ceremony took place in the Champ de Mars, a vast space, exciting many recollections of the most memorable periods of the revolution. The Emperor's throne was placed in an immense tribune, equal in height with the apartments in the palace of the military school, and on the right and left were benches for the three corps of the state, and the most distinguished personages in the empire. Deputations from different corps of the army, the marine, and the national guard, occupied the interior of the Champ de Mars; and a prodigious number of spectators filled the immense amphitheatre within the limits. At a given signal, all the columns of the army were in motion, and approached the throne, at the foot of which were the different flags and standards, surmounted by eagles, and borne by the officers and presidents of the electoral colleges of the departments. The Emperor then standing up, pronounced the following address with great energy:

"Soldiers! Behold your colours: these eagles will always serve you as a rallying point, and they shall appear every where your Emperor shall judge necessary for the defence of his throne and his people.

"Will you swear to sacrifice your lives in their defence, to maintain them constantly by your courage in the path of victory?"—"We swear!" was at once repeated by an unanimous cry; the presidents of the colleges, and the officers at the same time waving the eagles in the air, which they were going to distribute among the brave warriors.

This being performed in the midst of the shouts of the multitude surrounding the Champ de Mars, they proceeded to the distribution of the new colours, which were again

saluted with redoubled acclamations by the soldiers who received them. For nine years successively, victory had constantly followed these Imperial eagles, and never abandoned them till Napoleon, insatiable of conquest, attempted to carry them through the frozen regions of the north.

About the middle of December the city of Paris gave a brilliant and superb banquet to their Imperial Majesties, followed by a distribution of bread, wine, and poultry, among the people in all the public places. On the 22d the Senate gave a *fête;* but news arrived of the refusal of the Ottoman Porte to acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor, upon which Marshal Brune quitted Constantinople.

Among the demonstrations made by Napoleon in 1804, those at Boulogne were the most prominent. It might have been remarked, that after he had occupied Hanover, he lost no time in exciting the ideas of an invasion of England. Orders were sent to repair the old batteries on the French coasts, or to establish new ones. The formation of an hundred companies of volunteer gunners was ordered, and several others of sedentary *gardes côtes,* composed as much as possible of men who had learned the use of artillery during the late war, but had retired from the service. The project of a descent on England was again put forward; and in the impatience of the First Consul to avenge British duplicity, he made an appeal to the French nation, and to its patriotism, still more energetic than that of 1801. The *delenda Carthago* became the favourite expression of every one who wished to pay his court to the Chief of the French government. Addresses poured in from all parts of France, professing devotion and attachment without limits.

According to the new plan adopted by the First Consul, he meant to make use of gun and flat-bottomed boats, in his projected descent; which, being principally managed with oars, might possibly escape the British

cruizers, as well as the shot of the larger vessels, from the smallness of their size, especially at a time of the year when fogs are so frequent in the channel, or when bad weather will not permit larger vessels to keep the narrow seas. An hundred and sixty thousand soldiers were to embark on board these frail barks, to land upon the British coast; and if this should succeed, the conquest of England was calculated upon as a certain and infallible consequence. This illusion for a time seemed to have turned all heads in France, and every citizen was willing to contribute something to this romantic undertaking.

Every corps of the army, which seemed most impatient of inaction, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march upon the divers points of the coast, where the different divisions of the grand flotilla were to be collected; and the officers and soldiers had shewn themselves equally ready to contribute with their money or their blood, to the success of this gigantic expedition.

In the midst of these preparations, Bonaparte wished to reconnoitre the new theatre upon which he intended again to put the courage and constancy of the French to the proof. He left Paris on the 24th of June, 1804; after passing through Amiens, Abbeville, and Montreuil sur Mer, he arrived at Boulogne on the 1st of July; he then visited Borgues, Cassel, Ballieul, Armentiers, and Lisle, on the 7th of July. Taking his course afterwards towards Belgium, he successively visited Ypres, Nieuport, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, in which tour he occupied fourteen days. At Antwerp he gave directions for forming a grand navigable canal, to communicate with the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. This was his first essay for making Antwerp the grand *depôt* of all the commerce of the north of Europe, and which was afterwards completed. The enthusiasm of the Belgians was every where excited by Napoleon's presence, who were then more gratified by their re-union

with France than ever. The inhabitants of Brussels, Louvain, Maestricht, Liege, Namur, and Aix-la-Chapelle, testified the most unfeigned admiration and respect, equal to any he had received in Old France, which he again entered at Mezieres, traversing a part of Champaigne, through Charleville, Sedan, and Rheims, and returned to Paris on the 12th of August, after a six weeks' absence from that capital.

It was during another journey in this part of his dominions, that having experienced the intrepidity and bravery of British seamen, Napoleon paid them a just tribute, and generously rewarded them for the proofs they had given him of their superiority. He was at Givet with the Empress Marie Louise, and stopped at that place to rest. During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much, that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. Napoleon was very anxious to depart; and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that he might be enabled to cross the river. They said the waters were so high, that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. He questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. Napoleon then recollected, that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen amongst them should be brought before him to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. He asked them if they could join a number of boats, so that he might pass. They answered, that it was possible, but hazardous. Napoleon desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the other *imbecilles* had pronounced impossible; and he crossed before the evening was over. Napoleon ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of

money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with him at the time.

During the time that Bonaparte had been absent from Boulogne, the different camps that had been traced out more than two years, and were then occupied by the flower of the French army, exhibited a spectacle most remarkable, for the developement of the industry that had presided over their formation. Each camp resembled a city, where the commodities and conveniences of domestic life were united with the discipline and the austere manners that distinguish the French soldier, in what are called the *pleasure camps*. At Ostend, for example, the ground that lately presented only the spectacle of arid plains, stagnant waters, and a long chain of barren downs, now offered to the view of the astonished traveller, long avenues of barracks, elegant and substantial, green banks, columns, obelisks surmounted with the bust of the Emperor; while, for the first time, the spectator perceived delightful gardens, smiling parterres, and a perpetual verdure, created as it were by magic. Drains had been skilfully made into the dikes, which preserved the barracks from humidity; broad and handsome causeways preserved the communications with the neighbouring villages, and several limpid springs, besides offering a wholesome beverage, served to water and embellish the gardens. The arms, trophies, and inscriptions at the entrance of each camp, to the honour of the conqueror of Italy and the East, displayed a martial appearance. Streets traced out in lines, bearing the name of some illustrious warrior who had died with arms in his hands for the country, recalled several recent actions: besides statues, that well-practised artists need not blush for, and allegorical groups, that represented the happy alliance of the arts and sciences with victory.

Every regiment had its garden; every company its bed

of flowers, its kitchen-garden, and a well to water them. The soldier was nourished by pulse, &c. of his own growth; and seeing the increase of the labour of his hands every day, it was this, as well as discipline, that rendered him faithful to his colours; and besides, contributed to the preservation of his health. Under these operations, the immense downs had disappeared; the roughest soil had been levelled; and in fact, all the obstacles that Nature had multiplied upon a soil naturally inhospitable, had yielded to the taste and activity of these warriors; and a view of the different divisions of the flotilla, gave a finish to this extraordinary picture.

It being Napoleon's intention to present himself to his soldiers with all the pomp and parade that could attach to his new rank, he was followed by his brothers Joseph and Louis, by the grand dignitaries, and the great officers of the empire. Even the ministers themselves had been ordered to join the Emperor at the camp of Boulogne, where he held his court with as much splendour as at the palace of the Tuilleries, or at St. Cloud. The military manœuvres of the morning, were followed in the evening by dances, *fêtes,* and scenic displays; the latter, by some of the most celebrated actors in Paris.

In the midst of this extraordinary mixture of *fêtes* and military preparations, Napoleon passed nearly a month upon the coast near Boulogne. His presence tended to electrify every heart, and to give activity to all hands. He had mentioned the 15th of August, his birth-day, as the period for a solemnity, which, by its extraordinary splendour, was to equal or surpass every thing of the kind that had gone before. He also intended to make a grand distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, not only among the army, but among a great number of functionaries whom he had invited to Boulogne for that purpose.

The French army was posted in the several camps, formed by barracks, behind Boulogne, and to the right and left of that place, bearing the names of Outreau, Boulogne, Wimill, and Ambleteuse. The palace, or rather the Emperor's barrack, constructed of wood, was in advance of the camp on the right; near to this, was the ground chosen for the display of the *fête*, where an hundred thousand men might contribute to, and enjoy this imposing spectacle.

The general plan was that of an ancient theatre, the seats of which were formed by the natural appearance of the ground. Twenty columns of infantry, presenting sixty men in front, upon an indeterminate height, were to represent the spectators; the intervals of the columns, the avenues, and the whole crowned by the cavalry, were intended to imitate the boxes of the ancient theatres. The pit, as the place reserved for the performance of the ceremony, was to admit none but the staff officers: here were the standards of the different corps, placed in advance of the legionaries who were to take the oaths. A furrow or ravine of fifty toises, gave to this theatre the appearance of an hundred feet; in the centre of which, the throne of the Emperor was raised. On one side of this, was the Imperial guard, and on the other the orchestra.

The throne was formed of an eminence in the antique taste, resembling those of the Roman camps, upon which the emperors used to harangue the army, and such as the medals have transmitted to us under the denomination of *allocutions*.

This square platform, sixteen feet by eight, was surrounded by standards and colours surmounted by golden eagles. Upon some steps in the centre, was placed the ancient seat of King Dagobert; above which, in the form of a canopy, they had placed a trophy of arms, composed of flags, colours and standards taken in the battles of

Montenotte, Lodi, Arcole, Rivoli, Castiglione, the Pyramids, Mount Tabor, Aboukir, and Marengo. In the midst of this group was some armour belonging to the Electors of Hanover, the whole surmounted by an immense crown of laurel in gold, over which waved the purple tails of the flags taken from the Beys in Egypt.

The decorations that were to be distributed to the legionaries, had been placed in the Casque of Du Guesclin, and the buckler of Bayard, and were carried by the adjutants-general and colonels of the staff.

On the 15th of August, the sun, which had been concealed by thick clouds on the preceding evening, appeared in the horizon in all its splendour. At nine the *generale* was beat in all the camps, and the troops advancing in columns, occupied the space assigned them. This movement was executed with admirable precision. At noon the Emperor left his barrack, and proceeded to his place under a salute from all the batteries. The beating of two thousand drums at this instant, could not prevent the acclamations of the soldiers and the people from being heard, expressive of the enthusiasm which his presence excited. A roll of the drums having announced that the ceremony was going to begin, silence every where took place. The Emperor seated himself on his throne, whilst his brothers Joseph and Louis, the grand-admiral Murat, the ministers, the marshals of the empire, the great officers of the crown, and the senators, ranged themselves on each side: behind was a captain from each corps of the army, with his colours displayed; the Emperor's aides-de-camp were placed upon the sixteen steps of the throne, to receive and transmit his orders; lower down the legionaries were seen; over their heads were two trophies, formed in a similar manner to that which surmounted the chair of King Dagobert; that is to say, of standards taken from the enemy.

The colonels of the staff, who carried the decorations that the Emperor meant to distribute, had arrived at the places assigned them, and had seen on their way both officers and soldiers bowing respectfully, and saluting with a religious emotion the crest of the hero of Brittany, and the shield of the Chevalier *sans peur et sans reproche.* The grand-chancellor of the empire having received the orders of the Emperor, then delivered a discourse adapted to the occasion. After this, a second roll of the drums again called attention, when Napoleon, rising from his seat, pronounced the formula of the oath which the legionaries were to take, and who unanimously cried out, "We swear it!" when, by a kind of spontaneous motion, the whole army repeated this oath of fidelity and devotion. The cries of "*Vive l'Empereur Napoleon!*" resounded from all ranks, whilst the soldiers held up their arms in the air. The great officers, the commandants, the legionaries, and others, then approached the throne in succession, and received individually from the hands of the Emperor the decoration of the Legion. The aspect of this brilliant army, the forts, the camps, the rocks resounding, with the dashing of the waves and noise of the cannon; the sun dispensing its rays, the sea ploughed in the distance by the British cruizers, were objects certainly calculated to excite sentiments in the beholders, very difficult to express.

At the moment when the columns of infantry were deploying, and extending upon the coast for the purpose of defiling in platoons before the throne, a division of fifty sail, the advance guard of the flotilla of Havre, appeared off Cape Alpreck. All eyes were immediately directed towards the sea, then, as it were, paying its tribute to the Emperor Napoleon. This convoy had been expected with impatience for some months.

At four in the afternoon the Emperor retired, with the same salutes and acclamations that greeted his first ap-

pearance; and the day was concluded with sumptuous banquets given by Joseph Bonaparte, the ministers, and the principal officers of the army by sea and land, which were followed by balls, fire-works, &c.

After Napoleon had remained some time on the coast near Boulogne, he directed his march, as before observed, through Belgium, to visit his new departments on the Rhine, and arrived at Mentz, where he had invited the Empress Josephine to meet him. Here, as in every place he had passed through, he might have been seen applying his creating eye to the purpose of relieving the necessities of the people, suggesting useful projects for the public good, in the ameliorations or embellishments that he thought necessary. From Mentz he arrived at Paris on the 12th of October. It may be justly observed, that in Napoleon's journies into the interior, he always had the national prosperity in view. Far from dreading his visits, the people looked upon them as advantages. The presence of this warlike monarch in any of the departments, without being expensive to them, like the visits of an idle prince, always benefited the administrations: they became the source of new erections, new labours favourable to the progress of industry, agriculture, or commerce.

The situation of affairs in England at the end of the year 1804, and the alarm that the formidable preparations for a descent upon the soil of Great Britain had excited, led Napoleon to suppose that George III. would be more inclinable to peace than under circumstances less favourable, and induced him to take a step which, if crowned with success, might have rendered the commencement of the year 1805 one of the most remarkable epochs of the late reign. That this attempt was made by the French Emperor, and in a singular manner, will appear in the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. XV.

Letter of Napoleon to George the Third—Remarks by an able Statesman—Increase of the Military Power of France—Alteration in the Sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, who concludes a Treaty with Great Britain—The new Kingdom of Italy—Bonaparte's Visit to Milan, and Coronation—Description of the Iron Crown—Address to the Senators—Genoa annexed to France—Piombino and Lucca given to the Emperor's Sister, married to M. Bacciocci, a Corsican Officer, who is created a Prince—Boulogne again visited by Bonaparte—Flotilla dismantled, and the Army withdrawn from the Coast—Napoleon's Address to the Senate—Leaves Paris, and arrives at Strasburgh—Movements of the French Armies—Napoleon visits the Princess Royal of England at Stuttgard—Official Bulletins—Addresses of the Emperor to the Soldiers—Surrender of Ulm—Napoleon at Munich—Brannau—Anecdote—The Emperor of Germany—Remarks on the English Oligarchy—Passage of the Traun and the Enns—Affairs of Amstetten, Marienzell—The Abbey of Moelk—Anecdotes—Vienna evacuated by the Austrians—Battle of Diernstein—Skill and Bravery of Major Henriod—Omissions in the Bulletins—French Troops pass through Vienna—The Emperor Napoleon's Residence in the Palace of Schoenbrunn—Affair of Hollebrun—Battle of Tuntersdorf—Head-quarters at Znaim—A ruse de guerre*—Prince Dolgerucki's Interview with Napoleon—Order of the Day before that of the Battle of Austerlitz—Devotion of the Soldiers—Napoleon's Address to them the day after the Battle, &c.*

THE measure adopted by Bonaparte, as a consequence of his elevation to the Imperial dignity, was to

transmit new overtures to the British government, in the form of a letter written by his own hand, and addressed to his Britannic Majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted on his accession as First Consul, was chosen, from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. This letter was couched in the following terms:

"SIR, AND BROTHER,

"Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war; it, besides, presents nothing that I need to fear; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your Majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. The moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your Majesty has gained more in ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war? To form a coalition with some powers of the Continent? The Continent will remain tranquil:

a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture, can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your Majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve?—If your Majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to fight merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your Majesty will believe the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

As it was not customary for an English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The secretary of state for foreign affairs, intimated his Majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the Continent, with whom his Majesty was engaged in confidential connections and relations, particularly the Emperor of Russia.

But though the republic of France, which during twelve years had assumed so many different forms, was now considered as extinct, yet, like the Phœnix, it had produced a new empire, which, being founded princi-

pally by the power of the sword, was of course dreaded by other nations than its parents.

An able statesman (Mr. Burke) had several years before remarked, that the French republic would become the prey of the first ambitious chieftain who might have sufficient boldness to avail himself of a fortunate train of circumstances in seizing the government; and this prediction found its fulfilment in the elevation of Napoleon to the Imperial purple. Many years of active warfare, and the complete destruction of the commerce of France, had given a military character to nearly the whole of her population. Not only were the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. now realized, but greatly exceeded; and the establishment of an empire, as extensive as that of Charlemagne, was a favourite object both with the government and the people. The union of all the powers of the state in Napoleon, had increased the vigour of the nation, both in its foreign and internal regulations; whilst his activity and military talents, insured a prompt and universal obedience to his will. To the armies he was uncommonly endeared; and the assumption of the Imperial dignity, by enabling him to confer new honours upon his adherents, increased and confirmed their attachment. At this period, the military force of France amounted to upwards of six hundred thousand men; and this army, by the laws of the conscription, and the formation of the national guard, was capable of very considerable augmentation.

The transmission of Napoleon's letter to the King of England, was not known at Paris till the 4th of February; it had been kept a secret between the Emperor and his minister Talleyrand; but the continued silence of the British ministry on the subject, having induced the opinion, that the question, not being agreeable, would be decided in the British councils in the negative, Napoleon ordered his minister of foreign affairs to lay a copy

[redacted] King's answer to it before the three chambers of [redacted]gislature, together with the evasive communication [redacted]rd Melville on the same subject.

The principal ground of this hostile disposition on the part of England, evidently arose from the alteration of the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander with respect to France and Napoleon. This began to appear about the month of April, 1804, whilst the proceedings were carrying on in France against Georges and Pichegru. General Hedouville, the French ambassador at Petersburg, had received his letters of recall about the beginning of June; and as the Russian ambassador had also quitted Paris, no agent of the government remained there but M. D'Oubril, as chargé d'affaires, who on the 21st of July, presented a note, containing demands equal to a declared rupture; and which having been concerted with England, were calculated to take effect whenever this power should be disposed to widen the breach between itself and France. The Emperor Alexander required that he should be permitted to act as an arbitrator in the affairs of Italy, and particularly with respect to the King of Naples; he demanded indemnities for the King of Sardinia's loss of Piedmont, and the evacuation of the electorate of Hanover by the French. These propositions appeared exceedingly out of time, at the moment when the cabinet of St. Petersburg, thus arrogantly claiming a right to intermeddle with the affairs of France, and according to its own expressions, "to force moderation," had itself, without any right, or even pretext, seized upon a part of Armenia, made preparations for the invasion of some of the Persian provinces, and sent a corps of ten thousand men into the republic of the Seven Isles, in the Ionian sea, in opposition to the treaties concluded by the great powers of Europe, which had declared this republic free and independent.

M. D'Oubril having formally exchanged some other

notes with the French ministry, demanded his passports, which he received about the end of August. The French chargé d'affaires at Petersburg quitted that city on the 26th of September.

The object which Napoleon had in view, in communicating his correspondence with the King of Great Britain to his Chamber, was to prove to the people, that he had not neglected any means to get rid of the scourge of war. Consequently, his generosity, his greatness of mind, and moderation, were exalted to the skies, and the responsibility of the continuation of hostilities charged upon England.

In May 1805, the storm that had again been raised against France, began to overspread the political horizon. On the 11th of April, Russia concluded a treaty with Great Britain, by virtue of which, in consideration of a subsidy, she was to put on foot an army of a hundred and eighty thousand men, and to form a coalition, with the view of rescuing Hanover from France, withdrawing the influence of that power from Switzerland and Holland, and for giving what they called *a frontier* to Austria; to effect the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French, and to replace the King of Sardinia upon the throne of Piedmont.

Though Austria had officially complimented Napoleon upon his new dignity, this power did not seem to entertain more favourable dispositions towards France, than its declared enemies; but willingly lent an ear to agents sent to draw her into the new league then in agitation. Great activity was soon observed in the Aulic Council of War at Vienna, followed by a continual movement of troops in the empire; and under the pretext of establishing a cordon to check the progress of an epidemic disease that raged at Leghorn, an Austrian army was assembled upon the Adige.

It was impossible that Napoleon could be duped by

the pacific assurances that he received, in answer to his representations on this subject, from the court of Vienna; the English papers too clearly explained the real object of that power. Napoleon, however, meant to wait the course of events, and leave to the Emperor of Austria the odium of having first broken the peace.

In the mean while, Napoleon's principal attention was drawn towards Italy, naturally suspecting the first hostilities would break out upon the Adige. The French troops in Italy had orders to keep on the *qui vive;* whilst, to encourage the Italians who had shaken off the Austrian yoke, Napoleon no longer indulged the least hesitation in putting upon his head the iron crown of the kings of the Lombards. In reality, as Napoleon had established royalty in France, he could not think of suffering a republic to subsist in the north of Italy; and as, during his Consulship, he had prepared the French for an Imperial regimen, he had also brought the Italian republic into such a state, that it was impossible to preserve its independence. From its first existence, this republic had been led by him, as it were, in leading strings; but from the moment he was declared Emperor of France, a change in the Italian constitution was to be expected. He now found the title of President no longer in harmony with that of Emperor; and besides, he wished that Italy should be more nearly connected with France than ever. In fact, from the moment he had proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, the change that was intended for Italy might have been expected.

In order to be more sure of the assent of his new subjects, he used the same means as he had adopted in the year 1802. He summoned the Italian Consulta to meet him at Paris, for the professed purpose of adding those modifications and changes that times and circumstances had rendered necessary.

On the 17th of March, M. de Melzi, vice-president of

the Italian republic, arrived at Paris at the head of a deputation from the Cisalpine republic, to express their cordial acquiescence in a monarchical and hereditary government; and also their wishes that, Napoleon being proclaimed King of Italy, would not suffer a year to elapse before he came to be crowned at Milan. A few days were sufficient for the completion of the wishes of Napoleon and of those deputies; to whom, and to the electoral colleges, he caused the oath of fidelity to be administered. Flattered by this reception, M. Melzi said, "You wished, Sire, that the Italian republic should exist, and it had existence. Wish that the Italian monarchy may be happy, and it shall be so." After a short pause, Bonaparte replied to this address. He reminded the deputies, that to him their country was indebted for the original establishment of their independence; and expatiated upon the interest he had always taken in their welfare. "I shall," said he, "keep this crown only so long as your interests require it; and I shall see with pleasure the moment arrive, when I can place it on the head of some younger person, animated with my spirit, and equally anxious to provide for your happiness and security."

It was stipulated, that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted; but that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or of the kingdom of Italy; that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present Emperor.

Napoleon on the 1st of April visited the southern departments of France, passed through Piedmont, which had been united to France in 1802, and made his entry into Milan, the capital of his new kingdom of Italy, on the 8th of May. The fears which the people so lately entertained of the Austrians were so great, that Napoleon

was received like a guardian angel. He was met by an immense crowd, and every where welcomed by triumphant arches, ornamented with ingenious emblems, in honour of the new Sovereign and the Empress Josephine, who accompanied him—all appearing to indicate that the Italians were as willing to submit to the Imperial yoke as the French had been.

The ceremony of the coronation, and the anointing of Napoleon and Josephine, as King and Queen of Italy, took place in the cathedral of Milan, much in the same manner, and with the same ceremonies, as that at Paris. The iron crown formerly worn by the Lombard kings, had been carefully preserved in the monastery of Monza, and had never been taken from that depôt since the time of Charles V. It was now removed with great pomp. Napoleon taking it from the altar to place it upon his own head, pronounced those words which have been since used as the device of the order of the Knights of the Iron Crown, which he then instituted—"*Dieu me la donne, gare a qui la touche.*" These chivalrous expressions are much more suitable to the eighth, than to the eighteenth century. What is called the iron crown, is a crown of pure gold, with points in the ancient manner. A small circle of iron placed within it, was the cause of its being called the iron crown, or *couronne de fer.*

After the ceremony of Napoleon's coronation had been gone through, he proceeded to the church of St. Ambrose to hear *Te Deum,* according to ancient usage on such occasions. The following days were spent in the necessary changes in the new form of government. The constitutional act was published on the 5th of June, founded upon bases nearly similar to those of the French empire.

On the same day, Napoleon opened the sittings of the Legislative Corps, and nominated as governor of the kingdom, during his absence, the Prince Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted son, who immediately took the oath

of fidelity prescribed by the constitutional act. In announcing the choice he had made of the son of Josephine as Vice-Roy of Italy, he said to the members of the Legislative Assembly, "I leave this young prince with you, as the deposit of my authority. I have brought him up from his infancy; he will be animated by my own sentiments, and shew himself worthy of me." A new order of knighthood, viz. that of the Iron Crown, was instituted on this occasion.

In addressing the principal branch of this new government, the senators, Napoleon used the following words: "We wished to appear amongst you, and express our sentiments at large upon one of the most important objects in the state. The strength and power of the French empire has been surpassed by the moderation that has governed all our political transactions. We have accepted, and we shall place upon our head, this crown of iron, that belonged to the ancient Lombards, to attemperate and strengthen it, in order that it may not be broken in the midst of the tempests with which it is, and will be threatened, as long as the Mediterranean does not preserve its accustomed security. But we will not hesitate to declare, that we will transmit this crown to one of our legitimate descendants, natural or adopted, whenever we shall be without alarm for the independence of the other states in the Mediterranean, which we have guaranteed.

"The genius of evil will in vain seek for pretexts to renew the war upon the Continent. What has been reunited to our empire by the constitutional laws of the state, shall remain so; nor shall any new province be incorporated, but the Batavian republic. The act of the mediation of the nineteen Swiss cantons, and the first statute of the kingdom of Italy, shall be constantly under the protection of our crown; and we will never suffer them to be violated. Under all circumstances,

and in every transaction, we shall shew the same moderation; and we hope that our people will not be under the necessity of displaying that courage and that energy, they have frequently exhibited in the defence of their legitimate rights. We have conquered Holland, three parts of Germany, Switzerland and Italy all entire; we have been moderate in the midst of the greatest prosperity. Out of so many provinces, we have retained no more than was necessary to preserve France in the same degree of power and consideration as she has ever been. The division of Poland, the provinces that have been withdrawn from Turkey, the conquest of the Indies, and almost all the colonies, had broken the general equilibrium to our disadvantage. All that we have thought useless to re-establish, we have given up, and have consequently acted in conformity to the principle by which we have constantly been governed, never to take arms for vain projects of grandeur, or for the allurements of conquests. Germany has been evacuated; its provinces have been restored to the descendants of so many illustrious houses, which would have been lost for ever, had we not afforded them our generous protection. We have restored and established them; and the princes of Germany at present possess more eclat and splendour than any of their ancestors. Austria herself, after two unsuccessful wars, has obtained the state of Venice. She has frequently exchanged Venice at her pleasure, in return for the provinces she had lost.

"Holland, scarcely conquered, has been declared independent. Its re-union to our empire would have completed our commercial system, as the greatest rivers in half of our territory debouch in that country. Holland, however, is independent, and its customs, its commerce, and its administration, are managed according to the will of its government. Switzerland was occupied by our armies: we had defended it against the combined forces

of Europe. Its re-union would have completed our military frontier. Nevertheless, Switzerland, free and independent, governs itself by the act of mediation, to the satisfaction of the nineteen cantons. The re-union of the territory of the Italian republic to the French empire, would have been useful to the developement of our agriculture: however, after the second conquest, we confirmed its independence: at present we have done more; we proclaim the principle of the separation of the crowns of France and Italy, in assigning for the epoch of this separation, the instant when it may become possible, and without danger to our people of Italy."

The next place fixed upon for an union with France, was the city of Genoa. It was however determined, to make the annexation of this place and its dependencies, appear to result from the proposal of the senate and people of Genoa; and the senate, after due deliberation, resolved that an address should be presented to the French Emperor, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire.

This address was signed by great numbers of the inhabitants, besides the senate; and it was ordered that an embassy, consisting of the doge, and the deputies of the senate and people, should proceed to Milan, for the purpose of laying this document at the feet of the Emperor. Upon their arrival, the Emperor listened to them with attention, and afterwards addressed the doge upon the necessity of this union; promising them, that he should realize their expectations, in uniting them to his great people. Napoleon nominated Lebrun, arch-treasurer of the empire, governor of the new departments formed out of the Ligurian territory.

Piombino, a little principality in the kingdom of Etruria, had already been given by the Emperor of the French to his sister Eliza, the spouse of a Corsican officer named Bacciocchi, and who was on this occasion created a

prince. During his stay in Italy, Napoleon joined the territory of the republic of Lucca to that of Piombino, without altering the aristocratical forms by which this little country had been governed for many ages. After having made these arrangements, he returned to Paris, where matters of much higher import claimed his presence.

About the time that the Emperor Alexander had signed the new treaty with the English government, he sent a plenipotentiary to Berlin, and another to Vienna, to support the interests of England, and induce Austria to enter into the third coalition against France without delay. The ambition of Napoleon was painted in the most glowing colours, sufficient to alarm the Emperor Francis. The Chief of the French government was represented as crowned with the diadem of Charlemagne, and at the head of a numerous army ready to require, by force of arms, the faith and homage of all the liege sovereigns of Europe. This consideration, joined to the offer of subsidies on the part of England, fixed the resolution of the Emperor Francis; and whilst the ambassador from the court of Vienna at Paris, declared officially to Napoleon, that his master entertained the most pacific intentions, and cordially wished for the renewal of negotiations tending to re-establish a maritime peace, the ambassador from the same court at St. Petersburg, acceded, in the name of his sovereign, to the coalition formed between England, Sweden and Russia, to attack France.

Though Napoleon was by no means the dupe of this diplomatic conduct, and similar representations that followed, he still thought he had time enough left to renew the alarms that had been excited in England by his preparations at Boulogne. The season of the year most favourable for such an attempt, was approaching; all the vessels were collected, and both soldiers and sailors were anxious to be conducted towards the British shore. Re-

solving upon another visit to the coast, Napoleon left Paris on the 2d of August, 1805, for the camp of Boulogne, where his appearance produced all the effect he had anticipated. The British ministry, alarmed more than ever at the state of the public feeling at home, ordered their agents at the court of Vienna to signify to the Austrian government, that it was necessary they should commence immediate hostilities against the French, or give up the expectation of receiving the promised subsidies. It was in vain that the Emperor's ministers represented that their master was not yet ready; that it was necessary to await the arrival of the Russians, and their junction with the Austrian armies. England persisted in her demands, and the Emperor was forced to accede to a precipitate opening of the campaign.

Affairs were proceeding in this indeterminate course till the month of September, when M. de Cobentzel, who was still at Paris, thought it convenient to throw off the vizor altogether. The intelligence had just arrived, that the territory of Bavaria had been violated by the Austrian General Mack. Napoleon immediately made it known to Count Cobentzel, that no negotiation could now be admitted, until the Austrian troops had evacuated Bavaria, and re-entered their own dominions. Count Cobentzel answered, that it was his master's firm intention to maintain himself in Bavaria, and to push his army forward to the Lech, which, he observed, would be but a trivial indemnification for the usurpations of the sovereign of France in Italy. He added, that three corps of the Russian army would shortly enter Germany, to support the just rights of Austria; and that if France wished to preserve peace, it was necessary to accept the proposals that had been previously made.

But whilst these transactions were passing in Germany, Napoleon was by no means inactive. Accordingly, whilst

he was last at Boulogne, he seemed suddenly to have altered his plans: he issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. A rupture having now become unavoidable, the Elector of Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was called upon by Austria to incorporate his troops with the Austrian army, which not being agreed to, the latter in full force passed the Inn, in September, and treated the elector's territory as a conquered country. Heavy exactions were made upon the people, for the support of these unwelcome guests: the paper money of Vienna was forced into circulation at its nominal value, though at home it had suffered a very great depression: the Elector of Bavaria was obliged to take refuge at Wurtzburg; and all these rigorous proceedings against a neutral state, were attempted to be justified by the plea of necessity.

Intelligence having been received at Paris of these proceedings, the senate was convened, and in a speech from the throne, the Emperor informed them, that he was about to place himself at the head of his army, in order to afford immediate relief to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced, by the invasion of Bavaria, and the elector had actually been driven from his territories. He next exhorted the French people to support him in the present unprovoked contest; and concluded by saying, " Frenchmen, your Emperor will do his duty; my soldiers will perform theirs; you will fulfil yours."— On this occasion two decrees were passed, the one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organizing and embodying the national

guard. Having formed these arrangements, he appointed Joseph Bonaparte to superintend the government in his absence, and the next day he left Paris for Strasbourg.

Before Napoleon quitted his capital, he announced his intention of putting himself at the head of his legions; and charged the minister of foreign affairs to give an account of all his proceedings and negotiations for the preservation of peace. This was communicated in an extraordinary sitting of the senate, held on the 23d of September.

The Emperor quitted St. Cloud on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasbourg on the 27th, where he awaited the arrival and concentration of the troops which were to form the grand army that he intended to conduct into Germany.

According to the plan of the campaign, arranged at Petersburg, the first blow in Italy was to have been struck by the Austrians, by forcing the passage of the Adige, dislodging the enemy from the Mincio, investing Mantua and Peschiera, and detaching a body of troops to the Po, to observe the south of Italy, and to open the way to the Adda. It was foreseen that in Germany, Austria must sustain the first shock of French impetuosity, without the aid of her Imperial ally; it was therefore determined that the Austrians should enter Bavaria, and taking a strong position on the Lech, await the arrival of the Russians, while the forces in the Tyrol were to regulate their motions by those of the armies of Italy and Germany.

When the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Strasbourg, the greatest part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Manheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lasnes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat, had crossed on the preceding day at Kehl. The

French army of Hanover, of about twenty thousand men, under Bernadotte, having marched by Gottingen and Frankfort, had arrived at the head-quarters of the Elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. Here Bernadotte was soon after joined by General Marmont, and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and by this union, the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men.

Bonaparte's plan for opening the German campaign was of a masterly character. In order to avoid the inconveniences of passing through the Black Forest, he resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and passing that river below the position of the Austrians, place himself between them and the Russians. As it was necessary that this project should be executed with the utmost secresy and rapidity, Prince Murat was ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, to induce the Austrians to believe the French meant to force a passage in that direction. General Mack fell into this snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose Murat. At length he discovered his error, and was suddenly compelled to change all his plans. In the mean while the French had traversed the electorate of Wirtemburg and the plains of Nordlingen with the greatest rapidity; and on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived at the head of his division on the Danube at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. Marmont, having unexpectedly penetrated through the Prussian territory of Anspach, soon after arrived with Bernadotte and his division at Ingoldstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign appeared to be decided. The Austrians under General Mack did not exceed eighty thousand men, while a French force nearly double that number was posted in his rear, and his communications with the Austrian states nearly cut off.

When Napoleon passed through Stuttgard with his army, on his way to Ulm, he saw the Princess Royal of England, afterwards the Queen of Wirtemburg, with whom he had several conversations, and was much pleased with her. The prejudices she entertained against him, soon vanished. He had the pleasure of interfering with her husband to her advantage; who, though a man of talent, he described as a brute; for which interference the queen was very grateful. She afterwards contributed materially towards effecting the marriage between Jerome and the princess Catherine, daughter of the king by a former marriage.

Dr. O'Meara was informed that the Queen of Wirtemburg wrote an account of this interview to her mother, Queen Charlotte, in which she expressed very favourable opinions of Napoleon, and in describing his person, concluded in the following manner: "*And he has so bewitching a smile!*"

The official bulletins of this campaign of a few days, have so much brevity and force about them, that it would be difficult for other words to convey superior or adequate ideas of the rapid and brilliant succession of the events they relate.

The first of these, after enumerating the different corps that had passed the Rhine, mentions Prince Murat remaining for several days in position before the defiles of the Black Forest. His patroles, which often shewed themselves to the enemy's patroles, induced them to believe that it was our intention to penetrate by these defiles. The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl on the 30th September, and advanced towards Heilbronn. The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st October at Kehl, slept at Ettlingen the same evening, and received there the Elector and Princess of Baden, and went to Louisburgh, to the Elector of Wirtemburg, in whose palace he took up his abode.

On the 6th of October, the second division of General Soult's corps of the army, under the command of General Vandamme, stopped only two hours at Nordlingen, and continuing its march, arrived at eight in the evening at Donawerth, and took possession of the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. Some men were killed, and some were made prisoners.

On the 8th, at day-break, Prince Murat, at the head of Beaumont's and Klein's divisions of dragoons, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers commanded by General Nansouty, marched to cut off the route from Ulm to Augsburg. On his arrival at Wertingen, he perceived a considerable division of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers. He immediately surrounded the whole of this corps. Marshal Lannes, who was marching in the rear of these divisions of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinot, and after an engagement of two hours, the whole division, standards, cannon, baggage, officers, and soldiers, was taken. There were there twelve battalions of grenadiers, who had marched in great haste from the Tyrol to the assistance of the army of Bavaria.

In fine, the army under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army, commanded by Generals Duroc and Verden, took their position at Ingoldstadt. The Imperial guard, commanded by General Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburg; as likewise the division of cuirassiers under the command of General Hautpoult.

Prince Murat, with the divisions of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zumershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburg.

Marshal Lannes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot and the division of Suchet, took post the same day in the village of Zumershausen.

The Emperor passed in review the dragoons of Zumershausen: he ordered to be brought before him a dragoon, named Marente, of the 4th regiment, one of the gallant soldiers who, in the passage of the Lech, had saved his captain, who but a few days before had cashiered him from his rank. His Majesty bestowed on him the Aigle of the Legion of Honour. The soldier then observed, 'I have only done my duty; my captain degraded me on account of some violation of discipline, but he knows that I have always proved a good soldier.'

The Emperor next expressed his satisfaction to the dragoons, of the conduct they had displayed at the battle of Wertingen. He ordered each regiment to present a dragoon, on whom he also bestowed the Aigle of the Legion of Honour.

All the cannon, colours, and almost all the officers of the enemy's army who fought at Wertingen, were taken; a great number were killed. Two lieutenant-colonels, six majors, sixty officers, four thousand soldiers, have fallen into our hands. The remainder were dispersed; and what escaped, owed their safety to a morass, which stopped a column that was turning the enemy.

Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions of Malher, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragoons of General Barraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in their position at Grumberg.

The rains did not retard the forced marches of the grand army. The Emperor set the example, and was on horseback night and day; he was continually in the midst of the troops, and in every point where his presence was necessary. On the 9th of October, he rode fourteen leagues in dreadful weather. He slept in a small village without servants, and without any kind of baggage. The Bishop of Ausburg had, however, illuminated his palace, and waited for his Majesty during a part of the night.

The combat at Wertingen was followed in twenty-four hours by an action at Gunsburgh. Marshal Ney had caused his corps to advance—the division of Loison towards Langenau, and the division of Malher to Gunsburgh. The enemy, who endeavoured to oppose their march, were every where defeated.

It was in vain that Prince Ferdinand hastened in person to defend Gunsburgh; General Malher attacked him with the 59th regiment. The battle was most obstinate—they fought man to man. Colonel La Cuee was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, carried the bridge by main force: the cannon which defended it were taken, and the fine position of Gunsburgh remained in our possession.

At this time the Emperor wrote the following letter to the Prefect and Mayor of Paris:

"*Gentlemen Prefect and Mayor of our good City of Paris,*

"Our troops in the combat at Wertingen defeated twelve battalions of grenadiers, the flower of the Austrian army, all their artillery having remained in our power, with a great number of prisoners, and eight pair of colours. We have resolved to make a present of the colours to our good city of Paris, and of two pieces of cannon, to be placed in the Hotel de Ville.

"We desire that our good city of Paris may see in this mark of our remembrance, and in this present, which will be to it the more precious, that it is its governor who commanded our troops in the combat at Wertingen, the love which we bear it. This letter having only this object in view, we pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Imperial Head-Quarters of Augsbourg, 18 *Vendemiaire.*

The battles of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm and Memmingen, followed the actions at Wertingen

and Gunsburgh. Marshal Soult arrived on the 13th before Memmingen, immediately surrounded the town, and after some negotiation, the commandant capitulated. Nine battalions were taken prisoners; a major-general, many superior officers, ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of baggage and ammunition of every kind, was the result of this affair. At the same time, Marshal Soult marched for Ochsenhausen, for the purpose of reaching Biberach, and cutting off the only retreat which lay open to the Archduke Ferdinand. On the 19th, the enemy made a sortie from Ulm, and attacked the division of Dupont. This battle was a most obstinate one. Surrounded by twenty-five thousand men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took fifteen hundred prisoners. This corps should not be astonished at any thing; it consisted of the 9th light, the 32d, 69th, and 16th of the line. On the 13th the Emperor went to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. On the 14th, at day-break, Marshal Ney passed the bridge at the head of Loison's division. The enemy opposed his taking possession of Elchingen with sixteen thousand men; they were every where overthrown, lost three thousand men, who were taken prisoners, and were pursued to their entrenchments. On the 14th General Marmont occupied all the communications of the enemy on the Iller. On the 15th, at day-break, the Emperor himself appeared before Ulm. The corps of Prince Murat, and those of Marshals Lasnes and Ney, ranged themselves in order of battle, to force the entrenchments of the enemy. The day was dreadful: the troops were up to their knees in mud. The Emperor had not taken off his boots for eight days. The Austrian Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town, and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken. Marshal Soult took possession of Biberach on the 15th.

Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy, who were in a dreadful state of dissolution. Out of an army of eighty thousand men, only twenty-five thousand remained. Immediately after his arrival at Munich, Marshal Bernadotte pursued the army of General Kienmeyer, and took some waggons and prisoners from him.

The day of Ulm was one of the most brilliant in the history of France. The Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but twenty thousand men, defended by fortifications and wet ditches, would have made a resistance, and his desire was to save the effusion of blood. General Mack, commander-in-chief of the army, was in the town: it is the fate of generals opposed to the Emperor, to be taken in fortified places. It will be recollected, that after the brilliant movements on the Brenta, the old Field-marshal Wurmser was made prisoner in Mantua; Melas was also at Alexandria; and Mack at Ulm.

The Austrian army was one of the finest that Austria ever had: it consisted of fourteen regiments of infantry of the army of Bavaria, as it was called, thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five regiments which had been sent in waggons from Italy, altogether thirty-two regiments of infantry, and fifteen regiments of cavalry. The Emperor had placed the army of Prince Ferdinand in the same situation in which he had placed that of Melas. After having long hesitated, Melas adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack took another resolution: Ulm is the point of union of a great number of roads; he had formed the plan of making his divisions retreat by these roads, to re-assemble them in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck marched off by Heydenheim. A small division retreated by Memmingen, but the Emperor on the 12th hastened from Augsburg to Ulm, immediately

disconcerted the projects of the enemy, and ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered every thing secure. Marshal Soult, after having taken Memmingen, went in pursuit of the other columns. Prince Ferdinand had therefore no other resource than to suffer himself to be shut up in Ulm, or to endeavour by cross-roads to join the division of Hohenzollern; this prince adopted the latter resolution, and proceeded to Aalen. In the mean time, Prince Murat was in pursuit. While he made a movement on his right to Heydenheim, Marshal Lannes marched towards Aalen and Nordlingen. The progress of the enemy was retarded by five hundred waggons, and they were weakened by the battle of Langenau. The action did not retard the march of Prince Murat. He advanced rapidly towards Neresheim, and on the 17th, at five in the evening, he arrived before that position. The division of dragoons of General Klein charged the enemy. Two standards, a general officer, and one thousand men, were again taken at the battle of Neresheim. Prince Ferdinand, and seven of his generals, had barely time to get on horseback. Their dinner was found on table. For two days they had no place of rest.

As Napoleon was passing through a crowd of prisoners, an Austrian colonel expressed his astonishment to see the Emperor of the French wet, covered with dirt, and as much or more fatigued than the meanest drummer in his army. An aide-de-camp present having explained to him what the Austrian officer said, the Emperor ordered this answer to be made: "Your master wished to make me recollect that I was a soldier: I hope he will allow that the throne and the Imperial purple have not made me forget my first profession."

The appearance of the army on the 15th was really most interesting. For two days the rain fell in torrents; the whole army was dripping wet; the soldiers had no provisions distributed to them; they were up to the

knees in mud. But the Emperor infused fresh spirits into them; and at the moment he perceived whole columns in this state, he ordered "Long live the Emperor!" to be cried. It is also mentioned, that the Emperor replied to the officers who surrounded them, and who expressed their surprise, how, in a moment of such distress, the soldiers could forget all their wants, and appear only sensible to the pleasure of seeing him: "They are in the right; it is to spare their blood that I make them undergo such great fatigue." The Emperor, when the army occupied the heights which command Ulm, sent for the Prince of Lichtenstein, major-general, who was shut up in the town, to communicate to him that he wished it would capitulate; telling him, that if he took it by storm, he would be under the necessity of acting as he did at Jaffa, where the whole garrison were put to the sword; that it was one of the melancholy rights of war; that he wished that both he and the brave Austrian nation were spared the necessity of so dreadful an action; that the place was not tenable; that it ought therefore to surrender.

The Prince required that the officers and soldiers should have liberty to return to Austria. "I will grant it," replied the Emperor, "to the officers, but not to the soldiers; for who will be my security that they will not be made to serve again?" Then, after having hesitated a moment, he added, "Well then, I will rely upon the word of Prince Ferdinand. If he is in the town, I wish to give him a proof of my esteem, and I will grant to him what you require of me, hoping that the Court of Vienna will not break the word of one of its Princes." Upon M. de Lichtenstein assuring him that Prince Ferdinand was not in the town, "Then," said the Emperor, "I do not see who is to be my guarantee that the soldiers I send you back will not be employed again."

On the night of the 16th there was a terrible hurricane; the Danube completely overflowed, and carried away

almost all the bridges, which certainly afforded the Austrian army an opportunity of forcing their way through the French posts; but this favourable circumstance was not improved. On the 15th, Marshal Bernadotte having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the roads of Brannau, took four or five hundred prisoners, and seventeen pieces of cannon; having thus taken, since his entry at Munich, fifteen hundred prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and a quantity of baggage.

The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech, the same day, at half past three; his troops entered Munich on the 12th; his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th. On the same day he was master of Memmingen, and on the 17th of Ulm, when the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and, after filing off, to lay down their arms. The field-officers were permitted to return home upon their parole; but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. He took from the enemy at Wertingen, Gunsburgh, Elchingen, the days of Memmingen and Ulm, and in the actions of Albeck, Langenau, and Neresheim, forty thousand men, more than forty stand of colours, a great number of cannon, baggage waggons, &c.; and to accomplish all this, only marches and manœuvres were employed.—In these partial actions, the loss of the French army amounted to no more than five hundred killed, and a thousand wounded. It was a common remark among the troops, "the Emperor has found out a new method of making war—he only makes us use our legs instead of our bayonets." Five-sixths of the army never fired a shot, which mortified them much. But they had all marched a great deal. The eulogy of the army may be pronounced in a breath—It is worthy of its Chief.

On the 20th of October the Emperor took his station, from two o'clock in the afternoon to seven in the evening, on the heights near Ulm, where the Austrian army filed off in his presence. Thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stands of colours, surrendered to the victorious army. The Emperor, surrounded by his life-guards, sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them with him until their troops had filed off. He treated them with the utmost distinction. There were present, besides the General-in-chief Mack, eight generals, and seven lieutenant-generals.

On the 21st his Majesty set off for Augsburg. The army which were shut up in Ulm consisted of thirty-three thousand men, to which number the three thousand wounded being added, the total amounted to thirty-six thousand. There were also found in the place sixty pieces of artillery, and fifty stand of colours. Nothing can form a more striking contrast, than the disposition of the French army, and that of the Austrian army. In the French army, heroism was carried to the highest pitch; in the Austrian army dejection had reached its lowest level. The Austrian soldier was paid in paper money; he could remit nothing to his family, and was ill treated. The French soldier thought only of glory. A thousand traits might be particularized like the following: Breid, a private in the 76th, was about to have his thigh amputated. Life was already almost extinguished. At the moment when the surgeon was preparing to operate, the soldier stopped him—"I know that I shall not survive the operation," said he, "but no matter! The loss of one man will not prevent the 76th from marching with their bayonets extended, and formed in three ranks, against the enemy." The Emperor had occasion to complain of nothing except the excessive ardour of the soldiers. Thus the 17th light infantry, which arrived before Ulm, rushed into the place; and thus,

during the capitulation, the whole army were so anxious to storm it, that the Emperor was obliged to declare it as his positive intention, that the place should not be stormed. When the first column of the prisoners at Ulm began its march for France, the Emperor addressed the Austrian generals, whom he sent for, in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, your master carries on an unjust war. I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting; I know not what can be required of me. It is not in this army alone that my resources consist, though were this the case, still my army and myself would make considerable progress. But I shall appeal to the testimony of your own prisoners of war, who will speedily pass through France; they will observe with their own eyes the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. This is the advantage of my nation and my position. At a single word, 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and in six weeks become good soldiers—whereas your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers but after several years. I would give my brother, the Emperor of Germany, one further piece of advice—let him hasten to make peace. This is the moment to recollect that all empires have an end—the idea that the end of the dynasty of the House of Lorraine may have arrived, should impress him with terror. I desire nothing upon the Continent. I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine, that I should have them."—M. Mack replied, that the Emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but was compelled to it by Russia. "If that be the case," said the Emperor, "then you are no longer a power."—Most of the generals confessed how disagreeable this war was to them, and how much they were affected to see a Russian army in their country. They condemned that blind system of politics, which would bring into the

centre of Europe, a people accustomed to live in an uncultivated country, and who, as well as their forefathers, might take a fancy to settle in a milder climate. The Emperor treated Lieutenant-General Klenau (whom he knew as Commander of the regiment of Wurmser) with much civility, comforting all the superior officers in their misfortunes, and telling them that war had its chances, and that, though frequently conquerors, they might sometimes be conquered.

The evening before the surrender of Ulm, the Emperor Napoleon addressed the following proclamation to his army:

"Soldiers, a month ago we were encamped on the shore of the ocean opposite to England; but an impious league compelled us to fly towards the Rhine. It is but a fortnight since we passed that river; and the Alps of Wirtemburg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech, those celebrated barriers, have not retarded our march a day, an hour, or an instant. Indignation against a prince whom we have twice seated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleasure to hurl him from it, supplied us with wings. The enemy's army, deceived by our manœuvres, and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned. It now fights only for its safety. It would gladly embrace an opportunity of escaping, and returning home; but it is now too late: the fortifications erected at a great expence along the Iller, expecting we should advance through the avenues of the Black Forest, are become useless, since we advanced by the plains of Bavaria. Soldiers, but for the army which is now in front of you, we should have been in London; we should have avenged ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas. But bear in mind tomorrow, that you are fighting against the allies of England, that you have to avenge yourselves of a perjured prince, whose own letters breathed nothing but peace,

at the moment he was marching his army against our ally, who thought us cowardly enough to suppose we should tamely witness his passing of the Inn, his entrance into Munich, and his aggression upon the Elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elsewhere; let him for the third and last time learn, that we know how to be present in every place where the country has enemies to combat. Soldiers, to-morrow will be a hundred times more celebrated than the day of Marengo. I have placed the enemy in the same position. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy's army should escape; that government which has violated all its engagements, shall first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna, when its conscience may tell it, that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of the duties bequeathed by its ancestors, with the power of forming the rampart of Europe against the irruptions of the Cossacks. Soldiers, you have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Gunsburgh. I am satisfied with your conduct. Every corps in the army will emulate you; and I shall be able to say to my people, "Your Emperor and your army have done their duty; perform yours:" and the 200,000 conscripts whom I have summoned, will hasten by forced marches to reinforce our second line.

"NAPOLEON, EMPEROR."

This proclamation was on the 21st of October succeeded by another, dated from Elchingen.

"Soldiers of the Army," said Napoleon, "in a fortnight we have finished a campaign. We have accomplished our purpose. We have expelled the troops of the House of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our ally in the sovereignty of his states. That army, which, with equal ostentation and imprudence, had posted itself on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what

does this signify to England? Her purpose is accomplished. We are no longer at Boulogne, and the amount of her subsidy will thereby be neither increased nor diminished.

"Of 100,000 men who composed that army, 60,000 are prisoners; they will go to take the place of our conscripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon (their whole park), 90 stand of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands; there have not escaped of this army 15,000 men. Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle; but, thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success, without running any risk; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force by more than 1500 men.

"Soldiers, you owe this success to your unbounded confidence in your Emperor; to your patience in supporting fatigues and privations of every description, and to your singular intrepidity.

"But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. We are about to make that Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremities of the universe, undergo the same fate.

"In this contest is more particularly implicated the honour of the infantry. It is this which will a second time decide the question, already resolved in Switzerland and Holland—whether the French infantry be the second or the first in Europe? Here there are no generals in combating whom I can have any glory to acquire. All my care shall be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood—my soldiers are my children."

On the 24th of October Napoleon arrived at Munich, which was tastefully illuminated on the occasion. During his stay there, he gave a concert to all the ladies of the court, and paid particular attention to Madame Mont-

gelas, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and wife to the elector's prime minister. He praised the musical compositions of M. de Wintz, as being replete with spirit and talent. The Bavarians being well affected, ran to arms, and formed voluntary guards for their defence against the incursions of the Cossacks.

Brannau was found to be one of the finest acquisitions for the army. It was surrounded by a circumvallation fortified with bastions, drawbridges, a half-moon, and ditches full of water. The place was also most abundantly supplied with provisions, ammunition, and artillery necessary to support a long siege.

A smart affair took place between the French and Austrians on the heights of Ried. A quarter-master of the eighth dragoons having had his wrist shot off, said in the hearing of Prince Murat, "I regret the loss of my hand, because I can no longer serve our brave Emperor;" who being made acquainted with this circumstance, said, "There I recognize the spirit of the eighth: let a profitable situation, according to his rank, be given him in the palace of Versailles."

At this time it snowed six inches deep, and the roads were horrible; yet Marshal Davoust took a position between Ried and Haag. The Emperor of Germany, in his anxiety, came to Wells, where he learnt the disasters of his army at Ulm. Vienna was threatened with famine. It was said, that there was not a man in all Germany who did not consider the English as the authors of the war, and the Emperors Francis and Alexander as the victims of their intrigues. The cry in every mouth was, that there would be no peace as long as England was governed by an oligarchy; and governed it would be that way, as long as George lived. The accession of the Prince of Wales was therefore generally wished for, to put an end to the power of the few who in all countries are selfish, and insensible to the misfortunes of the many. The war

was said to have been contrary to the opinion of all the princes of the Austrian family.

On the 3d of November Marshal Davoust had pushed his advanced posts to Steyer. In a combat at Lambach, two Russian pieces of cannon were found among those taken. Since passing the Inn, from 14 to 16,000 prisoners had been taken, Austrians and Russians, without including the sick. Napoleon's head-quarters were established at Lambach, where immense magazines of salt were found, and several thousands of florins.

On the 4th of November Prince Murat had never lost sight of the enemy, who thought a few hundreds of men would be able to retard the passage of the river Traun; but General Walther's dragoons threw themselves into boats, and aided by the artillery, attacked the town. The river Enns, which was passed about this time, was considered as the last line that defended the approaches to Vienna.

Prince Murat, after the capture of Enns, pursued the enemy anew. The Russian army on the heights of Amstetten were attacked by General Oudinot's grenadiers; the battle was very obstinate; the Russians left 400 dead on the field of battle, and 1500 prisoners. In their retreat they in vain cut down the bridges over the Ips. Prince Murat reached the Abbey of Moelk, and a small reconnoitring party of French took the route to Bohemia. The French advanced posts being at St. Polten on the 8th of November, the enemy was attacked near Marienzell, put to the route, and pursued five leagues, losing three standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and 4000 prisoners. On the 9th in the morning, Prince Murat arrived at St. Hyppolite. Here a deputation of the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Zinzendorf at their head, attended him, to declare the Emperor's intention to deliver up the metropolis, in order to preserve it from the horrors of war; and that in so doing, he depended on the justice and genero-

sity of Bonaparte to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputies were received by Prince Murat with attention and respect, and having obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. General Sebastiani entered that city in consequence of arrangements then made, and his troops were quietly conducted to the quarters assigned for them.

The whole court and the nobility had quitted that capital, and the Emperor of Austria was preparing to follow. The Russian army had effected its retreat to Krems, by repassing the Danube, apprehending that its communications with Moravia might be cut off. The Abbey of Moelk, at which the Emperor Napoleon lodged, is one of the finest now in Europe. It is in a strong position, and commands the Danube. By the Romans, who built it, it was called the iron house. The vaults and cellars of this abbey were found full of excellent Hungarian wine, of great service to the army.

On the 13th of November, Marshal Davoust having followed up his success, the whole of General Meerfeldt's corps was destroyed. Vienna had then been evacuated by all the troops that were in it, and their duty performed by the national guard, and Murat had been within half a league of that city three days.

Whilst the French were at St. Polten, Napoleon was riding on horseback on the Vienna road, when he perceived an open carriage approaching, in which were seated a priest, and a lady bathed in tears. The Emperor was dressed, as usual, in the uniform of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard. The lady did not recognize him. He inquired the cause of her distress, and where she was going—"Sir," said she, "I have been robbed about two leagues hence by a party of soldiers, who have killed my gardener. I am going to request that your Emperor will grant me a guard. He once knew my family well, and lay under obligations to them."—"Your name?"

replied Napoleon.—" De Brunny," answered the lady. " I am the daughter of M. de Marbeuf, formerly governor of Corsica."—" I am delighted to meet with you, Madam," exclaimed Napoleon, with the most charming frankness, " and to have an opportunity of serving you. I am the Emperor."—The lady was amazed. Napoleon consoled her, and directed her to wait for him at headquarters, granted her a piquet of chasseurs, and sent her away happy and contented.

The Russians declined all the temptations held out to them to engage on the heights of St. Polten, and, as before observed, passed the Danube at Krems, burning the bridge, which was very handsome. But when Marshal Mortier, with six battalions, advanced towards Stein on the 11th, he reckoned upon finding the Russian rear-guard there, but found their whole army, the advanced guard excepted, which had not passed. The battle of Diernstein then took place, which it was said would be for ever celebrated in military annals. From six in the morning till four in the afternoon, four thousand French made head against all that opposed them, and having made themselves masters of Loiben, they thought all was over; but the enemy, enraged at having lost ten stand of colours, six pieces of cannon, nine hundred prisoners, and two thousand killed, had marched two columns through difficult passes to turn the French. As soon as Mortier perceived this, he marched straight against the troops that had turned him, and cut his way through the enemy's lines, at the very moment that the 9th regiment of light infantry and the 33d of the line, had charged and defeated another Russian corps, taking two stands of colours, and making 4000 prisoners. This was a day of blood; more than 4000 Russians were killed and wounded, and 1300 made prisoners, and the loss of the French was very considerable. Colonel Wattier, of the 4th dragoons, an officer of great worth, was made prisoner. It then ap-

peared that the Emperor of Germany, the ministers, and the court, were at Brunn, in Moravia, where the Emperor Alexander was expected.

Here we must give place to another account of this gallant affair at Diernstein, in which a Colonel Henriod particularly distinguished himself, though his name was not mentioned in the bulletins of the French army at the time.

After the Russians had made the retrograde movement that threw them upon Diernstein, they remained quietly in their position for some time; but at night, after the departure of Marshal Mortier, Major Henriod, a superior officer in the camp, seeing the heights before Stein covered with the enemy's troops, lost no time in detaching the 100th regiment towards the extremity of the enemy's line. He also sent to inform the troops posted behind Loiben, of these movements, and went to that village to rally some posts that had been dispersed by the enemy's appearance. Marshal Mortier and General Gazan being apprized by the orderly men of what was passing, set out on full gallop towards Diernstein, with some dragoons and officers of the staff, when both of them had nearly been taken by a corps of 1500 Russians, with whom they exchanged some pistol shots. But having escaped this danger, before they reached Diernstein, the marshal and the general perceived several other heads of columns beginning to descend from the heights on the left of the road leading to that village. They then quickened their pace, to gain the hamlet between Diernstein and Loiben, thinking to find a part of the troops they had left there; but this post was already occupied by the enemy, and the French division they sought were in advance upon the plain above Loiben. This column had hitherto been able to keep the enemy before them in check, who, for particular reasons, did not press them so closely as they might have done. General Gazan, who rightly guessed

the intentions of the Russian general, ordered Colonel Ritay to advance to the ravine on the left of Diernstein with one of his battalions, and the escort of the head-quarters, to secure this passage for his division: scarcely had the colonel approached the point to which he was directed, when he found himself in the presence of an immense column debouching from the village. In fact, this was the point of the reunion of all the enemy's troops, then forming for the purpose of crowning the height at the foot of which Diernstein is situated. Attacked by this mass, the French division was overthrown, and Colonel Ritay badly wounded; about 150 infantry, and some dragoons who abandoned their horses, succeeded in gaining the head of the ravine; the rest were thrown upon the plain of Loiben in disorder.

After the enemy, twelve thousand strong, had thus debouched from Diernstein, they formed into two columns, to proceed by two roads which joined at the foot of the heights of Stein. The road on the left was enclosed between two stone walls about the height of five feet, and only broad enough to admit of eight men in front. This division was in number about eight thousand; those that took the other road on the left, consisted of five thousand. Thus the four thousand French upon the plain of Loiben, were in a desperate situation, having masses in their front and rear sufficient to crush them. On their left there was a steep boundary without any opening: on their right was the river Danube, which they had no means of passing.

Feeling all the danger of this situation, General Gazan and Marshal Mortier called their officers about them, to deliberate upon the means of extricating themselves out of the *souriciere* (mouse-trap) in which they were enclosed. To capitulate, and lay down their arms before the enemy, would have been a part unworthy of the conquerors of Albeck and Elchingen; and when some pusillanimous

individuals talked of this, the whole division swore they would rather perish with arms in their hands.

During this deliberation the brave Major Henriod, then stationed in advance at the head of the plain, the point most threatened by the enemy, sent to inform the generals, that if they would adopt a plan he had to propose, he would answer for the safety of the whole division. Henriod pointed out to General Gazan the fault the enemy had committed, in advancing through the walled passage before mentioned, as it was impossible for a column of that length to act upon its flanks; and besides, as it could only present eight men in front, it might be most effectually attacked with the bayonet—a terrible instrument in the hands of those who knew how to use it, and who, besides, added to their usual intrepidity, all the energy of despair. The head of the enemy's column, he said, being overturned by the shock proposed, must naturally fall back upon their centre, and this upon their rear, when, to avoid the consequences, the enemy would have no means left but to scale the walls that enclosed them on both sides.

General Gazan communicated the plan of Major Henriod to Marshal Mortier, who approved of it, and gave orders for an immediate attack. The Major then addressing himself to the grenadiers who formed the head of his column—"Comrades," said he, "we are surrounded by thirty thousand Russians, and there are but four thousand of us; however, the French never reckon upon the number of their enemies. We shall defeat them. Grenadiers of the 100th, you shall have the honour of making the first charge. Remember, the business now is to save the French eagles." The whole regiment answered this short and eloquent harangue thus: "Monsieur le Major, we are all grenadiers!"

The ammunition of the French being nearly all expended, Major Henriod caused the last six cannon-balls

to be fired, which brought some of the stones down upon the enemy's column. During this time, Marshal Mortier and General Gazan took post between the first and second battalion of the 100th regiment. Major Henriod ordered the charge to be beaten, and advised the grenadiers to cry out altogether, "No quarter! these are the Russians." The column then advanced with haste, without returning a discharge from the enemy, that only wounded one officer and two privates. This division plunged their bayonets in the first of the Russian files, and discharged their muskets at the same time, the noise of which seemed to alarm those in the rear. To give the second division an opportunity of performing the same manœuvre, the first scaled the walls on the right and left; but instead of going into the rear of the first battalion to re-form, these grenadiers were in such haste, that they placed themselves between the second and third division. The number of Russians that had fallen before, and the retrograde movements of the others, had now left an interval of fifteen paces between the Russians and the French; when the latter, after sustaining a discharge that wounded a grenadier and killed Major Henriod's horse, this division, like the first, threw themselves upon the Russians, and bayoneted them at arm's length. But the impatience of the other French divisions to come into action was such, that the grenadiers could not scale the walls fast enough to make room for them, but unscrewed their bayonets, and used them as poniards against the enemy.

Thus, as Major Henriod had foreseen, after three quarters of an hour's struggle, during which the French had not proceeded a hundred paces over the bodies of their enemies, the retreat of the head of the Russian column crushed its own centre, already compressed by the rear. To escape this new, but certain destruction, the centre forcing the walls on each side, were dispersed and in

complete disorder. At this moment the general panic that had spread among the Russian troops, was increased by the shadows of approaching night, which prevented them from seeing the cause of their defeat, or the number of their enemies. Almost the whole of the Russian column threw away their arms, and fled in all directions towards Stein and the high road to Moravia.

The column which took the route to Loiben shared the terror of the left, and carried away with it all the troops that were in advance of Stein. In this horrible confusion, some Russians set fire to the village of Loiben, where the cries of more than five hundred men wounded in the morning, closed the scene of horror. The whole Russian army was in a state of complete disorder for more than four hours.

The walled road, being thus opened, the head of the French column moved through it to the village of Diernstein, but had scarcely cleared this avenue, when it was again saluted by some musket-shots; upon which Major Henriod exclaimed, "Come, hundredth, here are the Russians again: let us charge; but remember, no prisoners!" At this instant a mistake was discovered; the troops opposite cried out, "We are Dupont's division: welcome, my lads; we thought you were all made prisoners."

This affair in the night of the 11th had cost Gazan's division more than 1200 men killed, wounded, and prisoners: the Russians lost 6000; 500 of whom, wounded, were burnt in the village. On this occasion Marshal Mortier was complimented by Napoleon; but in consequence of that spirit of personality that sometimes prevailed, the official bulletins did not make the least mention of the gallant conduct of Major Henriod, to whom the credit of saving the whole of the French division could not be denied, without manifest injustice.

The Russians being thus routed at Diernstein, one of

those curious mistakes that frequently result from affairs in the night, occurred. A mass of Russians that had escaped from Diernstein, happened to take the direction of the level still occupied by the French, and found themselves in presence of some companies charged with covering the left of their column, then at a considerable distance. The Russians, whose fears were increased by this unexpected event, threw down their arms, and asked quarter. The French commandant not understanding Russian, imagining that he was cut off, was so much alarmed, that he asked the same favour from them; when a Russian officer well acquainted with the French language, perceiving the mutual mistake, communicated the discovery to his countrymen, who thus relieved from terror, recovered their arms, whilst the French were laying theirs down. But as the latter soon found out their error, they took advantage of the enemy's confusion and the darkness of the night, and nearly the whole of them obtained their liberty, and rejoined the army.

The last battle had totally disconcerted the plan of the Russians, who now evacuated Krems, and quitted the Danube, leaving 1500 prisoners in a state of great want. Marshal Mortier and other divisions set out in pursuit of them. Whilst the French were thus advancing upon Vienna, the preservation of the bridges was a point of importance. They marched close upon the enemy's rear-guard, and might have taken it, but avoided doing so, and suffered both troops and baggage to escape them. To lull the vigilance of the Austrians still the more, they circulated reports of peace. No one was permitted to enter Vienna; but every thing being examined, and every arrangement completed, the Grand Duke took possession of the capital, and directed Lanusse and Bertrand to make a *reconnaisance* on the river without delay. They found at the gates of the suburb, a post of Austrian cavalry. There had been no fighting for more than three

days. It appeared as though an armistice had been entered into. Lanusse and Bertrand accosted the Austrian commandant, commenced a conversation with him, followed him closely, and would not let him quit them. On reaching the banks of the river, they still persisted in following him, in spite of his wish to get rid of them. The Austrian became impatient: the French generals asked leave to communicate with the general commanding the troops stationed on the left bank of the river, and obtained permission; but the 10th hussars were not allowed to accompany them, but required to halt and take a position. Meanwhile the French troops were advancing, led by the Grand Duke and Marshal Lannes. The bridge still remained undamaged; but the trains were laid, and the gunners held ther matches in readiness; the least sign that might have indicated the intention of passing by force, would have ruined the enterprise. It was necessary to adopt artifice, and French cunning prevailed over German simplicity. The two marshals dismounted, and only a small detachment entered upon the bridge. General Belliard advanced, walking with his hands behind his back, accompanied by two officers of the staff: Lannes and some others joined him: they walked about, talking together, and at length joined the Austrians. The officer commanding the post, first directed them to stand back; but he at length permitted them to advance, and they joined in conversation together. They repeated what had already been affirmed, namely, that negotiations were going on; that the war was at an end; that there would be no more fighting and slaughter. "Why," said the marshal," do you keep your guns pointed at us? Do you wish to attack us, and prolong miseries that weigh heavier upon you than upon us? Come, turn your guns." Half persuaded and half convinced, the commanding officer yielded. The artillery was turned in the direction of the Austrians, and the troops laid down

their arms in bundles. During this conference, a French platoon of the advanced guard came up slowly, and at length arrived, masking sappers and gunners, who threw the combustible matters into the river, sprinkled water on the powder, and cut the trains. The Austrian commander, not well enough acquainted with the French language to take much part in the conversation, perceived the troops were gaining ground, and endeavoured to make the French understand he could not permit it. Marshal Lannes and General Belliard tried to satisfy him; they observed, the cold was severe; that the French troops were only marching about to warm themselves. But the column still continued to advance, and it was already three quarters over the bridge. The Austrian commander lost all patience, and ordered his troops to fire; they instantly took up their arms, and the artillerymen prepared their guns. The situation of the French was now most dreadful: a little less presence of mind on their part, and the bridge would have been blown up. But Marshal Lannes seized the Austrian commander by one arm, and General Belliard by the other; threatened him, and drowned his voice when he attempted to call for help. Meanwhile the Prince of Hogsberg arrived, accompanied by General Bertrand. An officer set off to render an account of the state of affairs to the Grand Duke; and on his way transmitted to the troops an order to quicken their march, and arrive speedily. The marshal advanced to meet the prince; complained of the conduct of the commandant of the advanced post; requested that he might be punished, and removed from the rear-guard, where he might impede the negotiations. Hogsberg fell into the snare; he deliberated, approved, contradicted, and lost himself in a useless conversation. The French troops made the most of their time; they arrived, debouched, and the bridge was taken. Hogsberg, mortified at his ill-timed loquacity, complained to the Grand

Duke, who, after a short conversation, referred him to Napoleon, and also crossed the river.

A short time before this, a small detachment of French who had penetrated into Bohemia, suddenly found themselves in an open country: they did not like to fall back, and they dared not advance further. In this situation the commander thought of an expedient. He collected all the baggage-horses, mounted his infantry, and thus equipped, led them through the thick forest with his dragoons, about twenty in number. From some of the Austrian cavalry, whom they met near Egra, they took men, horses, and provisions. The Emperor, reading the report given in on this occasion, asked General Rapp what he thought of this new kind of cavalry, viz. the draught-horses? "Admirable, Sire," said he. To this Napoleon replied, that men who had French blood in their veins, always knew how to deal with their enemies.

But, to return to the operations of the armies: on the 13th of November, Prince Murat entered and passed through Vienna. M. Lannes and General Bertrand were the first to pass over the bridge. The troops did not stop at Vienna; but Prince Murat established his head-quarters at the house of Duke Albert, a great benefactor to that city. The Emperor Napoleon took up his residence in the palace of Schoenbrunn. The cannon, arms and ammunition found at Vienna, exceeded expectation. The French confessed that the inhabitants of that city, by their conduct, evinced as much friendship to them as of hatred to the Russians, whose habits and barbarous manners were disgusting to polished nations.

On the 15th of November, Prince Murat, and the corps under General Lannes, came up with the Russians at Hollebrun: the French cavalry charged them, and they immediately abandoned the ground, leaving a hundred carriages with their equipage. An Austrian flag of truce then advanced, and demanded permission for the Russian

troops to separate from theirs, which was granted. Soon after, M. le Baron de Wintzingerode, aide-de-camp general to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, presented himself to the advanced posts, and demanded leave to capitulate for the Russian army. Prince Murat thought it his duty to assent to this measure, but the Emperor disapproved of it, because M. de Wintzingerode was not furnished with full powers on the part of the Emperor of Russia. However, his Majesty, when ordering his army to march, declared, that if the Emperor Alexander would ratify the convention, he would do the same. Prince Murat having been informed that the Russian generals, immediately after signing the convention, were marching with a part of their army to Znaim, and that it was likely the rest would follow them, and escape, informed them that the Emperor Napoleon had not ratified the convention, and that he would of course attack them.

After Murat had thus announced the rupture of the armistice, by the Emperor's order, his corps, and those of Marshals Lannes and Soult, formed a junction. The Russians took up a position behind the village of Schoen Grabern, and beyond this was a defile defended by six thousand of their best troops. The action begun with some skirmishes with the cavalry, after which Marshal Lannes ordered Oudinot's division of grenadiers to advance to an attack upon the front and the left of the enemy's position. Marshal Soult caused their right to be turned by Lagrande's division, whilst Vandamme's corps supported that of the grenadiers.

General Oudinot, at the head of Mortier's grenadiers, rushed upon the Russians with his wonted impetuosity; but the latter having the advantage in their position, resisted the shock with firmness. The village of Schoen Grabern having been set on fire by the howitzers at the commencement of the action, the flames were highly prejudicial to the French, in discovering their position and

manœuvres, whilst the smoke being driven into their faces, they had not the same advantage over the Russians.

The division of Vandamme then advancing to the assistance of these grenadiers, some Russian officers came forward, crying out, "Don't fire, we are French." The fear of killing their comrades, of course deterred the troops from firing, and they made a full halt within a half musket-shot of their enemies, from whom they received a murderous discharge. Enraged at this treachery, they rushed upon these pretended French, overthrew, and cut them in pieces. In fine, after an obstinate conflict, that lasted till eleven at night, the French found themselves masters of the field of battle, eighteen hundred prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon.

The six thousand Russians who fought at Guntersdorf, shewed themselves exactly such as had been depicted by the great Frederick, when he said, that once killing was not sufficient for a Russian soldier. Their protracted resistance gave the Russian army time to continue its retreat. In this they repaired the breach they had made in their reputation by the fatal issue of the battle of Diernstein. General Oudinot, already covered with scars, was badly wounded in this combat, as well as his two aide-de-camps, Demangeot and Lamotte.

The advance of Murat on the 16th of November, brought on the battle of Tuntersdorf, in which a part of the Russian rear-guard was routed, leaving two thousand prisoners and two thousand wounded on the field of battle.

On the 17th the Emperor Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Znaim, where the Russian rear-guard, retreating towards Brunn, had left their sick. In constant pursuit of the enemy, Prince Murat entered Brunn on the 18th of November. The Emperor Napoleon's head-quarters were then fixed at Pohorlitz, but arrived again at

Brunn on the 20th. But on the 27th, upon receiving the full powers of M. M. Stadion and de Giulay, he made the previous offer of an armistice, to spare the effusion of human blood. The Emperor soon perceived that they had other projects; and as their hope of success could only be derived from the side of the Russians, he easily conceived that the second and third armies being arrived, and near Olmutz, the proposed negotiations were only a *ruse de guerre*. Accordingly, on the 28th of December, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wischau, and took fifty of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day the Emperor of Russia repaired to Wischau, and the whole of the Russian army took up a position behind that city. The Emperor Napoleon sent his aide-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment the Emperor of Russia; who spoke in warm terms of the handsome reception, the favours, and the personal sentiments of the Emperor of Russia, and even of the Grand Duke Constantine, who shewed him every attention: but it was easy to perceive, from the conversation he had for three days, with nearly thirty coxcombs about the person of the Emperor of Russia, under different titles, that presumption, inconsiderateness and imprudence reigned in the decisions of the military, as much as they had in the political cabinet, and that an army so conducted, could not but commit faults.

Napoleon's plan from that moment was to wait for them, and to watch the most favourable moment for action. He therefore ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had actually been defeated; took a good position three leagues in the rear, and laboured with much ostentation at fortifying it, and raising batteries. He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aide-de-camp Prince Dolgorucki. That officer might re-

mark, that every thing breathed fear and apprehension in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, and the fortifications thrown up with such haste, appeared to the Russian officer like the precautions of an army half beaten. Contrary to the Emperor's custom, who never received flags of truce with so much circumspection before, he went himself to the head-quarters. The Russian prince discussed every point with a degree of impertinence difficult to be conceived; he was perfectly ignorant of the real situation of affairs on the Continent. In a word, he was a young trumpeter for England. He spoke to the Emperor Napoleon as if he had been speaking to a Russian officer. The Emperor repressed his indignation, and the young man returned with a conviction that the French army was on the brink of ruin. Towards the close of the conversation, this messenger proposed to the Emperor to cede Belgium, and to place the iron crown upon the head of one of the most implacable enemies of France.

With those young men, who had taken upon them to direct the affairs of Russia, it was no longer a question, whether the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken. Several old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the Emperor Napoleon, are said to have warned the Russian council against too much confidence, when they had to march against old soldiers, and able officers. They said they had seen Napoleon, reduced to a handful of men, repossess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy numerous armies. That here no advantage had been obtained, and that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the Russian rear-guard had been in favour of the French; but to this the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians, the enthusiasm inspired

by the presence of their Emperor, and the picked corps of the Imperial guard of Russia.

In the order of the day before the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor Napoleon inserted the following proclamation:

"*December* 1.

"Soldiers, the Russian army is before you, to avenge the Austrian army at Ulm. They are the same battalions you beat at Hollebrun, and which you have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable; and whilst they march to my right, they shall present me their flank.—Soldiers, I shall direct myself all your battalions: I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if with your accustomed bravery you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but if victory be for a moment doubtful, you shall see your Emperor expose himself to the first blows; for victory cannot hesitate on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry, of so much importance to the whole nation, is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned under pretence of carrying off the wounded; but let each be well persuaded that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred to our nation. This victory will finish our campaign, and we shall resume our winter-quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies forming in France; then the peace which I make, will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

It was early on the morning of the second of December that the Emperor with great joy, saw from the heights, the Russian army beginning a movement, within twice the distance of cannon-shot, to turn his right. He said several times, "Before to-morrow night, that army shall be in my power." Yet the enemy's idea was different; they

appeared before the French posts within pistol-shot. By a flank march they defiled upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which seemed afraid of quitting its position, the Russians appeared to have but one fear, and that was, that their enemy should escape. Every thing was done which could favour this deception. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but all at once it seemed astonished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste.

At night the Emperor Napoleon went on foot and *incog.* and visited all the posts, but was almost immediately recognized by the soldiers, who placed lighted straw upon long poles, and 80,000 men joined in saluting the Emperor with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others saying, that the army would to-morrow offer its *bouquette* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, "Sire, you need not expose yourself: I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers, that you shall have only to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you to-morrow the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."

The Emperor said, on his return to his guard-house, a miserable straw cabin without a roof, which the grenadiers had made for him—"This is the finest evening of my life; but I regret to think I shall lose a good number of these brave fellows. I feel, by the pain it gives me, that they are indeed my children, and I often reproach myself for this sentiment, for I fear it will terminate in rendering me unfit to carry on a war."—The Emperor made his dispositions for battle immediately. Omitting the previous disposal of the different corps, for the sake of brevity, we must avail ourselves of the words of the celebrated bulletin of this day, dated Austerlitz, December 3.

"At one in the morning, the Emperor got on horseback

to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians. He heard that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had orders to reinforce it. Day dawned at length on the second, the sun rose bright, and the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be performed, was one of the finest days in autumn.

"This battle, which the soldiers persist in calling the day of the Three Emperors, which others call the day of the Anniversary, and which the Emperor named the battle of Austerlitz, will be ever memorable in the annals of the great nation. The Emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays, the orders were issued, and each marshal joined his corps, full gallop. The Emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments: 'Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and instantly hats were placed at the point of bayonets, and cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were the signal for battle. A moment afterwards, the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust, stopped the enemy short, and the battle began. Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with Generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire's division, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march, whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his

cavalry. The left wing, under the command of General Lannes, marched forward also, *en echelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line: 203 pieces of cannon, and nearly 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise: it was really a giant combat. Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off; their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors, who marched immediately to the Emperor of Russia's guard, to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the Imperial Russian guard, on horseback, and routed; but the Emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marshal Bessieres to go to the succour of his right, with his Invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged. Success could not be doubtful—in a moment the Russian guard was routed; their colonel, artillery, standards, and every thing were taken. The regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated: he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse.

"From the heights of Austerlitz the two Emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard. At the same moment the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced; three of his regiments made a very fine charge of cavalry. The left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, made several. All the charges were victorious. General Caffarelli's division distinguished itself. The cuirassier division took the enemy's batteries. At one, *p. m.* the victory was decided; it had not been doubtful for a moment; not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted no where; a cannonade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat, and near a lake. The Emperor hastened thither, with twenty pieces of cannon. This corps was

driven from position to position, and we saw the horrid spectacle, such as was seen at Aboukir, of 20,000 men throwing themselves in the lake. Two columns of Russians, 4000 each, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. All the enemy's park of artillery is taken.

"The result of this day is forty Russian standards, among which are the standards of the Imperial guard; a considerable number of prisoners; the etat-major does not yet know how many; we have already an account of 20,000, twelve or fifteen generals; at least 15,000 Russians killed on the field of battle. Though we have not yet the report, we may, at the first *coup-d'œil*, estimate our loss at 800 killed, and 15 or 1600 wounded. This will not surprise military men, who know that it is only in a route that men are lost; and no other corps, but the battalion of the 4th, was penetrated. Amongst the wounded are General St. Hilaire, who, wounded at the beginning of the battle, remained the whole day on the field; he covered himself with glory: generals of division, Kellerman and Walther; generals of brigade, Valhabert, Thiebault, Sebastiani, Compar, and Rapp, the Emperor's aide-de-camp. It was the latter who, in charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guard, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the Imperial guard of Russia. With respect to the men who distinguished themselves, it was the whole army that covered themselves with glory; it constantly charged to the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, and the idea of celebrating so gloriously the coronation, animated the soldier. The French army, though fine and numerous, was less numerous than the enemy's army, which was 105,000 strong; 80,000 Russians, and 25,000 Austrians: the half of this army is destroyed; the rest has been completely routed, and the greater part threw away their arms.

"This day will cost tears of blood at St. Petersburg.

May it cause the gold of England to be rejected with indignation! and may that young prince, whom so many virtues called to be the father of his subjects, tear himself from the influence of those thirty coxcombs, whom England pays, and whose impertinence injures his intentions, makes him lose the love of his soldiers, and hurries him into the most ill-judged operations. Nature, in endowing him with so many great qualities, had meant him to be the consoler of Europe. Perfidious councils, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will place him, in history, in the rank of men, who perpetuating the war upon the Continent, will have consolidated the British tyranny upon the seas, and produced the misery of our generation. If France cannot arrive at peace, but upon the conditions proposed by the aide-de-camp Dolgorucki, to the Emperor, and which M. Novosiltzoff was ordered to make, Russia should not obtain them, were her army encamped upon the heights of Montmartre. In a more detailed relation of this battle, the etat-major will make known what each corps, officers and generals, have done to render the French name illustrious, and to afford proof of their love for the Emperor.

"On the 3d, at day-break, Prince John of Lichtenstein, commanding the Austrian army, came to the Emperor's head-quarters, in a barn. He had a long audience; yet we pursue our successes. The enemy have retired by the road of Austerlitz to Godding. The French army is already on their rear, and follow them sword in hand. Never was there a more horrible field of battle. From the middle of the immense lakes, we still hear the cries of thousands of men who could not be assisted. Three days must elapse ere all the wounded enemy are carried to Brunn. The heart bleeds. May so much bloodshed, may so many miseries, fall, at length, upon the perfidious islanders who are the cause of it! May the cowardly oligarchs of London bear the burthen of so many evils!"

The day after this battle, Napoleon addressed to his army, the following proclamation:

"Soldiers, I am satisfied with you: you have, on the day of Austerlitz, justified every thing that I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with immortal glory. An army of an hundred thousand men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours, either cut down or dispersed; the part which escaped your sword has been drowned in the lakes.

"Forty colours, the standards of the Imperial Russian guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners, are the result of this ever-memorable day.

"That infantry so highly boasted of, and so superior in number, could not resist your attack; and henceforward you have no rivals to dread.

"Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been conquered and dissolved. Peace can no longer be distant: but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will make such a peace only, as shall afford us guarantees, and secure rewards to our allies.

"Soldiers, when the French people placed upon my head the Imperial crown, I relied upon you to maintain it always in that splendour of glory, which alone could give it value in my estimation. But in the same moment, our enemies sought to destroy and degrade it: and this iron crown, conquered by the blood of so many French, they would compel me to place on the head of our most implacable enemies: rash and foolish projects!! which, upon the very day of the Emperor's coronation, you have frustrated and confounded. You have taught them that it is easier to defy and threaten, than to conquer us.

"Soldiers, when all that is necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country shall be accomplished, I will lead you back to France; there you

shall be the object of my most tender solicitudes: my people will behold you again with joy, and it will be sufficient for you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' to authorize the reply—'Behold a brave man!'

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

CHAP. XVI.

Bulletins written by Napoleon—Interview between him and the Emperor of Germany—Mission of General Savary to the Emperor Alexander—Notes written in pencil by him to Napoleon: his Observations on the Character of the latter—Retreat of the Russian Army—Various Heroic Deeds—Proclamation issued from Schoenbrunn—The Love of Liberty effaced by Military Glory—The Campaign of 1805 *in Italy—Passage of the Adige—Affairs of St. Michel, Cara Albertini, and Caldiero—Passage of the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento—Battle of Castel Franco—Treaty of Presburg—Interviews of Count Haugwitz with Napoleon—The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg declared Kings—Marriage of Prince Eugene with the Princess of Bavaria—Improvements in the French Empire—Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland.*

MANY of the bulletins of the French army are known to have been written by Napoleon. Perhaps there is not any one among them all, in which more of this extraordinary man may be seen, than in the thirty-first, dated Austerlitz, December 5, which describes the interview between him and the Emperor of Germany, with the interesting communications that passed between the former and the Emperor Alexander, who was abso-

lutely a prisoner till he had agreed to the capitulation proposed by Napoleon. The anecdotes included in this bulletin, it is evident, could not be related with better effect.

"The Emperor, we are informed, left Austerlitz yesterday, December 4, and is gone to the advanced posts near Suruchets, where he had fixed his night-guard. The Emperor of Germany arrived soon after, and these two monarchs had an interview, which lasted two hours. The Emperor of Germany did not conceal on his own part, nor that of the Emperor of Russia, all the contempt which the conduct of England had inspired. 'They,' said he, 'are the merchants who excite the fire of discord upon the Continent, to secure to themselves the commerce of the world.' These two princes have agreed upon an armistice, and the principal conditions of peace. The Emperor of Germany also made known to Napoleon, that the Emperor of Russia wished to make a separate peace; that he would entirely abandon England. The Emperor of Germany several times repeated in the conversation, that there was no doubt the quarrel with England was just, on the part of France. He also demanded a truce for the remains of the Russian army. The Emperor Napoleon gave him to understand, that the Russian army being surrounded, not a man of them could escape: 'but (added he) as I wish to oblige the Emperor Alexander, I will suffer the Russians to pass: I will order my own columns to halt; but your Majesty must promise me that the Russian army shall return to Russia, and evacuate Germany, Austrian and Prussian Poland.' 'That (answered the Emperor of Germany), I can assure you, is the intention of the Emperor Alexander.'—Bonaparte said to the Emperor Francis, 'I receive you in the only palace I have lived in these two months.' The Emperor Napoleon went through the field of battle, and had the wounded removed. Some of them forgot their sufferings, and said, 'Is the victory quite certain?'

Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were a number of wounded Russians that could not be dressed. The foot-guards of the Emperor could not engage; they wept through spite, and absolutely insisted upon doing something. 'Be satisfied;' said Napoleon, 'you are the reserve; it will be better if you have nothing to do to-day.' The commander of the artillery of the Imperial Russian guard lost his cannon. He met the Emperor.—'Sire,' said he, 'order me to be shot; I have lost my cannon.'—'Young man,' replied the Emperor, 'I esteem your tears; but one may be beaten by my army, and still retain some pretension to glory.' The French artillery did prodigious injury to the enemy. The Emperor said, 'This gives me pleasure: it was in this corps I began my military career.' General Savary, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, after the interview between Napoleon and the Emperor of Germany, is *said*, in the Bulletin, to have accompanied the latter, to know whether Alexander would agree to the capitulation. 'Tell your master,' said this prince, 'that I shall retire; that yesterday he performed miracles; and that my astonishment respecting him has increased; that he is some chosen instrument of heaven; that it will require a century to make my army equal to his. But can I withdraw with safety?'—'Yes, Sire,' said General Savary, 'if your Majesty is resolved to accede to the capitulation proposed.'—'And what are its contents?'—'That your Majesty's army shall withdraw by the routes prescribed by the Emperor. Upon these conditions I have authority to repair to my nearest advanced posts which have already surrounded you, and to give them orders to cover your retreat.'—'But what pledge must I give you?' 'Sire, your word.'—'I give it you.' Hereupon the adjutant withdrew, full gallop, to Marshal Davoust, who put a stop to all the movements of the army."

Here it appears extremely singular, that a negotiation

of this kind should have been carried on verbally. However, this does not receive any confirmation from M. Las Cases, who has asserted, that since he returned to Europe from St. Helena, he had been assured that two notes existed, written in pencil by the Emperor Alexander, urgently soliciting Napoleon that he might be allowed to pass after this battle. "If this be true," he adds, "what a singular vicissitude of fortune presents itself! The magnanimous conqueror was doomed to perish in captivity, remote from Europe, and separated from his family; and this too in the name of the conquered party, to whose solicitations he had so generously listened."

The Emperor Alexander, in this supposed conversation with General Savary, allowed it was the first time he had seen fire: that Napoleon was a great warrior; and that he never thought of comparing himself with him. It was said, that Napoleon observed after his conference with the Emperor of Germany, "This man makes me commit a fault; for I could follow up my victory, and take the whole Austrian and Russian army; but a few tears the less will be shed."

The Russian army began its march on the 8th of December, in three columns, and the Emperor Alexander went at the head of the first. Several deeds of valour came to light within a few days after this great battle. A carabinier lost his arm by a shot: "Help me," said he to his comrade, "to take off my cartridge-box, and hasten forward to avenge my loss; I want no other assistance." General Valhubert's leg was carried away by a ball: four soldiers approached to take him up—"Mind the order of the day," said he, "and join your ranks; return victors, and carry me off after the battle is ended; if you are beaten, my life will be only a burthen."

Previous to Napoleon's departure from Schoenbrunn, on the 27th of December, he issued the following proclamation:

"Soldiers! Peace between me and the Emperor of Austria is signed. You have in this late season of the year, made two campaigns. You have performed every thing I expected. I am setting out to my capital. I have promoted and distributed rewards to those who have distinguished themselves most. I will perform every thing I have promised. You have seen that your Emperor has shared all your dangers and fatigues: you shall likewise see him surrounded with all that grandeur and splendour that becomes the sovereign of the first nation in the world. In the beginning of the month of May, I will give a grand festival at Paris: you shall all be there. We will celebrate the memory of those who, in these campaigns, have fallen in the field of honour. The world shall see that we are ready to follow their example, and if necessary, do more than we have done, against those who suffer themselves to be misled by the gold of the eternal enemy of the Continent."

The intelligence of the successes of the army of Germany was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the majority of the French people. From this moment the fanaticism of military glory quite effaced the few remaining impressions made upon them by the love of liberty. Napoleon had well calculated the results; he polished and brightened the fetters which he intended for his fellow citizens; by this means he avoided exciting the recrimination which might have been awakened by wounding the national pride.

It was the primary intention of the Austrian cabinet to employ their best troops first in Italy, then in Helvetia, and lastly in France, in the department of the ancient Franche Comté. The great distance of Napoleon's armies, at that time opposite the English coast, inspired the Aulic Council with the hopes they would arrive too late to assist his legions in Italy, and thus resist a sudden and unexpected attack. It appears, the just

alarms of the British government had occasioned the first alteration in this plan; and next to this, was the promptitude with which the corps of the French grand army had marched from the shores of the ocean to the banks of the Rhine, as well as the able, and not less rapid march of the same army from the Rhine to the Danube, and the brilliant victories that succeeded. These causes united, prevented the Archduke Charles from opening the campaign in Italy with that promptitude that Austria required. Besides, he had been obliged to detach some of his corps to reinforce the army in Germany; and in this state of things he was compelled to remain inactive upon the left shore of the Adige.

However, the Emperor Napoleon, whose orders were executed at once upon the coasts of the German Ocean, and those of the Adriatic, in the kingdom of Naples, had collected upon the frontiers of his new kingdom of Italy, all the troops dispersed in the interior, and entrusted the command of them to Marshal Massena. Those under Gouvion St. Cyr, stationed in the kingdom of Naples, were also ordered to advance by forced marches, to the right bank of the Adige. All these, amounting to about 40 or 50,000 men, formed five divisions of infantry, and occupied a line upon the Adige, nearly parallel with that of the Austrians on the other side of that river.

Prince Eugene Beauharnais, as viceroy of the kingdom of Italy, whilst busily engaged in these preparations for an approaching rupture, published the following address:

"PEOPLE OF ITALY,

"The cabinet of Vienna has determined upon war against you and the French nation. They have dared to say, that this war has been provoked by you and the French people. You will not be easily persuaded to believe this strange calumny. People of Italy, you know

that for five months past, Austria has not ceased to collect fresh forces under your eyes; to victual her garrisons, and threaten your frontiers. You know that the Emperor Napoleon, informed of all these hostile preparations with which you have been so justly alarmed, has in some degree endeavoured to persuade himself that the cabinet of Vienna could not be unjust and disloyal. You know that even when you were menaced with the invasion of your territory, the Emperor did not refuse to listen to your representations, and to take military measures to dissipate them. In fine, you know how often you have been astonished and alarmed, and that you have even complained of his forbearance: he could not give credit to hostile intentions; he demanded explanations; he did not recall his ambassador; he considered the residence of the Austrian ambassador at Paris, as a proof that the House of Austria were equally desirous with him of peace. People of Italy, from you I expect zeal, devotion, and courage. You know the unlimited confidence that you ought to place in that portion of the French army assembled in Italy. You know what confidence is due to *the darling of victory*, to whom the Emperor has entrusted the honour of your defence. People of Italy, your king reckons upon you. Confide in him. The god of armies is for him: always terrible to the perjured. He has on his side his glory, his genius, the justice of his cause, the valour, the fidelity, and the love of his people. Our enemies shall be conquered."

The Archduke Charles, who commanded in Italy, almost immediately after his arrival in that quarter, proposed an armistice to Marshal Massena, who, as it suited his convenience, accepted it; and accordingly hostilities were postponed till the 18th of October, 1805, upon which day, the bridge of the old *chateau* was carried, and the French army passed the Adige on the spot.

Massena's instructions bound him to regulate his move-

ments by those of the grand army in Germany, of which that of Italy might be considered as the right wing. On this account, though master of the passage of the Adige, he deferred attacking the Austrian troops till the 29th of October; soon after which, the affairs of St. Michel and Caldiero took place. Here 3500 men were made prisoners; and the number killed was so considerable, that the Archduke demanded a truce to bury the dead.

At Cara Albertini, a short time after, five thousand Austrians laid down their arms. After this, followed the passage of the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the affair of Castel Franco; by which means, the French army of Italy approached that of Germany sooner than it could have been expected, by persons unacquainted with the celerity of Napoleon's movements. On the 29th of October, the Austrian General Hillinger being separated from the Archduke's army, after wandering some time among the mountains of San Leonardo, with the view of regaining the route from Verona to Vicenza, was compelled to surrender five thousand prisoners, with their arms and baggage, with seventy officers, a brigadier-general, &c. The Archduke, fearing that this event might enable the enemy to turn him in his position before Villa Nova, commenced his retreat in the night between the first and second of November, and on the third, fixed his head-quarters at Montebello.

Vicenza had been fortified by the Archduke, with a view of arresting the progress of the French; but General Lacomb St. Michel forced the place at day-break on the 4th of November. The Archduke then took the road to Bassano, followed by the French, who came up with his rear-guard, and continued their march towards the Brenta, dispersing and making prisoners of the Austrians all the way to Tagliamento, which they passed, after a brisk cannonade, still driving the Austrians before them.

Marshal Massena, thinking the Archduke would make

a stand at Gorizia, made his dispositions for attacking the place in the morning of the 17th of November; but the Austrians, not choosing to hazard an action, availed themselves of the darkness of the night to hasten their retreat, pursued by General D'Espagne, to Laybach. At Isonzo the French halted some time, to rest their troops. At Wippach, General D'Espagne again came up with a part of the enemy's rear-guard, which he pushed on to Gantz, making a number of prisoners. The whole of the Austrian cavalry had retired by the high road of Laybach, with some infantry. Some of those, detached to Ober Laybach, were pursued by five companies of voltigeurs, whilst the French general took the high road to Preswald, where the enemy was intrenched.

On the 20th of November, Massena detached the division of Seras to take possession of Trieste, when the garrison abandoned that city, and took the route to Laybach, leaving 150 prisoners.

The marshal, feeling the necessity of opening a communication with the grand army under Napoleon in Germany, and thinking it was probable that the Emperor might have pushed a corps towards La Chiusa de Pletz, detached General Lacour and some light infantry towards that pass, a very important post in the chain of the Noric Alps. General Lacour found this post abandoned, and continued his march to Willach.

It appeared afterwards that the conjecture of Massena was well founded, as the retreat of the Austrians from Chiusa de Pletz, had been occasioned by Napoleon's detaching the corps of Marshal Ney towards Carinthia, after having traversed the northern Tyrol. Ponteba, another post, had also been evacuated by the Austrians, from the same motives.

While the army of Italy was thus rapidly advancing towards Carniola, the French troops coming from the kingdom of Naples, had arrived at Padua, under the Ge-

nerals St. Cyr and Regnier. These corps were enabled to observe Venice and the Lagunes, whilst Massena continued to advance upon Laybach. General Regnier fell in with an Austrian corps under the Prince de Rohan, a French emigrant, near Castel Franco, who capitulated with six thousand men. This prince, several colonels, and a great number of officers, were among these prisoners, with several pieces of cannon, standards, &c. and the whole of the baggage. The French garrison taken by the Austrians at Bassano were found at Castel Franco, and set at liberty.

Two days after the affair of Castel Franco, a body of 1500 Croats, a part of the troops of the Tyrol, were surrounded and taken, whilst debouching from the mountains. General Lacour having arrived at Willach, pushed on to Clagenfurth, where he effected the junction of the army of Italy with the grand army, a part of which was already in possession of that city. The Italian campaign of 1805, gave new lustre to the reputation of Marshal Massena, whose manœuvres upon the Adige and the Isonzo, proved that the conqueror of Zurich deserved to rank among the most able of the French generals.

Thus, in the course of two months, Napoleon had defeated two emperors on the field of battle, and by his uncommon activity, had exposed the political combinations of the English, disconcerted the plans of the allies, and compelled the Emperor Francis to sign the humiliation of the House of Austria, by the treaty of Presburg that followed, in making a separate peace.

But Prussia being apparently upon good terms with the Directory and their various successors, never seemed inclined to break with France till she had obtained a regular government.

In the spring of 1805, the Prussian monarch having been seduced by the gold of England on one side, and on the other by the promises and the presence of the Empe-

ror of Russia, it led him to enter into positive engagements with Russia about the middle of October.

But the preparations for war already commenced in the Prussian states, were considerably retarded by the rapid successes of the grand French army in Swabia. Count Haugwitz, who had been selected to convey to Napoleon a threatening ultimatum, received orders to hasten his departure, and proceeding through Bohemia, he arrived at General Bernadotte's head-quarters at Iglau four days before the battle of Austerlitz. His arrival being announced to Napoleon, he gave orders that the count should be detained, as he was upon the point of giving battle to the Austro-Russes. During this interval, Bernadotte marched at the head of the divisions of Drouet and Rivaud towards Brunn, whilst the French generals who remained at Iglau, disputed for the honour of entertaining the Prussian minister with all the respect due to his rank. He wished much to proceed to the Imperial head-quarters; but he was informed that the Emperor was then visiting the advanced posts of his army, and would probably return in three or four days. However, M. Haugwitz arrived at Brunn on the 2d of December, and had an audience with Napoleon on the following day, at the bivouac near the post-house at Posoritz; but as the Russian advanced posts were engaged, Napoleon told him to go and await the result of the battle at Vienna. "I shall beat them," said he: "tell me nothing to-day; I do not wish to know any thing." Haugwitz, who was no novice in business, did not wait to be told this a second time. Bonaparte could not conceal the displeasure which the conduct of the King of Prussia had given him in this first interview with this minister, though on his return to Brunn, he seemed to be better satisfied with the explanations he had received; he confined himself to the negotiation for some exchange of territory, the conditions of which would be no further

disadvantageous to Prussia, than laying her under obligations to exclude the English from the ports of the Ems, the Elbe, and the Weser. In what manner the Prussian monarch was at length involved in a fatal war with France, will appear in the sequel.

On the 27th of December, 1805, an official bulletin issued from the palace of Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, announced to Europe the promotion of the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg to the rank of monarchs, without ceasing to belong to the Confederation of the Rhine; the re-union of Venice to the kingdom of Italy; and the resolution of the French Emperor to expel the King of Naples and his family from his throne. Napoleon had also demanded the hand of the Princess Amelia Augusta of Bavaria for Prince Eugene, whom he proposed to adopt for his son.

CHAP. XVII.

Enthronement of the Kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria—Adoption of the Viceroy of Italy—Deposition of the King of Naples, and Elevation of Joseph Napoleon—Proclamation—Massena sent to Naples—Offensive Conduct of the British Ministry respecting Prussia—Occupation of Dalmatia and Istria—Transfer of the Tyrol Country—Mr. Fox appointed to the British Ministry—Pantheon at Paris restored—Church of St. Denis—Historical Complexion of Napoleon's Speech to the Legislative Body—Marriage of the Prince of Baden with Stephanie Beauharnais—Anecdotes of this interesting Lady—Constitution and Conduct of Napoleon's Council of State—Anecdotes—State Prisons in France—English and French Freedom compared.

On the 1st of January this year, the new kings of Wirtemburg and Bavaria were enthroned with much solemnity at Munich and at Stuttgard. On the same day the French Tribunate presented to the Senate the Russian and French colours taken at Austerlitz, and sent to Paris by Napoleon, together with the ratifications of the treaty of Presburg, that had been exchanged at Vienna, which city was not entirely evacuated by the French troops till nine days after Napoleon had quitted this capital, on the 29th of December, for Munich, where he arrived on the 31st. Here he received the Viceroy of Italy, whom he adopted as his son on the 12th, and who was married to the Princess Royal of Bavaria on the day following.

Ready to avail himself of every circumstance which could increase his power and dominions, already dangerous, from their extent and other circumstances, Napoleon

began the year 1806 with a series of usurpations, which the weakness of his enemies constrained them to tolerate; and, favoured by the deaths of some of his most formidable antagonists, especially the celebrated William Pitt, he no doubt flattered himself with being able to pursue this line of conduct with more confidence and security than ever.

The King of Naples was the first monarch doomed to feel the weight of Napoleon's vengeance. Queen Caroline, who had the entire government of her spouse, and always influenced by her hatred against France, had promised to make a powerful diversion in favour of England, with the assistance of the Russian and British troops, whom she expected at Naples. Hitherto Napoleon's unexpected successes had prevented her from carrying this project into execution; but according to the too common practice of diplomatists, the allies, after their defeat, made no scruple in abandoning this unfortunate queen, whom they had pushed to the brink of ruin.

On the 8th of January the English forces had arrived at Naples as auxiliaries, but in a few days they re-embarked for Sicily. The Russians, who had come on the same errand, set sail for Corfu on the 13th of January, 1806.

Napoleon, who had destined the crown of Naples for his brother Joseph, had appointed him general-in-chief of the army sent to invade Naples, an event which was preceded by the following proclamation:

"Soldiers! For ten years past I have done every thing to save the King of Naples: he has done every thing to ruin himself. After the battles of Dego, Mondovi, and Lodi, he could only oppose to me a feeble resistance. I trusted to the words of this prince, and treated him with generosity. When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, being abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained alone, and without

defence. He implored my clemency, and I pardoned him a second time.

"A few months ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had then legitimate reasons to suspect the treason he meditated, and for avenging the outrages committed upon me; but I was again generous: I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples; I ordered you to evacuate the kingdom, and the House of Naples was saved and established the third time. They shall pardon us the fourth time. Shall we confide in a court without faith, without honour or sense, a fourth time? No, no. The dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign: its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe and the honour of my crown.

"Soldiers! my brother will march at your head; he knows my projects; he is the depository of my authority; he possesses the whole of my confidence; let him also possess yours. Soldiers, march, and if it is necessary, drive those feeble battalions of the tyrants of the seas into the ocean. Let the world see how we punish perjury. Do not be long in letting me know that all Italy has submitted to my laws and those of my allies, and that the finest country in the world, is freed from the yoke of the most perfidious of men; that the sanctity of treaties is avenged, and that the manes of my brave soldiers assassinated in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, are appeased."

Marshal Massena, in the mean time, was charged with directing the movements of the army, in which Gouvion St. Cyr and Regnier acted as lieutenant-generals. Whilst Massena was preparing for this grand enterprise, the British ministry exhibited an example of indiscretion, sufficient in itself to deter any power whatever from entering into alliance with them. They laid before the House of Commons, complete copies of the treaties concluded with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and thus provoked a public discussion of their contents; a step involving a disclo-

sure which Prussia was very unwilling to sanction, especially since the termination of the campaign. In fact, the same King of Prussia, whom the British ministry had compromised much less than he had done himself by his own conduct, three days after opening the parliament on the 24th of January, announced to his army, by means of an article inserted in the gazette of Berlin, " the continuance of peace," which to the eyes of impartial men, sufficiently exposed the absurd enterprises in which he had been secretly engaged previous to the end of the year 1805.

On the same day that this article appeared in the official gazette at Berlin, the Grand Duke Constantine, who arrived there soon after the battle of Austerlitz, left that city, but not without taking leave of Baron Hardenberg, then considered as the head of the English party in the Prussian cabinet. Soon after this the Prussian troops invaded the Electorate of Hanover, an act of hostility both against England and Sweden, in favour of which this court had armed but one month before, and which six months after it was again to repeat, though at the hazard of its existence.

On the other hand, the allies of France began to enjoy the advantages procured them by the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon passed the Rhine, and arrived at Paris on the 26th of January, 1806. He had already distributed his troops in such a manner as to act as an army of observation upon Prussia: hence the seventh corps of the grand army, under Marshal Augereau, began to establish itself about Frankfort on the Main, at which place Augereau, fixed his head-quarters. Negotiations, however, still continued between the Prussian cabinet and that of the Tuilleries; and on the 8th of March, the Prussian envoy, M. Haugwitz, concluded a treaty, in virtue of which, Frederick William accepted of Hanover in exchange for several Prussian provinces, as Anspach, which was given

to Bavaria, the principality of Neufchatel and de Valangin, the country of Cleves, and Wesel, which Napoleon reserved in favour of Marshal Berthier, or Prince Murat.

Other occupations of territory had been authorized by the treaty of Presburg. The Generals Mollitor and Mathieu Dumas, at the head of a French corps, had begun to take possession of Dalmatia on the first of February; and on the same day, the Emperor of Austria sent troops to occupy the Bishoprick of Wurtzburg, which had fallen to his brother as an indemnity for the Electorate of Salzburg. On the 11th of February a French commissary delivered up the Tyrol to the delegates sent thither by the King of Bavaria; on the 16th a proclamation announced the taking possession of Istria by the Emperor of the French, King of Italy; on the 14th of March, the French troops occupied the city and territory of Nuremberg, in behalf of the King of Bavaria, to whom it was consigned. The latter, by a patent, dated the 15th of March, announced the cession of the Duchy of Berg to France; and Prince Murat announced in his turn, the cession of Cleves and Berg, made to him by Napoleon. In fine, the Kings of Wirtemburg, Bavaria, and the Grand Duke Elector of Baden, continued in possession of their respective estates in Swabia, Franconia, and the Brisgau, under the auspices of France, which was several times constrained to send commissaries to adjust the differences that arose amongst these princes, about fixing their respective boundaries.

Whilst these arrangements were making upon the Continent, the King of Great Britain called the illustrious Mr. Fox to the helm of public affairs, as the only person capable of supporting the tottering edifice of the ministry, shaken by the death of Pitt. The English were then in want of an able statesman to preserve some political influence in Europe, which they had never before been in such danger of losing. Austria had sunk under the pressure of its defeats; the Russians were humbled, and had

retired into their frozen regions, and did not appear ready to advance a second time in support of the projects of the cabinet of St. James; the Grand Seignior at Constantinople, by a public declaration, had recognized Napoleon as Emperor of France; and the kingdom of Naples, so important to the English on account of its harbours, seemed lost to them for ever.

Whilst Napoleon was thus strengthening his own dynasty, and the allies of France, by political marriages and exchanges of territory, he was at the same time preparing these friendly powers for a state of vassalage, and those of tributaries in men or money. He restored the edifice of the Pantheon, in Paris, to the Catholic worship, and realized the destination intended it by the constituent assembly, viz. that of the place of sepulture for the grand dignitaries and great officers of the crown, the senators, the officers of the legion of honour, and the citizens who had rendered eminent services to the country, or distinguished themselves in arms, in the administration under government, or in literature.

The church of St. Denis, devastated by the fury of the revolutionists, was then appropriated as the place of sepulture for the Emperors; and a chapter formed by ten bishops, not less than sixty years of age, were appointed to perform divine service in this celebrated church; three expiatory chapels were destined to produce upon marble tables, the names of the kings of the three races, whose mausoleums had been profaned, and destroyed in 1793. —Never was flattery carried to a higher degree than at this epoch of the life of Napoleon; and the pages of the Moniteur were filled with the orations, and the adulatory expressions used by the authorities, civil, judiciary and religious, in their panegyrics upon the dissolver of the coalition, the saviour of France, the Great Napoleon.

The legislative corps had been summoned for the month of March, and the Emperor opened the sittings in person

on the second. The most imposing pomp presided at this ceremony. The Emperor was attended by all the grand dignitaries, and the principal personages of the state. The Empress Josephine was placed opposite his throne, with the Prince Royal of Bavaria, the prince arch-chancellor of the Germanic empire. There is so much history in the discourse delivered on this occasion, that it has been judged proper to be given at length.

"Messieurs, Deputies, Tribunes, and Members of my Council of State, since your last meeting the greatest part of Europe have entered into a coalition with England; my armies have never ceased to conquer, but when I ordered them to cease fighting. I have avenged the wrongs of weak states, oppressed by the powerful. My allies have increased in strength and respectability; my enemies have been humbled and confounded; the King of Naples has lost his crown, without hope of recovery; almost the whole of the peninsula of Italy now forms a part of the great empire. As *supreme Chief*, I have guaranteed those sovereigns and constitutions who govern the different parts of this kingdom. Russia owes the return of the wreck of its army, solely to the capitulation which I granted. Able to have overturned the Imperial throne of Austria, I established it. The conduct of the cabinet of Vienna will be such, that posterity will never have to reproach me with *any want of foresight*. I have reposed unlimited confidence in the protestations that have been made to me by its sovereign; besides, the high destinies of my crown do not depend upon the sentiments or inclinations of foreign courts. My people will always maintain my throne against the attempts of hatred and jealousy; no sacrifice will be too painful to secure the first interests of the country. Brought up in camps and in the field, always triumphant, I ought to confess, that latterly my soldiers have surpassed my expectations; and it is pleasant for me to declare also, that my people

have done theirs. At the extremity of Moravia, I never ceased for a moment to prove the effects of their love and enthusiasm. Never have I received marks of this, that have penetrated my heart with sweeter emotions. Frenchmen, I have not been deceived in my hopes. I glory more in your affection than in the extent and riches of our territory. Magistrates, priests, citizens, all have shewn themselves worthy the high destinies of our beautiful France, which for two centuries past has been the object of the combinations and jealousies of its neighbours.

"My minister of the interior will inform you of the events that have taken place in the course of the year. My council of state will present to you the *projets* of the law to ameliorate the different branches of the administration; from the ministers of the finances and of the public treasury, you will receive the accounts they have laid before me; you will see the prosperous state of our finances. Since my return, I have been incessantly engaged in giving to the administration that spring and activity that communicates life to the extremities of this vast empire. My people will not have to sustain any fresh burdens; but new developements will be proposed in the system of finances, the basis of which were laid down last year. I intend to diminish the direct taxes that press immediately on the soil, in replacing a part of them from the indirect receipts. Tempests have occasioned the loss of some ships of war, after an engagement, which was imprudently undertaken (viz. the battle of Trafalgar). I cannot sufficiently praise the greatness of mind, and the attachment that the King of Spain has displayed under these circumstances. I desire peace with England; which, on my part, I shall never retard for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude a peace, taking for its bases the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. Gentlemen deputies of the legislative corps, the attachment you have shewn, the man-

ner in which you seconded me in the last sitting, leaves me in no doubt of your assistance. Nothing shall be proposed to you that will not be necessary to guarantee the glory and safety of my people."

On the evening of the opening of the legislative corps, the Hereditary Prince of Baden arrived at Paris; and two days afterwards the senate was informed by a message, of the marriage of this prince with a niece of the Empress Josephine, Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnais, whom Napoleon had adopted some time before.

This interesting female lost her mother in her childhood. She was left in the care of an English lady in France, her mother's intimate friend, who was very rich and without children, and entrusted the care of the education of her *protegée* to some old nuns at a considerable distance from Paris.

Napoleon, during his consulship, one day hearing Josephine mention this circumstance, while alluding to her young relation Stephanie, exclaimed, "How can you permit this? How can you suffer one of your name to be supported by a foreigner, an Englishwoman, who must at this moment be regarded as our enemy? Are you not afraid that your memory will one day suffer by this?" —A courier was immediately dispatched to bring the young lady to the Tuilleries; but the nuns refused to part with her. Napoleon, however, instituted the necessary legal forms, and a second courier was speedily sent to the prefect of the district, with orders instantly to seize the person of the young lady in the name of the law.

Owing to the circumstances of the times, such was the influence of certain systems of education, and of the opinions which they inspired, that Stephanie's removal was to herself a source of deep regret; and she beheld not without terror, him who declared himself her relative, and who was about to become her benefactor. She was placed in the establishment of Madame Campan, at St.

Germain; all sorts of masters were appointed to superintend her education; and on her introduction to the world, her beauty, wit, accomplishments and virtues, rendered her an object of universal admiration.

Though the Emperor adopted her as his daughter, and gave her in marriage to the Hereditary Prince of Baden, this union was for several years far from being happy. In course of time, however, the causes of difference gradually vanished; the prince and princess became attached to each other, and from that moment they had only to regret the happiness of which they had deprived themselves during the early years of their marriage.

At the conferences at Erfurt, the Princess of Baden received the most marked attentions from her brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander. During the disasters of the French in 1813, persons who were at the head of political affairs, dreading the result of an interview between Alexander and the Princess of Baden at Manheim, succeeded in depriving the princess of the regard of her august relative, by circulating false reports to the prejudice of her character. Thus, when Alexander arrived at Manheim, in his triumphal march to Paris, he by no means treated Princess Stephanie with due respect. His conduct was calculated to wound her feelings; but it could not humble her pride. On this occasion, the conduct pursued by the Prince of Baden reflected true glory on his character. The most august personages surrounded him, and urged him to repudiate the wife whom he had received from the hands of Napoleon. But the prince, with true nobleness of sentiment, rejected the idea, observing, that he would never commit an act of baseness, which would be as repugnant to his affections as to his honour. This generous prince afterwards fell a victim to a tedious and painful illness. The princess personally attended on her husband throughout the whole of his sufferings, performing with her own hands all the minute services that his situa-

tion required: her devoted attachment gained her the admiration of all her relatives and subjects.

Princess Stephanie of Baden shed a lustre over her exalted situation. She conferred honour on her character as a wife and a daughter. She at all times professed the highest veneration for him, who, when in the enjoyment of boundless power, had benevolently adopted her as his child.

The *council of state* being frequently mentioned, some account of its constitution and conduct may illustrate the character of its founder:

The council of state, as a whole, were Napoleon's real council, and his mind in deliberation, as the ministers were his mind in execution. At the council of state, were prepared the laws which the Emperor presented to the legislative body, a circumstance which rendered it altogether one of the elements of the legislative power. In the council, the Emperor's decrees and rules of public administration were drawn up; and the plans of his ministers were examined, discussed, and corrected.

This council received appeals, and pronounced finally on all administrative judgments; and incidentally on those of all other tribunals, even those of the court of cassation. There complaints against the ministers were examined, and appeals from the Emperor, to the Emperor better informed. Thus the council of state, at which the Emperor uniformly presided, being frequently in direct opposition to the ministers, or occupied in reforming their acts and errors, naturally became the point of refuge for persons or interests aggrieved by any authority whatever. All who were ever present at the meetings of the council, must know with what zeal the cause of the citizens was there defended. A committee of this council received all the petitions of the empire, and laid before the sovereign those which deserved his attention.

With the exception of lawyers, and persons employed

in the administration, it is surprising how far the rest of society were ignorant of the French political legislation. No one had a correct idea of the council of state, of the legislative body, or of the senate. It was received for example, as an established fact, that the legislative body, like an assembly of mutes, passively adopted, without the least opposition, all the laws which were presented to it; that which belonged to the nature and excellence of the institution, was attributed to its complaisance and servility.

The laws which were prepared in this council, were presented by commissaries chosen from that council, to a committee of the legislative body appointed to receive them: they were there amicably discussed, and were often quietly referred back to the council, to receive some modifications. When the two deputations could not come to an understanding, they proceeded to hold regular conferences, under the presidency of the arch-chancellor or the arch-treasurer; so that before these laws reached the legislative body, they had already received the assent of the two opposite parties. If any difference existed, it was discussed by the two committees, in the presence of the whole legislative body, performing the functions of a jury; which, as soon as its members had become sufficiently acquainted with the facts, pronounced its decision by a secret scrutiny. Thus every individual had an opportunity of freely giving his opinion, as it was impossible to know whether he had put in a red or a white ball. "No plan," said the Emperor, "could have been better calculated to correct our national effervescence, and our inexperience in matters of political liberty."

So little was the nature of this council understood by the people in general, that it was believed no one dare utter a word in that assembly, in opposition to the Emperor's opinion. Thus Las Cases very much sur-

prised many persons, when he related the fact, that one day, during a very animated debate, the Emperor, having been interrupted three times in giving his opinion, turned towards the individual who had rather rudely cut him short, and said in a sharp tone: "I have not yet done; I beg you will allow me to continue. I believe every one here has a right to deliver his opinion." The smartness of this reply, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, excited a general laugh, in which the Emperor himself joined.

Every member was at liberty to speak; if several rose at the same time, the order of precedence was regulated by the Emperor. The members spoke from their places, sitting. No written speeches were allowed to be read; it was requisite that they should be made extemporaneously. When the Emperor thought the question, in which he usually took no inconsiderable share himself, sufficiently discussed, he made a summary of the arguments, which was always luminous, and frequently marked with novelty and point, which thus being brought to a conclusion, was put to the vote.

The greatest freedom prevailed in these debates. The animation of the speakers, increasing by degrees, became sometimes excessive, and the discussion was often protracted beyond measure, particularly when the Emperor, occupied probably with some other subject, seemed, either from distraction or something else, to be altogether ignorant of what was going on. He then commonly cast an irresolute eye over the hall, cut pencils with his penknife, pricked the tapestry of his table, or the arm of his chair, with the point of it, or employed his pencil or pen in scrawling whimsical marks or sketches, which, after he was gone, excited the ardent attention of the young members, who made a kind of scramble for them; and it was curious to observe, when he happened to have

traced the name of some country or capital, the hyperbolical inferences that were sought to be extracted from it. Sometimes too, when the Emperor entered the council, as soon as his dinner was ended, and having undergone great fatigue during the morning, he would fold his arms upon the table, lay down his head, and fall asleep. The arch-chancellor proceeded with the deliberations, which were continued without interruption; and the Emperor, on awakening, immediately caught up the thread of the discussion, though the previous subject might have been ended and another introduced. The Emperor often asked for a glass of water and sugar; and a table in the adjoining room was always laid out with refreshments for his use, without any precautions being adopted as to the individuals who were permitted to approach it.

The Emperor, it is well known, was in the habit of taking snuff, chiefly during intervals of abstraction. Those chamberlains who proved themselves most expert and assiduous in the discharge of their duties, would frequently endeavour, unobserved by the Emperor, to take away his empty snuff-box, and substitute a full one in its stead. These individuals were seldom changed, either because they intrigued to retain their places, or because it was naturally most agreeable to the Emperor to continue them in posts, with the duties of which they were acquainted. It was the business of the Grand Marshal (Duroc) to make all these arrangements. One of the chamberlains having observed that the Emperor, on going to the theatre, frequently forgot his opera-glass, of which he made very great use, got one made exactly like it, so that the first time he saw the Emperor without his glass, he presented his own to him, and the difference was not observed. On his return from the theatre, the Emperor was not a little surprised to find that he had got two glasses exactly alike. Next day he inquired how the

new opera-glass had made its appearance, and the chamberlain replied, that it was one he kept in reserve, in case it might be wanted.

The Emperor always shewed himself very sensible of these attentions, innocent in themselves, and calculated to make an impression on the feelings, when dictated only by love and respect; for then the individual was not acting the part of a slavish courtier, but that of an affectionate and devoted servant.

When Napoleon quitted Paris for St. Cloud, Malmaison, or any other of his country residences, he usually invited the individuals of his household to his private evening parties; and thus was formed a pleasant family circle, admittance to which was held to be a very high honour. In the country, his chamberlains were invited to dine at his table; and one day, while at dinner at Trianon, being troubled with a severe cold in his head, and finding himself in want of a handkerchief, the servants immediately ran to fetch one; but in the mean while the chamberlain on duty, who was a relation of Maria Louise, drew a clean one unfolded from his pocket, and wished to take the other from the Emperor. "I thank you," said Napoleon; "but I will never have it said that I allowed M. —— to touch an handkerchief which I had used," and he threw it on the ground. Such was the man who, in certain circles, was described as being coarse and brutal, ill-treating all his household, and even behaving rudely to the ladies of the palace. The Emperor, on the contrary, was a scrupulous observer of decorum. He was very sensible to all the little attentions he received; and though it was a sort of system with him to suffer no manifestation of gratitude to escape him, yet the expression of his eye, or the tone of his voice, sufficiently denoted what he really felt. Unlike those whose lips overflow with the expression of sentiments which their hearts never feel, Napoleon seemed to make

it a rule to repress or disguise the kind emotions by which he was frequently inspired.

But to return to the council: all the reports, plans of resolutions, and decrees there discussed, were printed, and distributed to the members at their own houses. There was one subject, for example, relating to the university, which was twenty times drawn up. Others lingered for a length of time in the portfolios, or were at length totally dropped, without any cause being assigned.

One day the counsellor of state, General Gassendi, taking part in the debate of the moment, dwelt a long time upon the doctrines of economists. The Emperor, who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying, "My dear general, where did you gain all this knowledge? Where did you imbibe these principles?" Gassendi, who spoke very seldom in the council, after defending himself in the best way he could, finding himself driven into his last intrenchments, replied, that he had, after all, borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How!" exclaimed the Emperor with warmth—"What do you say? Is it possible? From me, who have always thought, that if there existed a monarchy of granite, the chimeras of political economists would reduce it to powder!" And after some other remarks, partly ironical and partly serious, he concluded —"Go, general! you must have fallen asleep in your office, and have dreamed all this."—Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied: "Oh, as for falling asleep in our offices, Sire, I defy any one to do that with you; you plague us too much for that." All the council burst into a fit of laughter, and the Emperor laughed louder than any one.

A scene of a very different kind occurred another time. A religious party was fomenting civil discord in the state, by secretly circulating bulls and letters from the Pope. They were shewn to M. Portal, a counsellor of state,

appointed to superintend religious worship, and who, if he did not himself circulate them, at least neither prevented nor denounced their circulation. This was discovered, and the Emperor suddenly challenged him with the fact in open council. "What could have been your motive, Sir?" said he—"Were you influenced by your religious principles? If so, why are you here? I use no controul over the conscience of any man. Did I force you to become my counsellor of state? On the contrary, you solicited the post as a high favour. You are the youngest member of the council, and perhaps the only one who has not some personal claim to that honour: you had nothing to recommend you but the inheritance of your father's services. You took a personal oath to me: how could your religious feelings permit you openly to violate that oath, as you have just now done? Speak, however; you are here in confidence; your colleagues shall be your judges. Your crime is a great one, Sir. A conspiracy for the commission of a violent act, is stopped as soon as we seize the arm that holds the poniard. But a conspiracy to influence the public mind, has no end: it is like a train of gunpowder. Perhaps at this very moment whole towns are thrown into commotion through your fault." The counsellor, quite confused, said nothing in reply: the first appeal was sufficient to establish the fact. The members of the council, to the majority of whom this event was quite unexpected, were struck with astonishment, and observed profound silence. "Why," continued the Emperor, "did you not, according to the obligation imposed by your oath, discover to me the criminal and his plots? Am I not at all times accessible to every one of you?"—"Sire," said the counsellor at length, venturing to reply, "he was my cousin."—"Your crime is then the greater, Sir," replied the Emperor sharply; "your kinsman could only have been placed in office at your solicitation: from that moment the respon-

sibility devolved on you. When I look upon a man as entirely devoted to me, as your situation ought to render you, all who are connected with him, and all for whom he becomes responsible, from that time require no watching. These are my maxims." The accused member still remained silent, and the Emperor continued: "The duties which a counsellor of state owes to me, are immense. You, Sir, have violated those duties, and you hold the office no longer. Be gone: let me never see you here again!"

The disgraced counsellor, as he was withdrawing, passed very near the Emperor: the latter looked at him and said, "I am sincerely grieved at this, Sir, for the services of your father are still fresh in my memory." When he was gone, the Emperor added, "I hope such a scene as this may never be renewed; it has done me too much harm. I am not distrustful, but may become so! I have allowed myself to be surrounded by every party; I have placed near my person, even emigrants, and soldiers of the army of Condé; and though it was wished to induce them to assassinate me, yet, to do them justice, they have continued faithful. Since I have held the reins of government, this is the first individual employed about me, by whom I have been betrayed," and then turning towards M. Locré, who took notes of the debates of the council of state, he said, 'write down *betrayed*—do you hear.'"

The existence of state-prisons under Napoleon has been strongly objected to, especially by the English; but these he contended were a benefit. He justly observed, that considering the crisis from which France had emerged, the factions that divided her, and the plots that had been laid, imprisonment became indispensible. To become a prisoner of state, was the means of preserving numbers from the scaffold. No person, according to Napoleon's law, could be thus detained without the decision of his

privy council, which consisted of sixteen persons. None could be imprisoned more than a year, without a fresh decision of that council, and four votes out of sixteen would procure any person's release.

The fact is, that at the time of Napoleon's downfall, the state prisons scarcely contained 250 individuals, and when he became Consul, he found nine thousand persons confined in them. Almost every one of them deserved death, and would have been subjected to it by a regular process of law; it therefore followed, that imprisonment on his part was a benefit to them. What might seem a virtuous action in the eye of the King of France, was undoubtedly a crime under Bonaparte, who commuted the punishment of death for simple detention. He accordingly thought that during this time, the French were the freest people in all Europe, without even excepting the English; as any individual among the latter, might be sent to prison during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, at the mere will of ministers, who cannot be called upon to justify their motives, or explain their conduct.

On the 5th of March the minister of the interior attended the legislative body, to acquaint them with the situation of the empire. After saying a few words upon the results of the First Consul's administration, he entered much further into a detail of the events of the last year. He dwelt upon the public works that had been renewed in the department de l'Est, the restoration of the municipal buildings that had been destroyed at Lyons during the anarchy of the revolution; the dikes that had been formed near the Rhone, to restrain the inundations of that river; decrees issued in favour of commerce; schools for the instruction of youth in drawing, with a view to the encouragement of manufactures; canals intended to communicate with the Seine, the Rhine, and the ocean, in the same manner as the Rhone was already united with the Mediterranean; new

routes literally traversing Savoy, in spite of innumerable obstacles; the public establishments in Piedmont, then an integral part of the French empire, especially at Casal, Turin and Alexandria; the latter place intended to become one of the principal bulwarks of the empire: the barbets who had ravaged these countries during two centuries, he said, had been chased, dispersed, or exterminated; Genoa, by its reunion with France, now offered to Piedmont its natural opening to the sea; in fine, a code of laws, and a better system of administration, had been given to the states of Parma and Plaisance, both united to France.

Speaking of the war between France and Austria, M. de Champagny painted Napoleon in the midst of his labours, dangers, military combinations, and all those fatigues which he shared with the soldiers, and at the same time holding the thread of government in his hand, at a distance of three hundred leagues from Paris; entering into the most minute details, seeing every thing with his own eyes, knowing every thing without any intermediate agency; and sending from Ulm, from Munich, from Vienna, and from his bivouac, as well as from the chateau of Austerlitz, those numerous decrees recorded in the bulletin of the laws, all affording the most undeniable proofs of his prodigious activity, and his administrative labours.

The Emperor's victories, his moderation, his new alliances, and their mutual advantages, were rapidly touched upon by the minister, who in returning to the affairs of the interior, enumerated the efforts made to increase the ameliorations introduced into the administration of justice, and the measures adopted to carry the police to the highest degree of perfection. He then mentioned the sums devoted to those objects the most material for public utility; and successively called the attention of his auditors to the fine roads undertaken over the Simplon, Mount Cenes,

and from Mount Genevre across the Maurienne, and the rocks between Genoa and Toulon; he also enumerated the many roads completed, or commenced, in different parts of the empire; the immense labours undertaken for improving the ancient routes; of the bridges built or rebuilt over the Rhine, the Meuse, the Loire, the Cher, the Loing, the Rhone, the Saone, the Durance, the Isere; the towing-paths along the sides of many rivers; the Po made navigable; of the six great canals, and others less important, commenced, traced or projected, and all intended to unite the two seas by means of internal navigation, or to connect the rivers of France so as to open new channels for commerce; of the establishment of swing, or chain-bridges throughout the empire; of three lines of telegraphs, and a better organization of bridges and causeways. The minister pointed out the two new cities built in the room of those destroyed during the civil wars in the departments of Morbihan and La Vendée, besides basins which had been dug in thirty-five ports, sluices, canals, quays, jettys, and moles established or repaired, ports enlarged, &c. &c.

M. de Champagny afterwards referred to the capital, which he said had received more embellishments in the course of one year during the war, than formerly during the space of half a century of peace. The governors of the hospitals *the Mont de Piété*, and other charitable foundations, had, under the Emperor's inspection, been charged with a responsibility for the application of their funds; the poor protected from usury, whilst the bank of France had undergone a new organization. These improvements alone were sufficient to expose the injustice of some of Napoleon's enemies, who did not blush to compare him to the chief of the Huns, the barbarous Attila!

The passage made by Napoleon over the Simplon has been barely mentioned; but, it is quite impossible for

language to convey any adequate idea of this wonderful undertaking. To be described, it must be seen. It combines throughout, the awful and the sublime, with the picturesque and the beautiful. There is not, perhaps, any place in the world, where the astonished traveller will perceive, in such *rapid succession*, the wildest and rudest scenery intermingled with smiling vallies and cultivated fields. This astonishing monument of human labour and ingenuity, extending from Geneva to Milan, was constructed by order of Bonaparte, under the direction of M. Ceard, on whom it confers immortal honour.

In the course of this grand route, more than forty bridges of various forms, are thrown from one wild chasm to another, numerous galleries, or subterranean passages, are not only cut through the solid rock, but through the *glaciers* also;—those "thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice"—and if to these we add the aqueducts that carry off the water; the grand canal; the walls that support and flank the whole of the route, together with the innumerable works of art which must necessarily enter into, and form a part of this more than Herculean work; we are at a loss which most to admire, the genius which contrived, or the skill which executed so stupendous a work. More than 30,000 men were constantly employed in this undertaking, which was finished in 1805, after three years' incessant labour. The road is now wide enough to admit three carriages abreast, but until the year 1801, it was impassable.

On the 30th of March Prince Joseph had been proclaimed King of Naples and Sicily; the principality of Guastalla was transferred to the Princess Pauline, sister to Napoleon, under the title of Duchess of Guastalla; and that of Neufchatel to Marshal Berthier, by the title of Prince of Neufchatel.

On the 5th of June, the Grand Seignior, having previously acknowledged the Emperor Napoleon, Mouhib

Effendi, ambassador extraordinary from the Porte, had his first audience of Napoleon, at Paris.

On the same day his Majesty proclaimed his brother Louis, King of Holland; and an Imperial decree was passed, transferring to M. Talleyrand the Principality of Benevento, under the title of Prince; and by another decree, Bernadotte, Marshal of the Empire, was nominated Prince of Ponte Corvo.

One of the last acts of the senate this year, was to grant the levy of 80,000 men out of the conscription for 1807: thus lightly were two conscriptions levied in the same year, by which a dangerous precedent was established for similar anticipations, which afterwards proved so disastrous to the French people. The prospect at that period, however, was encouraging and flattering to French valour, which, by the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz, had excited the admiration of Europe, and left France without a rival on the Continent.

CHAP. XVIII.

Entrance of the French Army into Naples—Siege of Gaeta—Causes of the Disaffection of the Neapolitans towards the French—Landing of the British Troops, under General Stuart, in Calabria—Affair near St. Euphemia, called the Battle of Maida, on the 4th of July—Repulse of the French—Insurgents, how collected—March of the English towards Maida on the 8th—Humanity of General Stuart—Cruelty of the Neapolitans at Strongoli and Ciro—Gernalis, a Chief of the Banditti—Swiss Soldiers in the French pay mistaken for English—Attack upon Lagro Negro—Departure of General Stuart and Sir Sidney Smith—Destruction of the Banditti, called the Royal Masses—Capture and Death of Fra Diavolo, viz. Brother Devil—Causes of the War between France and Prussia—The Kings of Sweden and Prussia—Hostile disposition of Russia towards Napoleon—Louis Bonaparte appointed King of Holland—Confederation of the Rhine—Napoleon leaves Paris to head his Army—The Prussian Ultimatum—Proclamation to his Soldiers—The Prussians out-manœuvred—Affair near Saalfeld—Death of Prince Louis—Battle of Jena—Blameable Conduct of Bernadotte—The nick-named Emperor—Napoleon at Weimar—Anecdotes—Slaughter of the Prussians near Halle—Anecdote—The French enter Berlin—Proclamation—Blucher made prisoner, &c. &c.

BETWEEN the 12th and 15th of February this year, the French army made its entrance into the kingdom of Naples. The Russians who came to the assistance of the Queen, were under General Lascy;—when, to aggravate the vio-

lation of the treaty concluded with Napoleon only two months before, the Court of the Two Sicilies confided the city of Naples to a garrison of eighteen hundred English. Upon this the French ambassador took down the arms of France from the gates of his palace, and demanding his passports, retired to Rome. But the Russians did not await the attack of the French, as an order arrived from the Emperor Alexander for them to re-embark without delay, and to remain in the Ionian Islands till further orders.

Gaeta added to its natural strength, situated upon a rock, and a peninsula near the sea, was commanded by the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt, an old soldier, a German by birth, and strongly attached to the Bourbons. The siege was consequently protracted a considerable time; but the French general granted the commandant, who had been badly wounded, and the garrison, very handsome terms, and they marched out of the place, July 17. During this siege, King Joseph put a question to the grenadiers in the trenches, to know which they liked best; to be there, or at the camp? "To be here," said they, "if the assault was to be given without delay; but in the open field, if we could see our enemy." The surrender of Gaeta set at liberty sixteen thousand of the besieging army.

The zeal, real or pretended, with which the Neapolitans received the new king imposed upon them by Napoleon, soon began to cool in a very sensible degree. The principal places at court were given to the French; the imposts had not been lowered, the luxury of the new court, the affluence of Naples, and a crowd of French and Italians who came there to mend their fortunes, were the causes of that discontent which threatened to become general. Three months had scarcely elapsed since the enthronement of King Joseph, and the fermentation was already very high in some of the provinces. Arbitrary

contributions imposed by the agents of government, and even by some of the French generals, had quite changed the pacific disposition of the inhabitants. The Calabrians, who under the ancient dynasty had been accustomed to a kind of independence, bore the French yoke with the greatest degree of impatience, and were evidently preparing for an insurrection. Accordingly, in a council held at Palermo, at which the English commandants by sea and land were present, a descent in Calabria was resolved upon.

On the 1st of July, 1806, a convoy carrying troops, was observed coming out of the port of Messina under the protection of several English ships of war. This fleet made sail towards Stromboli, and afterwards disembarked the troops opposite St. Euphemia. These consisted of six thousand British, and three thousand Neapolitans of the line, who were to be joined by four thousand insurgents that had been in readiness for some time. This army was under the command of the English General Stuart. General Reynier, left in Calabria by King Joseph to govern that province, hastened on the first arrival of this intelligence, to collect all the disposable troops that could be spared. The division under his orders was composed of the first and twenty-third regiments of light infantry, the forty-second of the line; two battalions of the first Swiss regiment, the ninth of the horse chasseurs, and a battery of horse artillery. These troops were in cantonments at a considerable distance from each other, and the English general hoped to profit by the delay which collecting them would occasion, by advancing up the country, and forming a junction with the bands of insurgents then organizing. On the 3d of July the French advanced guard was in presence of the Anglo-Neapolitan army in bivouac at the foot of the hill upon which St. Euphemia is built; its left was supported by this little town, and its right by the sea. General Sir

James Stuart had chosen this as the most favourable position for preserving his troops from the pestilential air which infected the marshes of St. Euphemia at this season of the year. The French division passed the night of the 3d of July in the woods of Fundaco del Fico.

General Stuart, on quitting his position on the 4th, formed the order of battle in a parallel line with the shore, his right was supported by the mouth of the river l'Amato. General Reynier then gave orders to General Compere, who commanded the advanced guard, to cross the Amato under the protection of some companies of voltigeurs, who cleared the little wood and the bushes upon the right bank; but the numerous tiralleurs that the enemy sent towards this point, repulsed the French voltigeurs before General Compere could form his brigade. The whole of the English line moving forward at this instant, they engaged in a cannonade and a warm discharge of musquetry, which did considerable execution in the French brigade, still suffering by the disorder occasioned by a precipitate formation. In a few minutes they had from six to seven hundred men killed and wounded. General Compere rallying his troops, had an arm broken by a cannon ball. Unfortunately the greatest part of the division was still at too great a distance to remedy this first check, and the retrograde movement of the advanced guard, threw the rest of the troops passing the Amato, into confusion. The twenty-third regiment of light infantry alone had the firmness to arrest the progress of the enemy, and cover the retreat of the division to Catanzaro, through the valley of the Amato. The brave conduct of Colonel Abbé, who commanded the twenty-third regiment, procured him the rank of a general of brigade. This affair in the English annals, was called the battle of Maida.

The noise of the cannon in the plain of St. Euphemia, had drawn together numerous detachments of armed pea-

sants, which were followed by the sounding of the tocsin in all the surrounding villages, whilst the white flag being hoisted upon the steeples, the insurrection became general. Mechanics quitted their work-shops; pastors abandoned their flocks to increase the organized bands, and collected in all parts to fall upon the isolated French, and as this enraged populace were soon in want of victims, they pillaged the houses of the rich inhabitants, whom they accused of being partizans with the French, and frequently killed, seldom sparing, women or children. The small French posts established to keep open a correspondence, were carried off, though some few escaped the general massacre, almost by a miracle. The inhabitants of Cassano having basely assassinated some French soldiers left in the hospital there, many of their houses, by way of retaliation, were afterwards pillaged and burnt by General Verdier's division.

In the meanwhile General Reynier effected his retreat in good order to Catanzaro, taking with him the greatest part of the wounded in the affair upon the borders of the Amato: his dispatches sent from that place to King Joseph, were fortunate enough to arrive.

The English under General Stuart, being arrested in their progress by the intrepidity of the twenty-third under Colonel Abbé, did not persist in following the French in their retreat, either because he did not chuse to venture into the interior, or because he thought his victory would be improved by the exasperation of the Calabrian insurgents. But the French, so far from being broken, had still a sufficient force to cope with the latter, though twelve thousand of them had blocked up General Reynier in Catanzaro for some time.

The English general, after the battle of the 4th, availed himself of remaining in the environs of St. Euphemia, to send part of his artillery back to Sicily, as being of little use in a mountain warfare; when, after embarking his

wounded and prisoners, he began his march to Maida on the 8th of July. Here being informed of the excesses in which the inhabitants had indulged themselves against the French who had fallen into their hands, he was much displeased, and published a proclamation ordering these massacres to cease, and promising ten ducats as a reward for each French private, and fifteen for each officer, brought safe and sound to his head-quarters. This measure, though late in its adoption, saved the lives of many individuals of the French army.

The forts of Scylla and Reggio were soon after surrendered to the English, and the troops sent to France upon their parole. Strongoli having refused to furnish General Reynier with provisions, was carried by assault, and pillaged and burnt in a few hours. Previous to Reynier's arrival, the inhabitants had surprised seventeen French soldiers, whom they threw into an infected dungeon, where they were nearly famished. However, their number was thus cruelly lessened every day: one of them was taken out, and literally cut in pieces before his comrades. When the place was carried, the French liberated ten of these victims, whom their enemies had not time to massacre.

Seeing this vengeance inflicted on Strongoli, the little town of Ciro hastened to offer the French division whatever was necessary; this act of prudence, however, was considered as such a crime by the surrounding villages, that no sooner had the French departed, than their arms were turned against Ciro, and the richest of the inhabitants were pillaged without mercy. In fact, the rich inhabitants at other places were not only pillaged, but massacred and imprisoned, and thus forced by this atrocious persecution to throw themselves into the arms of the French for protection. To these unfortunate emigrants the insurgents gave the odious name of *Jacobini*. In places where the rich were sufficiently numerous to

hold the rest of the population in check, they declared openly against these bands, who called themselves *the Royal Masses*. Many towns and villages sustained a regular siege against this banditti; amongst these, Ciro was particularly distinguished. Over the greatest part of this banditti, it seems there was a kind of commander-in-chief, named *Gernalis*, and who, for some unknown reason, was called the *English General*. He issued orders in the name of the King of England, levied heavy contributions in money, which he sent on board the squadron on the coast, under Sir Sidney Smith. However, many French owed their lives to Gernalis, whose manners bespoke a man of good education, speaking Italian, French, English and German, with fluency. The English found him extremely useful in levying contributions.

General Reynier having arrived at Rossano, the inhabitants offered him a considerable sum, if he would leave them a garrison of 300 men, with whom they would undertake to defend themselves; but this he declined, and even advised them, on his departure, to hoist the white flag. When the same division presented themselves before Corgliano, the municipality, encouraged by the banditti, dared to write under the requisition for provisions sent into the town, "Come and take them." Out of a French column ordered to approach this place, twenty men were killed by the fire from an ambuscade. Reynier then ordered his troops to fall back; this induced the banditti to follow, and spread themselves over the plain, uttering the most horrible cries. The chasseurs, however, waiting the favourable moment for charging this rabble, fell upon them, and made a great carnage, whilst the infantry entered the town at a quick pace, and carried all before them. General Reynier's express command could not prevent some houses from being burnt; and the soldiers made an immense booty, finding in one house alone eighty thousand ducats. The inhabitants being thus taken

by surprise, had not time to conceal their most valuable property. Amongst the troops under General Reynier were two Swiss battalions: from their red uniforms, the insurgents understood them to be English. After Reynier had arrived at Cassano, where he had formed an entrenched camp, these Swiss were one night sent out, and ordered to make a considerable detour, for the purpose of deceiving the insurgents. Arriving before a village about day-break, a body of the former, seeing them proceed without making any shew of hostility, and deceived by their red uniforms, made no doubt that they were English that had been disembarked during the night, and approaching them with shouts of joy, were received by a dreadful fire of musketry, and immediately charged with the bayonet, by which they lost nearly 1000 men; and the Swiss returned to the French camp with two white flags, and loaded with the spoils of the enemy.

Notwithstanding these successes, frequently attended with dreadful reprisals, the defeat of the insurgents in a great measure only seemed to call up more combatants; and in addition to these, sickness had made such ravages, that before the end of the summer, the French about Cozenza had lost nearly two thousand men, and among them, General Vintimille and the colonel of the 110th regiment. By these means the army was much discouraged: in fact, every province had its chief of banditti, and no roads were safe without numerous detachments, not even that from Monteleone to Naples. They even attacked Lago Negro, which, as the *depôt* of the munitions of the army, had been fortified by the French; but this rash attempt cost them a defeat, and between five and six hundred men.

During this time, the English thinking the French sufficiently engaged with the insurgents, and their General Stuart, indignant at being employed in a kind of warfare at once ignoble and atrocious, which the British ministry

had condemned him to carry on, embarked for Sicily on the 5th of September. On the 16th of the same month Sir Sidney Smith, mortified by the bad success against the Isle of Procida, set sail with the flotilla under his orders for Messina. Before his departure, he had frequently landed galley-slaves and other banditti upon different points of the coast between Terracina and Gaeta, from the Isle of Capri, which had been the general rendezvous for persons employed in raising insurrections in the north of the kingdom. After the departure of the English, they were soon destroyed or dispersed. But one of the banditti, the celebrated Fra Diavolo, (brother devil), continued to ravage the environs of Arpino for some time. Pushed by the French detachments, he at length took refuge in the town of Sora, where he intrenched himself, walling up the gates, destroyed all the bridges over the Garrigliano, and established a battery at the only place where the river was fordable. But notwithstanding these defensive measures, exhibiting more talent than could have been expected from an apostate monk, the passage of the river was forced, and Sora carried by assault. Many of the brigands were put to the sword, and others saved themselves in the mountains, whilst the place was pillaged by the soldiery. Fra Diavolo, who disappeared in the midst of the combat, wandered about with a few followers for some time; but being at length deserted, he was delivered up to the French by the inhabitants of a village where he had taken refuge. At the place of execution, his cowardly behaviour formed a singular contrast with the vigour and ferocity of his character when he had arms in his hands. His letters, containing his correspondence with the English, and the court of Palermo, were of a curious description.

Such was the situation of the kingdom of Naples towards the end of 1806.

We have previously noticed the symptoms of hostility

ready to break out between France and Prussia. Nothing but the irresolution of Frederick William retarded this event. The attractions that the possession of Hanover offered to this prince, seemed to have been the only cause of slackness in his preparations. The misunderstanding excited between the cabinets of London and Berlin, was evident in the public acts of the month of March, 1806, when the King of England declared by his minister, that he could not acquiesce in the cession of his electoral estates: however, the Prussians still continued to occupy the fortress of Hameln on the 26th, and a few days after the King of Prussia published an edict, according to which, the shutting of his ports against the English was authorized, in the same manner as had been practised whilst Hanover was occupied by the French.

The King of Sweden, immoveable in his affection for the English, and irritated by the proceedings of Frederick William, gave vent to his feelings in menaces and complaints; but did not wish to try the chances of war with a power so formidable as Prussia: he therefore concentrated in Pomerania, that army which he intended should take part in the operations of the coalition lately dissolved by the treaty of Presburg, and only left some detachments in Lauenberg, which country his treaties with England obliged him to defend. In consequence of the contradictions that then signalized the conduct of the King of Prussia, and at the moment when he was openly at variance with two powers lately his allies, this prince proceeded in great pomp to Stettin, attended by his whole court, there to review the troops that had just evacuated Hanover, and to load them with testimonies of his affection and esteem. In the beginning of April, the ports of Embden and East Friezeland were added to those that had been previously shut against the English. The civil occupation of Hanover was completed at the same time; the authorities being called upon to take an

oath of fealty to the sovereign, whilst the Prussians assumed a hostile aspect towards the Swedes, as if they meant to compel them to evacuate Lauenberg. This ended in an open rupture, and the evacuation of Pomerania by the Swedes, after an action fought on the 27th of April, and embargoes mutually laid on the shipping of both these powers. Still the forbearance of England towards Prussia, and of Prussia towards England, led politicians to believe, that both powers were acting in concert to deceive Napoleon, and to give the King of Prussia time to put his army upon the most respectable footing. However, though it might have been expected that the generous treatment which the Emperor Alexander had received after the battle of Austerlitz, would have inspired him with pacific sentiments, the Russian army had scarcely got out of its critical situation in Moravia, scarcely had the Russian generals and the emperor's guards been sent home without being exchanged, when orders were given to the Russian troops to occupy the mouths of the Cattaro, upon the coasts of the ancient Venetian Albany, ceded by Austria to France, from whence the Russians were afterwards driven, as also out of Dalmatia. But to strengthen himself against all these new combinations, Louis Bonaparte, as King of Holland, was called upon to act in concert with the new "Confederation of the Rhine," which detached almost all the German princes from the Emperor of Germany, and placed them as tributaries and vassals under the power of Napoleon. This treaty of the Rhenish Confederation was signed at Paris on July 12, 1806. About this time a treaty of peace, negotiated between the Russian counsellor of state, M. D'Oubril, and General Clarke on the part of France, was disowned by the Emperor Alexander, on the ground of that minister's going beyond his instructions. Other negotiations, between Lord Lauderdale and the French government, shared a similar fate.

Prussia too, appeared most seriously inclined to make use of the weapons against France which she seemed to have been preparing against Sweden. Sweden was devoted to Russia, and Prussia was sold to England.

Notwithstanding the protestations that the Prussian government renewed almost daily through its minister at Paris, towards the middle of August her preparations assumed such a decided character, that their real object could be no longer concealed. About the same time Napoleon took possession of the fortress of Wesel, near the Rhine, which was one of the grievances alledged. Still, though M. De Lucchesini had been recalled from Paris, General Knobelsdorf was dispatched with a friendly letter from the King of Prussia to Napoleon, and the French ambassador at Berlin was treated with consideration.

On the 21st of September, the Emperor Napoleon wrote to the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingent troops for his army, which was complied with, according to treaty. On the 25th, Napoleon quitted his imperial residence, to place himself at the head of his army, and arrived at Mayence on the 28th; and on the 1st of October he passed the Rhine. Whilst here, it seems he received the Prussian *ultimatum*, delivered by General Knobelsdorf, and transmitted to Napoleon from Paris. In this he was called upon to renounce the kingdoms of Holland and Italy, and threatened with the displeasure of Prussia, if his troops were not withdrawn from Germany, and made to cross the Rhine.

Napoleon could not finish reading the document that conveyed these demands, but threw it down with contempt. Alluding to the King of Prussia, he exclaimed, "Does he think himself in Champagne? Does he want to give us a new edition of his manifesto? What! does he pretend to mark out a route for our march back?

Really I pity Prussia. I feel for William. He is not aware what rhapsodies he is made to write. This is too ridiculous. Berthier, they wish to give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th; a beauteous queen will be witness to the combat. Come, let us march on, and shew our courtesy. We will not halt till we enter Saxony." Then turning immediately to his secretary, he hastily dictated this proclamation:

"Soldiers! The order for your return to France was issued. You were already within a few days' march of your homes: triumphal *fêtes* awaited you, and the preparations for your reception had commenced in the capital; but while we thus too confidently resigned ourselves to security, new plots were hatching, under the mask of friendship and alliance. Cries of war have been raised at Berlin, and for two months we have been provoked with a degree of audacity that calls for vengeance. The same faction, the same headlong spirit which, under favour of our internal dissentions, led the Prussians fourteen years ago to the plains of Champagne, still prevails in their councils. If they no longer wish to burn and destroy Paris, they now boast their intention to plant their colours in Stuttgard, the capital of one of our allies. They would oblige Saxony, by a disgraceful transaction, to renounce her independence, by ranking her in the list of their provinces. They seek, in fine, to tear your laurels from your brows. They expect us to evacuate Germany at the sight of their army. What madness! Let them learn, that it would be a thousand times easier to destroy the great capital, than to sully the honour of the great people and their allies. In their former attempt, the plans of our enemies were frustrated. They found in the plains of Champagne, only shame, defeat and death; but the lessons of experience are forgotten, and there are men in whom the feelings of hatred and jealousy never become extinct. Soldiers, there is not one of you

who would wish to return to France by any other path than that of honour. We ought not to return except beneath triumphal arches. What! have we braved the inclemency of the seasons, the ocean, and the desert; have we subdued Europe, often united against us; have we extended our glory from east to west, only to return now like deserters; and are we to abandon our allies, and then to be told, that the French eagle has fled in dismay before the Prussians?

"But they have already arrived at our advanced-posts: let us then march upon them, since forbearance will not check their infatuation. Let the Prussian army experience the fate it shared fourteen years ago. Let us teach them, that if it be easy to obtain an increase of territory and power, with the friendship of the great people, their enmity, provoked by the neglect of prudence and reason, is more terrible than the storms of the ocean."

The Emperor quitted Bamberg on the 8th at three in the morning; and arrived on the same morning at Kronach. Every corps in the army was then in motion. The French soldiers had no wish but to combat. The Prussians occupied Schleitz, where General Tauenzien had six thousand Prussians and three thousand Saxons: on the 9th they were there charged and routed, and a thousand prisoners taken. After this success, the French were soon in possession of the whole course of the Saale. The Duke of Brunswick had calculated upon the idea of coming up with the French army upon the Maine, occupying their wings by detached corps, and upon penetrating their centre before they could concentrate their forces. By the aid of spies, it is said, he at this time knew the force and route marked out for each corps marching against the Prussians, and he had no doubt of anticipating them. Napoleon took a pleasure in cherishing this deception, and whilst the Duke of Brunswick made certain that the French would debouch by Kœnigshaften,

it appeared their movements on his centre were merely a *ruse de guerre* made to mislead him, and to prevent him from debouching by the forests of Thuringen, whilst they proceeded towards Cobourg and Memmingen, through woody and mountainous countries, where the Prussian cavalry would be sure to be crippled in their operations. As it was of the utmost importance to anticipate the French, the Duke of Brunswick hurried to Kœnigshaften.

Napoleon marched on Schleitz with the first corps, sixty leagues from the presumed point of attack. The third corps remained quietly at Naumburg, in the rear of the Duke: hostilities had been commenced only two days, when that prince, already uncovered on his left, found his communications with the Elbe in danger.

On the 10th of October, near Saalfeld, the division under the orders of General Suchett fell in with the Prussian advanced guard under Prince Hohenlohe, commanded by Prince Frederick Christian Louis of Prussia, charged with defending this post and the bridge over the Saale. A cannonade commenced, and was continued nearly two hours. A brigade of hussars, part of the French advanced guard, charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry; then advancing at a charging pace, they threw the Prussian infantry into disorder; these were partly driven into the marshes, and partly dispersed in the woods. Prince Louis of Prussia, cousin-german to the King, fought with great intrepidity at the head of his cavalry; but in their retreat, being pursued by a French quarter-master named Guinde, he called to him to surrender. The prince stopped, turned round, and fought boldly with his intrepid adversary, when Guinde, ignorant of his rank, bade him surrender, otherwise he was a dead man. The answer he received was a blow on the face with a sabre. Thus under the necessity of defending himself, he ran his sabre through

the body of the prince, who fell dead at his feet. Two of the prince's aide-de-camps were killed by his side. Guinde himself was afterwards killed at the battle of Hanau, in 1813.

The Duke of Brunswick's advanced guard, on arriving on the Maine, found no enemy! This circumstance seemed unaccountable, and yet the Duke did not suspect the danger to which he was exposed. He retraced his steps in haste, and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar and Prince Hohenlohe were called upon to move, whilst the army of reserve made a forced march. Some of these mistook their route, and others did not use sufficient dispatch, whilst the Duke, disconcerted by a system of movements so new to him, knew not what course to adopt. Seeing his left wing about to be turned, he hastily rallied his army of reserve, advancing upon Halle, and left Prince Hohenlohe at Capellendorf to mask the retrograde movement. His troops, who had not shared the disasters of Saalfeld and Schleitz, ridiculed the beaten corps, in shouting "The King for ever! The Queen for ever!" Resolved to avenge the affront offered to the Prussian arms, they seemed to say, "there were not Frenchmen enough for them." The Duke himself had also recovered his confidence. On the road to Jena he found not more than thirty chasseurs stragglers. He thought it was not easy to surprise a skilful manœuvrer like himself. Hohenlohe's corps were encamped behind the heights of Jena; their masses extended beyond Weimar, and as far as the eye could reach. Napoleon reconnoitred them on the evening of the 13th, and fixed upon the following day for the attack. In the night he issued orders for the movements of the different corps. "Davoust," he is reported to have said, "must march on Apolda, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy's army: he may take what route he may think most expedient. If Bernadotte be at hand he may support him." In the meanwhile the Duke of Bruns-

wick flattered himself that the French could not debouch; but the axes of their pioneers removed every obstacle, and during the night a rock was cut through, and a passage made for the French artillery.

All the troops that occupied the plain of Jena were under arms by day-break: a thick fog then obscured the horizon; the Emperor Napoleon rode through the ranks, advising the soldiers to be upon their guard against the Prussian cavalry, who were looked upon as extremely formidable. He then reminded them, that about the same time a twelvemonth before, their valour had decided the fate of Ulm; that the Prussian army having lost their line of operations and their magazines, were confined much in the same manner as the Austrians were at Ulm; that they no longer fought for glory, but to secure their retreat; and that if they should succeed in endeavouring to fight their way through at any point, the corps who should suffer them to pass, would lose its honour and character. The soldiers answered this animated discourse, by demanding to be led against the enemy, and the cries of *forward!* and *let us march!* were heard from all parts.

The battle commenced on the right and left; the conflict was terrible. Davoust in particular, was placed in a situation sufficient to try a man of the most determined courage and firmness. Bernadotte refused to support him. He paraded round Apolda, while 26,000 French troops were engaged with 60,000 picked men, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick and the King of Prussia. Thus, says General Gorgaud, he caused the death of five or six thousand Frenchmen, and hazarded the success of the day, for which he experienced a very short disgrace. Napoleon on this occasion observed, that Bernadotte did not behave well; that he would have been pleased had Davoust been defeated; that Gascon will never do better; "but," added he, "the affair re-

flects the highest honour on the conqueror, and the more so, as Bernadotte rendered his situation a difficult one. Davoust," said he, "has had a terrible engagement: he had King William and the Duke of Brunswick opposed to him. The Prussians fought desperately."

In fact, it appears from Napoleon's own Memoirs, that "the conduct of Bernadotte at Jena was such, that the Emperor had signed the decree for bringing him before a council of war, and he would inevitably have been shot, so general was the indignation of the army against him; he had nearly occasioned the loss of the battle. It was out of regard for his wife, that the Emperor destroyed the order at the moment he was about to put it into the hands of the Prince of Neufchatel. Bernadotte commanded the first corps, of about 18,000 men; he arrived at Naumburg, in the rear of Marshal Davoust, who commanded the third corps, of about 30,000, to defend the defile of Kosen, and the field of battle at Averstadt. Half Davoust's corps had already passed the Saale, when Bernadotte arrived, and offered to head the column, upon the foolish pretext that his corps was No. 1. Davoust, with reason, opposed this, representing that it would occasion the loss of valuable time, and would confuse the troops in a defile, which would be productive of much mischief. Bernadotte then raised his camp and marched towards Dornburg: at break of day he passed the Saale there. Precisely at this time Davoust was attacked by the King of Prussia, at the head of 60,000 of his best troops. He then felt severely the loss of the corps under Bernadotte. At Dornburg this marshal had still an opportunity of retrieving his error, by falling upon the rear of the Prussian army; but he contented himself with parading his troops, without firing a shot: the generals, officers and soldiers, evinced the bitterness of their indignation in loud accusations of treason."

Davoust's plans were so well laid, his generals and his troops displayed such skill and courage, that Blucher, who had 12,000 cavalry, had not the satisfaction to penetrate through a single company. The king, the guards, and the whole army, attacked the French without obtaining better success. Amidst the deluge of fire that surrounded them on all sides, they preserved all their national gaiety. A soldier nick-named *the Emperor*, impatient at the obstinacy of the Prussian guards, exclaimed, "On with me, grenadiers! Come, follow the Emperor!" He rushed into the thickest of the battle, the troop followed him, and the enemy were penetrated: he was made a corporal.

Near Jena the victory was no less brilliant, the route was complete. At night the wreck of the Prussian army was pursued; some Saxon battalions were taken, and the French entered *pêle mêle* with them into Weimar. All the court, with the exception of the Grand Duke, were here. General Rapp allows that some *slight* disorders took place on this occasion.

Murat took up his quarters at the castle. Napoleon was highly satisfied: the courage of the Duchess of Weimar astonished him. He did not imagine the court would have waited for him, and he often repeated, that he did not like the family.

After the battle of Jena, the Prussians ardently wished for peace, and some of their generals seemed persuaded that an armistice had actually been granted. Kalkreuth announced it; Blucher swore that it was concluded. Marshal Soult, however, was not to be deceived. He refused a passage to the Prussian troops he had cut off. "Lay down your arms," said he; "I must receive the Emperor's orders. You shall retire, with his permission. We have been too often deceived." Kalkreuth refused to submit, and hostilities were renewed. The village of Greuffen was taken, and the enemy routed. Some other

columns that had used the same artifice escaped for a time, but were obliged to surrender some leagues further on.

About this time, the King of Prussia, disheartened by his misfortunes, addressed a letter to Napoleon, very different from his last. "It would have been better," said Napoleon, "if he had explained himself two days sooner; but no matter, I am willing to accede to any thing compatible with the dignity of France. I will send Duroc to the King of Prussia. But there is something still more necessary: proceed to Naumburg, to Dessau, and wherever we have wounded troops; see that they want for nothing; visit them for me, each man individually. Tell them—tell the marshal, that he, his generals, and his troops, have acquired everlasting claims on my gratitude." Not satisfied with this message, he wrote to Marshal Davoust, and the letter was inserted in the order of the day; even the wounded men could not refrain from expressing their satisfaction.

The French infantry gave fresh proofs of their valour, and sustained their reputation in the battle of Jena. In one of the charges which the division under Morand had to sustain from the numerous cavalry under Prince Henry, the 17th regiment, before presenting arms, placed their caps at the ends of their bayonets, crying *Vive l'Empereur!* "Why not fire then?" exclaimed Colonel Lanusse, who apprehended the enemy would be upon them before they were ready. "Oh, time enough for that," they replied, "at fifteen paces; you shall see." In fact, a murderous discharge at this distance made the Prussians turn their horses' heads and retire.

The ardor of the troops in general on this important day was such, that some corps, which circumstances prevented from taking part in the engagement, loudly expressed their dissatisfaction. One of these traits sufficiently characterize the soldiers, and the Emperor

under whose eyes they fought. Early in the battle of Jena, whilst the French cavalry were anxiously expected, Napoleon seeing his wings in a state of agitation, being threatened by the enemy's cavalry, set off at full gallop to direct the manœuvres, and change the front into squares. The infantry of the Imperial guard seeing all the rest of the troops engaged, whilst the Emperor left them in inaction, many voices were heard crying *forward!* "Who is that?" said the Emperor, smartly, and presenting himself in the front of the battalions,—"This is some beardless young man, who wishes to anticipate what I intend to do. Let him wait till he has commanded in thirty pitched battles, before he pretend to give me advice."

The Emperor established his head-quarters at Weimar. The Duchess of Weimar, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, preserved the noble pride of the ancient Germans. When all the persons of her family saved themselves at Brunswick, where the unhappy issue of the battle of Jena was already known, she had the courage to shut herself up with her ladies of honour in her chateau at Weimar. Herself and small society, during the terrible day of the 14th of October, tasted no other refreshment than some cups of chocolate. The state apartments were prepared for Bonaparte. When he arrived at the castle, some days after, the duchess having quitted her apartment, placed herself at the head of the grand staircase, and received him with all suitable respect. "Who are you?" said he, drawing back.—"I am the Duchess of Weimar."—"I pity you," replied he; "I will crush your husband. Let me dine in my own apartments." Afterwards he passed hastily by her. The night was passed in disorder and tumult. The unhappy duchess heard the distressing cries of her people, but could not assist them. However, early in the morning, she had the presence of mind to send one of her cham-

berlains to inquire after the health of his Majesty, and to request an audience. This step, suitable to the ceremony of courts, put Napoleon in mind of his quality as Emperor, and also in that respect, of the duty due from him to a sovereign princess. He sent a polite answer, and invited himself to breakfast with the duchess. Scarce had he entered the apartment, ere he began with his usual vivacity to question the duchess: "How could your husband be such a fool as to make war on me?"—"Your Majesty would have despised him, if he had not;" was the noble answer of the princess.—"How so?"—The duchess solemnly and gravely replied, "My husband has been in the service of the King of Prussia these thirty years, and certainly it was not a time for my husband with honour to quit him, at the moment he had so able and powerful an enemy as your Majesty to contend with." This admirable reply, as full of dignity as address, made a deep impression on Bonaparte; his features relaxed, and he continued questioning in a milder manner: "How comes it that the duke attached himself to Prussia?"—"Your Majesty shall hear from information, that the younger branches of the House of Saxony, the dukes, have always followed the elector's example; now, in the present crisis, wise and political motives have engaged the elector to unite himself with Prussia rather than Austria." The conversation continued some time longer on the same subject. At length, Napoleon said, "Madam, you have saved your husband. You are the most respectable lady I ever knew." Afterwards, repeating his expressions of respect, he added, in an insolent manner, "I pardon him, but solely on your account; he himself is but an indifferent subject." The princess made no reply: as a good mother, she remembered she was surrounded by unhappy children, for whom it became her far better to intercede; she did so, and succeeded; for she obtained of the conqueror, his

promise to spare the inhabitants of her duchy: and Napoleon acknowledged she was an amiable and sensible woman, and of dignified manners.

Napoleon confessed, that in the night before the battle of Jena, he had been exposed to the most imminent danger. He might have disappeared then, without any one clearly knowing his fate. He had approached the bivouacs of the Prussians in the dark, to reconnoitre them, having only a few officers about his person. The French army was almost every where on the alert, from the persuasion that the Prussians were strongly addicted to nocturnal attacks. Returning from this party, the Emperor was fired at by the first sentinel of his own camp, which proved a signal for the whole line; and Napoleon had no resource but to throw himself flat on his face till the mistake was discovered. His principal apprehension, however, was not realized; he feared that the Prussian line, which was very near him, would have acted in the same manner.

Whilst the French were following up their advantages, the Prussians were rallying their scattered forces at Magdeburg. The Duke of Wirtemburg, one of their generals, had already taken a position at Halle, and Bernadotte was marching upon him. He attacked the Prussians with the bayonet, killing and routing all that dared to oppose him. The slaughter was dreadful; and Napoléon visiting the field of battle next day, was struck with the sight of the heaps of dead which surrounded the bodies of the French soldiers. Observing on the uniforms of some of them the buttons of the 32d, he said, so many of that regiment had been killed in Italy, in Egypt, and elsewhere, that he thought none could then remain.

Arriving at Dessau, Napoleon treated the old duke and his son with much consideration. This venerable prince was really a father to his subjects. In the meanwhile the Prussians flying towards Magdeburg, took refuge

behind the intrenchments, where they were soon compelled to lay down their arms. The king himself narrowly escaped being taken. All the French corps were marching towards Berlin; but the honour of taking possession of that city, Napoleon had reserved for Davoust's corps, which had contributed so much to the victory at Jena. On the way to Potzdam, the troops were overtaken by such a violent storm, that Napoleon, though wrapped in his grey military great coat, was obliged to enter a house, where he was astonished to see a young female, a native of Egypt, who was much agitated at his presence, bestowing upon him the same religious veneration which he had been accustomed to receive from the Arabs. She was the widow of an officer in the army of the East, and had a son, for whom Napoleon undertook to provide, and granted her a pension of 1200 francs. "This," said Napoleon, "is the first time I ever took shelter against a storm, and I felt a presentiment that a good action awaited me."

The court had fled with such precipitation from Potzdam, that nothing had been carried away. Even the sword of Frederick the Great, the belt, and the cordon of his orders, were left here. Napoleon, taking possession of these, said, "I prefer these trophies to all the King of Prussia's treasures. I will send them to my veterans who served in the campaign of Hanover. I will present them to the governor of the Hospital of the Invalids, who will preserve them as a testimony of the victories of the army, and the revenge it has taken for the disasters of Rosbach."

After having visited, with religious veneration, the vault where the remains of the Great Frederick were deposited, he found them in a coffin of cedar covered with copper, without ornament, trophy, or any inscription that might recal the feats that immortalize this royal warrior.

At Potzdam Napoleon was overwhelmed with deputa-

tions. The envoy of the Duke of Brunswick, who now recommended his subjects to the generosity of the French, was not received with the same courtesy as the rest. "If," said Napoleon, "I were to demolish the city of Brunswick; if I were not to leave a stone of the walls standing, what would your prince think of me? And yet the law of retaliation would allow me to do in Brunswick what the duke would have done in my capital. To announce the design of destroying cities, may be the act of a madman; but to attempt to sully the honour of a whole army of brave troops; to wish to mark out a course for us to quit Germany, merely on the summons of the Prussian army, is a fact which posterity will not easily credit. When a general has grown grey in the career of arms, he should know how to respect military honour. It was not certainly in the plains of Champagne that the duke acquired the right of insulting the French standard. The disgrace does not attach itself to the King of Prussia, but to the general to whom, in the present difficult circumstances, he resigned the management of his affairs. His example served as an authority to impetuous youth, and led the king to act in opposition to his own opinion and positive conviction. However, Sir, you may assure the inhabitants of Brunswick, that the French will prove themselves generous enemies; and that the evils which may arise from the passage of troops through their territory, is contrary to my wish. Tell the Duke of Brunswick that he shall be treated with all the respect due to an enemy's officer, but that I cannot acknowledge one of the King of Prussia's generals as a sovereign. If the House of Brunswick should forfeit the sovereignty of its ancestors, the blame must rest with the author of the two wars, who in the one, wished to sap the very foundation of the great French capital, and in the other, attempted to cast disgrace on 200,000 brave troops. Much blood has been shed within these few days. Prussia is the vic-

tim of great disasters; and she may justly blame the man, who with a word might have averted them, if, like Nestor, he had raised his voice in the council."

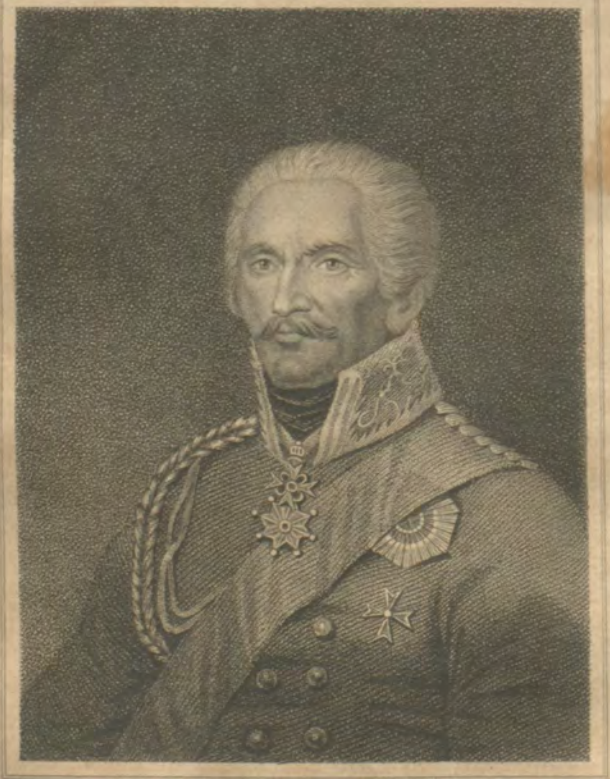
Spandau having been surrendered to Marshal Lannes, it was visited by the Emperor, and narrowly inspected. Napoleon visited the Princess of Hesse at Berlin, and she inspired him with the most favourable sentiments towards her. The day after he entered the Prussian capital, he addressed his army with the following proclamation:

"Soldiers! You have fulfilled my expectations, and justified the confidence of the French people. You have endured privation and fatigue, with courage equal to the intrepidity and presence of mind which you evinced on the field of battle. You are the worthy defenders of the honour of my crown, and the glory of the French people. So long as you continue to be animated by the spirit which you now display, nothing can oppose you. I know not how to distinguish any particular corps. As the result of our campaign, one of the first powers in Europe, which lately proposed to us a dishonourable capitulation, has been overthrown. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the rivers Saale and the Elbe, which our fathers would not have crossed in seven years, we have traversed in seven days; in that short interval we have had four engagements and one great battle. Our entrance into Potzdam and Berlin had been preceded by the fame of our victories. We have made 60,000 prisoners, taken sixty-five standards, among which are the colours of the King of Prussia's guards, six hundred pieces of cannon, and three fortresses. Among the prisoners there are upwards of twenty generals. But notwithstanding all this, more than half our troops regret their not having fired a single shot. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power. Soldiers, the Russians boast of coming to meet us, but we will advance to meet them;

we will save them half their march: they will meet another Austerlitz in the midst of Prussia. A nation who can so soon forget our generous treatment of her after that battle, in which the emperor, his court, and the wrecks of his army, owed their safety only to the capitulation we granted them, is a nation that cannot successfully contend with us. We will not again be the dupes of a treacherous peace. We will not lay down our arms till we compel the English, those eternal enemies of France, to renounce their plan of disturbing the Continent, and relinquish the tyranny which they maintain on the seas."

Soon after this proclamation had been issued, the Emperor proceeded to the camp, and reviewed the third corps: every individual who had particularly distinguished himself, was promoted or received a decoration. Marshal Davoust, in answer to Napoleon's compliments, assured him that this corps would always be to him what the tenth legion was to Cæsar.

The troops again rushed forward to pursue the wrecks of the Prussian army. Hohenlohe and all his corps, artillery and baggage, were expected by Napoleon to fall into his hands in a few days, and every thing happened nearly as he foresaw. Thus, when twenty-five thousand picked troops defiled before the Emperor, with forty-five standards and seventy-four pieces of artillery, transported with his success, he said, "This is well; but we have not got Blucher, who is so clever at making extemporary armistices. We must have him also." He immediately wrote the following lines to Murat: "Nothing is done, so long as any thing remains undone. You have turned Blucher's cavalry; let me soon hear that his force has experienced the fate of Hohenlohe's troops." Blucher continued to fly, not knowing where he went. "What does he intend," said Napoleon? "Whither is he going? he will scarcely throw himself into Holstein, for once



Engraved by Heywood from an original Painting

Field Marshal,

PRINCE BLÜCHER

of

Wahlstatt.

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there, he cannot recross the Elbe: we shall soon have him here." Blucher laid down his arms some days after, having violated the Danish territory only to protract the inevitable surrender of 21,000 men, the standards, and last artillery of the Prussians. "Well," said Napoleon, on learning this news, "they are now advancing with the Austrians. They will be more reserved in future; they will say nothing more about Ulm. In three weeks they have four times renewed the fault committed there. Blucher must be sent to France, to Dijon; there he may amuse himself in forging armistices." The French marshals, however, generously made interest for Blucher, pleading that he had laid down his arms, and that it was necessary to make some allowance for his hussar habits. Napoleon acknowledged the justice of their observations, and Blucher was permitted to retire to Hamburgh.

Blucher, however, soon grew tired of that city, and earnestly entreated permission to reside in the vicinity of Berlin; when, wishing to avail himself of the influence which General Rapp possessed over the Emperor Napoleon, he wrote to him as follows:

"MONSIEUR LE GENERAL,

"Your excellency will probably remember that I had the honour of becoming acquainted with you some years ago, on your journey to Munster; and the marks of attention you then condescended to shew me, induce me to hope, that the unfortunate situation in which I am now placed, will not be absolutely indifferent to you. I take the liberty of addressing your excellency, to entreat your intercession with his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, that he may graciously order passports for myself, the two officers, my sons, and the rest of my family, to enable us to retire to the environs of Berlin, or into Pomerania, to one of my estates. Having lost

all by the chances of war, I find it impossible to support the expences attending a residence in a city, where every thing is so enormously dear as at Hamburgh. Moreover, I am in ill health, and I feel that it is only by being in the bosom of my family, and leading a very retired life, that I shall be able to recover myself. These reasons, and the generosity of his Majesty the Emperor, induce me to hope, that he will deign to relieve my painful situation, by permitting me to make choice of a place of residence: and the protection which your excellency may condescend to grant me, in this affair, will add feelings of the deepest gratitude, to the sentiments of high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"BLUCHER, Lieut.-Gen."

Napoleon saw no sufficient reason for granting this request: he was by no means ignorant of the influence of Blucher's character, and the consequent danger of his residence in or near Berlin. Blucher's letter to General Rapp, however, and the treatment he received from the French generals at this period, forms a striking contrast with the comparative ferocity of his own conduct, when a change of fortune in the years 1813 and 14, had put so many French officers into his power.

CHAP. XIX.

Magnanimity of Napoleon towards the Princess de Hatzfeld—Count de Neale and the Prussian Ladies—The Duke and Duchess of Weimar—Results of the Battle of Jena—Prussian Bulletin—Several Anecdotes—Suspension of Arms in favour of the Saxons—Conduct of the Prussian Officers before and after the Battle of Jena—Napoleon at Berlin—Surrender of Prince Hohenlohe, Marshal Kalkreuth, &c.—Attack upon Lubeck—Anecdotes of the Prussian Captain Kolner, of General Blucher, and a French Private—March of Marshal Mortier from Mayence against Hesse Cassel and Hanover—Occupation of Hamburgh, Bremen, and the Hans Towns—The Berlin Decree—Recapitulation of the Successes of the Campaign—Napoleon's arrival at Posen and Warsaw—Military Operations in Poland—Battles of Pultusk and Golymin—False Reports circulated by General Bennigsen—Flight of the King of Prussia and his Court to Kœnigsberg—Treaties at Tilsit—Marshal Brune enters Swedish Pomerania—Napoleon's Triumphant Entry into Franckfort—Arrival at Paris—Speech of the President of the Court of Appeals—Napoleon's Address to the Legislative Corps—Abolition of the Tribunate—Distressing March of the French Troops from Bayonne, through Spain and Portugal—Entrance into Lisbon—Superstition of the Portuguese Population.

WHILST Napoleon was at Potzdam, Prince Hatzfeld had been sent as a deputy from the city of Berlin, and had been well received. But taking upon himself to render an account of the French troops in the capital, and those he had met on the road, the ammunition, &c. to Count Hohenlohe, his letter was intercepted, and put

into the hands of Napoleon, who delivered it to General Rapp, with orders to arrest the prince, and send him to the head-quarters of Marshal Davoust. M. Rapp, with the Marshals Duroc and Berthier, endeavoured in vain to appease the anger of Napoleon. M. de Hatzfeld, he said, had transmitted reports relative to the military affairs, quite unconnected with his mission, and had evidently acted the part of a spy; and in spite of all persuasion to the contrary, he ordered a military commission to be summoned, who were to pronounce a sentence which was to be executed before six in the evening. Fortunately, as General Rapp was proceeding to give the necessary orders, he met the Princess de Hatzfeld; told her of Napoleon's displeasure, and directed her to endeavour to interest Prince Ferdinand in favour of her husband. On General Rapp's arrival at the place soon after, he found her in one of the corridors, when announcing her name to the Emperor, she threw herself in tears at his feet. This princess was in a state of pregnancy. Napoleon was moved by her situation. "Your husband," said he, "Madam, has brought himself into an unfortunate scrape. According to our laws, he deserves death. General Rapp, give me his letter. Here, Madam, read this." The lady trembled exceedingly; Napoleon told her to put the letter into the fire, which the princess did immediately. "Now I have no other proof against the Prince of Hatzfeld, Madam," said he; "therefore he is at liberty." He was immediately released from his confinement, and returned to his family.

The Emperor looked upon this prince as one of the principal instigators of the war. Another Prussian gentleman, the Count de Neale, against whom the same objection was made, having ventured to appear before Napoleon at Potzdam, met with a most repulsive reception: "Well, Sir," said the Emperor, "you and your ladies wished for war; now you see the results of it. You had

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Magnanimity of Buonaparte

better have minded your family affairs." Some letters from the count's daughters had been intercepted, in one of which this phrase occurred: "Napoleon wishes not for war, but we must make it against him."—"No," added the Emperor, "I did not wish for war; not that I distrusted my power, as you may imagine; but because the blood of my people is dear to me, and that it is my first duty not to shed it, but for their safety or their honour. The people of Berlin have been the victims to this war, whilst those who caused it have escaped. I will reduce these nobles to such extremities that they shall be obliged to beg their bread."

Envoys soon after arrived at Berlin from all the courts of Germany, petitioning Napoleon to shew favour to their respective princes; but he would not hear the name of the Duke of Weimar mentioned, being as indignant against him as he was favourably disposed towards the duchess, whom he styled his *cousin;* a distinction which was then of no small importance. The Elector of Hesse, also, wished to treat; but Napoleon was so much offended with him, that he would not receive his envoy. "As to him," said he, "his reign is ended."

The results of the termination of the battle of Jena were many, and of much importance to Napoleon. The Oder was crossed without loss of time. Marshal Davoust's corps having suffered the most in these movements, was ordered to occupy Naumburg, Freyburg, and the heights between these places, to give his troops a day's rest, upon the left bank of the Unstruth. It would be difficult to paint the terror into which the grand catastrophe at Jena had thrown both the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country. Nothing could place the general alarm in a stronger point of view, than the phrase inserted in the Berlin Gazette on the following day: "The royal army has been defeated at Awerstadt; but the king and his brothers are alive." In

fact, after this disaster, no more hope remained for the Prussian government. Every place, the capital not excepted, had opened its gates to the victorious army; five days had in a manner decided the fate of the monarchy, founded and augmented by the sword, and lately so flourishing.

Several anecdotes bear witness to the general panic that prevailed after that battle had taken place. Some of the troops under Marshal Bernadotte coming unexpectedly upon the Prussian battalions stationed by Marshal Kalkreuth on the road to Erfurt, threw down their arms, as it were simultaneously. It seems they had no apprehension of meeting with the enemy in that quarter. A Captain Leseur, aide-de-camp to General Drouet, with a few orderly cavalry, took four companies of Prussian infantry, who surrendered to him at discretion, notwithstanding their proximity to a thick wood, into which they might have thrown themselves with security.—A gendarme who accompanied a detachment of the fourth hussars as a volunteer, attacked seven or eight of the enemy who had the charge of a piece of cannon, which he took from them, and with three prisoners conducted to the French camp.

Whilst the French were at Weimar, the Prussian General Schmettau died of the wounds he had received in the battle of Jena. The conduct of Napoleon on this occasion had the effect of reconciling the inhabitants to the French soldiers in a considerable degree The Emperor ordered a whole regiment under arms, to attend the funeral procession in a grand style. Four superior officers supported the pall, and one of them delivered an oration over the grave, couched in terms most affectionate and honourable towards the deceased.

The King of Prussia, who for a short time had taken refuge at Magdeburg, escaped from the place, by breaking through the weak cordon with which it had been

at first invested. Marshal Ney having completed the blockade, the Prussian officers, so arrogant at the commencement of the campaign, were now much changed. They loudly solicited for peace. Several generals, and especially Prince Hohenlohe, said to General Belliard, during an interview with the governor of Magdeburg, "What does your Emperor want? Will he continually pursue us with the sword in our loins? We have not had a moment's repose since the battle of Jena." They had solicited a truce for three days to bury the dead; to which the Emperor answered, "Let them think of the living; we will bury the dead; there is no need of a truce for that."

The bridge of Dessau having been restored, a suspension of arms was tacitly agreed upon between the major-general of the French army and the Saxon generals, by means of which, and their renouncing every idea of making common cause with the Prussians, the troops of Frederick Augustus retired to Meissen, after having delivered over to the French the greatest part of their cavalry horses. Through this arrangement, the estates of the Elector of Saxony, excepting the line through Leipsick, were declared neutral. This convention was ratified by the Emperor Napoleon at Wittemburg on the 23d of October. On the 25th Marshal Lannes took possession of Potzdam without any resistance. On the afternoon of the same day Napoleon arrived there, and visited all the positions about the place, as well as the chateau royal of Sans Souci.

Napoleon quitted Potzdam for Berlin, where he made his public entrance on the 27th of October. The magnificent appearance of this capital on its first view, and about Charlottenburg, and passing through the gate of the same name, added splendour to the triumph of the French monarch. The corporation, presented by General Hulin, appointed commandant of the place, came to

meet the Emperor and do him homage, by presenting the keys of the city. This deputation, composed of the Prince de Hatzfeld and several other persons, were all, with the exception of the prince, admitted to the Imperial audience; he, on the contrary, was ordered to quit Berlin, and retire to his estates. The ministers of the friendly powers were honoured with the privilege of being presented to Napoleon, as were also the Protestant clergy of the two confessions. The descendants of the French protestants received from Napoleon the assurances of his good will, and the interest he took in protecting their worship and their privileges. In the interim, the public tranquillity was so well secured, that the inhabitants of Berlin could scarcely perceive that their city was occupied by foreign troops. Things went on in their ordinary way; the play-houses were open, as in the time of profound peace; and the French actors represented the exploits of the grand army; but with that delicacy so peculiar to the nation, the subjects they adopted for the stage were not connected with the history or the affairs of Prussia.

The taking of Prentzlow was not among the least fortunate events of the campaign, where the Prince of Hohenlohe surrendered with sixteen thousand infantry, and almost all the Prussian royal guard, or *corps d'elite*, six regiments of cavalry, forty-five standards, and sixty-four pieces of artillery with their carriages. This affair put into the hands of the French all that had escaped of the king's household troops at the battle of Jena. Besides, Prince Hohenlohe, who succeeded the Duke of Brunswick as commander-in-chief, and Field-Marshal Kalkreuth, a Prince of Mecklenburg Schwerin, and several other generals, were among the prisoners.

Berthier wrote to Murat, to call his attention to the Duke of Weimar, and mentioned that, independently of the little detached Prussian columns, three principal ones

still remained at large: Hohenlohe's, Blucher's, and the Duke of Weimar's. However, the duke, weary of sharing the disasters of the Prussian army, negotiated, and transferred the command of his troops to Blucher.

During the short but obstinate attack upon Lubeck, defended by Blucher, an event occurred, which a French historian could not pass over, on account of its singularity. A Prussian captain of the name of Kolner, had been employed previous to the campaign of 1805, by the Prussian General Lestocq, in the topographical surveys of Hanover, taken in concert with the French engineers, and was by these means particularly acquainted with many officers of the 92d, then in garrison in that country. Some time after the occupation of Hanover by Marshal Mortier, Kolner was one day conversing with his new acquaintance, upon the symptoms of war that began to shew themselves in Germany, and on the possibility of Prussia taking part against France; when the officers said jestingly, "Make yourself easy, captain, if ever we go to war with Prussia, and you should have to do with our regiment, you and your men shall be well treated." It so happened, that after Lubeck had been invested by the 92d, the Prussian Captain Kolner was seen by the officers, and called upon to surrender to his old friends. At this unexpected summons Kolner seemed thunderstruck, delivered up his sword, and ordered his men to lay down their arms, which was fortunate, as the French were just upon the point of levelling at them within musket shot. Kolner, as it may be supposed, was very well received by the officers, whilst the privates, in imitation of their leaders, were not less polite to his men. His sword was returned to him, and Marshal Bernadotte, to whom the affair was related, offered him his purse, and obtained leave for him to return to his home at Dusseldorf. Affected by this generous treatment, Kolner re-

solved never more to bear arms against the French, and remained true to his word.

Before General Blucher capitulated at Lubeck, he advanced alone to make the first proposals to the tiralleurs of the 27th light infantry, when seeing one of the voltigeurs, the French soldier approaching him without any apprehension, asked him what he wanted? Blucher then told him his name—"Well," said the voltigeur, "if you really are that Blucher that we are pursuing, give me your word of honour that you mean to capitulate in good earnest, otherwise I shall not let you pass; for you ought to know, general, that this is not a time for passing jokes; we must put an end to this business, and you are very near to the sea." Blucher, who could not help smiling at this kind of reasoning, pledged his word to the voltigeur, who conducted him to Colonel Charnottet, and this officer immediately put a stop to the firing of his tiralleurs.

Early in October, 1806, a new army of French and Dutch troops had been collected in the environs of Mayence; with these Marshal Mortier was now ordered to advance towards the frontiers of Hesse Cassel, whose sovereign had acted with the Prussians. Cassel having surrendered to this force, the Hessian troops were ordered to lay down their arms as prisoners, or to enter into the French service. After this, the eighth corps of the grand army marched towards Hanover and Hamburgh, to shut the rivers Elbe and Weser against the English. Hameln and Niemberg soon capitulated, which example was followed by Hamburgh and Bremen; and thus the French for a time became masters of all the Hanseatic Towns, and the rivers that run into the North Sea and the Baltic.

The war with Prussia in this quarter was now terminated. Of an hundred and fifty thousand men that had formed the enemy's grand army, seven-eighths had been

killed, wounded, or made prisoners. About twenty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, remained to King Frederick William, shut up in Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Kœnigsberg, and other places in Silesia and the Duchy of Warsaw. The king, the queen, the chanceries, and some generals, had sought an asylum in Kœnigsberg, the capital of Eastern Prussia, and this brought about the proposals for an armistice on the part of Prussia, which Russia would not permit her to conclude. It was whilst waiting for the ratification of this armistice on the part of Prussia, that Napoleon issued from his palace at Berlin, that famous decree that was to place the British islands in a state of blockade, and to serve as the basis of a Continental system, the principal object of which was the humiliation of the naval power of England.

By way of recapitulating the extraordinary successes of this short campaign, it may be necessary to recollect, that the first affair between the French and the Prussians took place at Schleitz on the 9th of October; that of Saalfeld, where Prince Louis of Prussia was killed, was on the 10th. The battle of Jena was fought on the 14th. Erfurt capitulated on the 16th. On the 17th Napoleon was at Weimar; on the 18th the Prince of Wirtemburg was beaten at Halle; on the 24th the Emperor arrived at Potzdam; Spandau capitulated next day. In the affair of Zehdenick on the 26th, six thousand Prussian cavalry were defeated by the Grand Duke of Berg; on the 28th Prince Augustus and Prince Hohenlohe were defeated and made prisoners at Prentzlow. Stettin was taken on the 29th of October; and on the 1st of November Marshal Mortier seized on Hesse Cassel. On the 7th Lubeck was taken, and Blucher capitulated at Shwartow, with 21,000 men. Magdeburg surrendered on the 8th; Posen was taken by Marshal Davoust on the 10th; Hameln in Hanover capitulated on the 20th; and Niemburg four days

after. Hamburgh, Bremen, &c. were occupied by French troops, preparatory to the issuing of the Berlin decree.

Napoleon left Berlin on the 25th of November, 1806, and arrived at Posen on the 27th, and the next day gave audience to several deputations from the Poles. Marshal Duroc continued his journey to Osterode, where he found the King of Prussia, who informed him, "that a part of his states were in the possession of the Russians; that he was dependent upon them; consequently he could not ratify the armistice which had been concluded by his envoy, because it was not in his power to fulfil the stipulated conditions." The Grand Duke of Berg, with a part of the cavalry of the reserve, and the corps under Marshals Davoust, Lannes, and Augereau, entered Warsaw on the 28th and 29th. The Russian General Bennigsen, who occupied the city, evacuated it on hearing of the approach of the French; Prince Jerome, with a corps of Bavarians, was at Kalitch, and all the rest of the army at Posen. Previous to the entrance of the French into Warsaw, some smart skirmishing had taken place between the French and Russian advanced guards, and the former made a number of prisoners. The Russians retreated over the Vistula, and burnt the bridge after they had passed.

The unfortunate but brave Poles, on contemplating the French, fancied they beheld the legions of the great Sobieski returning from a military expedition; but Napoleon could not make them a positive promise of their restoration as a kingdom; his observation on the subject was, "that if the match should once be lighted, there was no knowing how long it might continue to burn." Napoleon arrived at Warsaw on the 19th, where he remained till the 23d. Several corps had been already pushed over the Vistula, the Narew, and the Bug; redoubts, bridges, and *têtes-de-pont*, had been formed, and

the Russian detachments were repulsed wherever they presented themselves. On the 24th and 25th of December the French had made between fifteen and sixteen hundred prisoners, taken thirty pieces of cannon, three pair of colours, and a standard. Marshal Ney was not less successful on the following day against the Prussian General Lestocq at Dzcaldow and Mlawa, called Soldau in the bulletins.

The battle of Pultusk on the 26th of December, which General Bennigsen represented to his sovereign as a victory obtained over a part of the French army, and which was celebrated as such by the Russian clergy in all the churches, certainly was in effect one of the rudest shocks the French had sustained since their entrance into Poland, where their infantry felt the need of all their intrepidity, to preserve their superiority over the Russians, who had never behaved better than on this occasion. The cavalry conducted themselves with equal bravery.

In General Bennigsen's report to the Emperor Alexander, he accused Buxhoeden of neglecting to come to his assistance, in crushing that part of the French army with which he was engaged, though this general, he says, was not four leagues from Pultusk. The fact is, that Buxhoeden himself was attacked at Golymin, from whence he retreated during the night, much about the time that Bennigsen evacuated Pultusk. Bennigsen, a Hanoverian by birth, exhibited a similar example of bad faith, in the report which he gave of the battle of Eylau. In the battle of Golymin, General Fenerolle was killed by a bullet; General Rapp received a musket shot, and Marshal Augereau had a horse shot under him.

During these proceedings Marshal Soult marched towards Makow, to cut off the retreat of the enemy's columns, but the wretchedness of the roads and the weather, saved the Russian army from an entire defeat. They nevertheless lost eighty pieces of artillery, twelve hundred car-

riages, and from ten to twelve thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The rest retreated to Ostrolenka.

The news of the pretended victory over the French at Pultusk, reached Kœnigsberg on the 29th of December, and Bennigsen's false bulletin, read in all the squares in the town, excited a general joy. Public rejoicings were ordered on the same occasion; but dispatches from General Lestocq, and particularly the arrival of some officers on the 31st, well informed of all the details of this business, put an end to the illusion. The King of Prussia and his court now thought of nothing but quitting Kœnigsberg; their treasure, their most precious effects, and the chancery, were packed up in the greatest haste, and directed to Memel. The queen, whose health began to decline, embarked on the 3d of January, 1807, for that place, where, three days after, she was joined by her unfortunate spouse.

CHAP. XX.

Operations in Silesia—Napoleon's generous Treatment of the Saxon Princes—Swedish Pomerania invaded by Marshal Mortier—Line of Defence upon the Vistula—Battle of Mohringen—The Russians driven from Bergfried—Affairs at Deppen and Wattendorf—Defeat of the Prussian General Lestocq—Hoff carried—Battle of Eylau—Proclamation—Anecdote of Captain Auzoni—Defeat of the Russians at Ostrolenka—Surrender of Schweidnitz and Glatz—Success of Mortier in Pomerania—Affair of Braunsberg—Investment of Colberg and Dantzick—Battle of Friedland—Proclamation—Meeting of the two Emperors upon the Raft—Arrival of the King and Queen

of Prussia at Tilsit—Treaties at Tilsit—Marshal Brune enters Swedish Pomerania — Napoleon's Entry into Frankfort—Arrival at Paris—Speech of the President of the Court of Appeals—Napoleon's Address to the Legislative Corps—Abolishment of the Tribunate—Distressing March of the French Troops from Bayonne, through Spain and Portugal—Superstition of the Portuguese Population.

SUCH had been the success of the French during the short campaigns of 1806, that, including all the Prussian garrisons in Silesia, in Dantzick, &c., not more than seventeen thousand men remained; in fact, the king had ordered some of the new levies to be disbanded, as he was without the means of arming or clothing them. Still, though hostilities had ceased in Poland at the end of 1806, they were continued in Silesia with activity. Jerome Bonaparte, brother to the Emperor, was charged with reducing all the strong places in this province, which the French army, in its rapid march, had left behind it. Plassenberg, near Culmbach upon the Maine, in Franconia, soon surrendered with a garrison of six hundred troops of the line, besides invalids. Glogau was the next place invested, and the conduct of the siege left to General Vandamme, which place capitulated with two thousand five hundred troops. General Vandamme was next ordered to invest Breslau; but being much stronger than the French conceived it to be, this obliged them to construct a number of works. The Prussian governor being also encouraged to hold out, in expectation of relief from the Prince of Anhalt, and a number of the country people under him, he did not surrender the place till the 5th of January, 1807, and even then he was only apprehensive that the setting in of the frost would enable Vandamme to carry it by a *coup de main*. In the defence of Breslau, the Prussian artillery particularly distinguished itself, and

proved that it belonged to a good school. The garrison remained prisoners of war, but the officers were liberated upon their parole not to serve against the French.

It should have been observed, that eight days after the battle of Jena, Napoleon having generously sent home the Saxon prisoners serving under the Prussians, he granted a cessation of all hostilities against the Elector Frederick Augustus, but placed French commandants at Dresden, and every other place of importance in Saxony, till the conclusion of a definitive peace, which was signed at Posen on the 11th of December, when the Elector was admitted into the Confederation of the Rhine, and received the title of King, with the prospect of an increase of power. The Ducal House of Saxony was not less fortunate, though every branch of it, excepting that of Gotha, had taken an active part in the war against France. In fact, the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, the reigning Duke, and Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Weimar, furnished their contingents of troops, and even served in the Prussian armies. Peace, however, was signed with these princes, and the Dukes of Saxe-Memmingen and Hildburghausen, at Posen, and all the princes of the ducal household were admitted into the confederation. The Emperor Napoleon was less generous to three other sovereign princes connected with Prussia. The old Duke of Brunswick died in the beginning of November, 1806, in a miserable village near Altona, not far from the field of Rosbach, once so glorious for him: his death was occasioned less by his wounds, than vexation at seeing the Prussian monarchy overthrown in one day, and himself and his children deprived of their estates. George William, the Elector of Hesse Cassel, and the Prince of Nassau Fulda, were also deprived of their territories by the formal declaration of Napoleon.

The duration of the winter quarters in which the French armies had been placed, lasted no longer than

the weather would permit. After the loss of Breslau, the following were the only places that remained to the King of Prussia: Schweidnitz, Neiss, Glatz, Kosel, Silberberg, and Brieg, in Silesia; Graudentz, Kœnigsberg, Elbing, Stargardt, Colberg, Memel, Dantzick, and the fortress of Weichselmunde, upon the Vistula and the Baltic. Brieg surrendered on the 11th of January, and Schweidnitz was soon invested in form. Swedish Pomerania was invaded by Marshal Mortier, and Stralsund invested. The Swedish troops were driven from every place at which they made a stand; but General Victor, whom the Emperor intended should cover the siege of Colberg, was made prisoner by a detachment of cavalry, but afterwards exchanged for General Blucher.

Napoleon well knew, that unless he established a line of defence upon the Vistula, the Russians might possibly surprise the rear of his army in Eastern Prussia and this part of Poland. This line extended to the Baltic sea, and was brought as near as possible to Kœnigsberg. The labours upon this line were begun almost as soon as the Vistula was passed, and had been completed with equal care and dispatch. Six thousand men had been continually employed in forming the entrenched camp before Praga, near Warsaw. It was composed of three lines, capable of containing from fifty to sixty thousand men. The works before Zakroczyn were judiciously disposed. The different places on the Vistula, as Wyzogrod, Plock, Dobrzyn, Bobrownik, &c. down to Thorn, were equally fortified at all points which might facilitate the passage of that river. The right bank was lined with troops, and the advanced posts extended to the Bug, the Narew, and the little river d'Orzgc. In these works, and upon this line, the French army reposed almost the whole of the month of December. Towards the beginning of January 1807, movements on both sides seemed to indicate more serious operations. It appeared the Rus-

sians had adopted a vast plan of defence. Their generals seemed to have regained confidence, on seeing Napoleon stop in the midst of the advantages he had gained, and imputed that to fear, which in him arose from motives of prudence. They could not imagine what other reason he could possibly have for going into cantonments upon the Vistula.

But upon the very first movement made by the Russian army, Napoleon having partly anticipated their plan of attack, ordered Bernadotte to fall back, to encourage the enemy in the prosecution of his designs. This movement had the desired effect; and on the 25th of January, Bernadotte had orders to proceed with the division of General Drouet to Mohringen, where he fell in with the Russians, attacking General Pacthod in his position. The action soon became general, and terminated gloriously, especially as a part of Bernadotte's troops had marched several leagues, to arrive at the field of battle. The loss of the Russians was considerable; that of the French was from two to three hundred killed and wounded. They thus arrested the enemy at the commencement of his march, astonished him by their unexpected success, and in some measure damped the hopes conceived by the general-in-chief, of taking the French by surprise. Bernadotte had orders to continue his retrograde movement to Thorn, to draw the Russians nearer the Vistula; but the officer who carried these orders being taken by the Cossacks, the Russian general avoided the snare laid for him.

Bergfried being attacked by Marshal Soult on the 3d of February, the Russians retired to Liebstadt. The next day there was another affair near the village of Deppen; and on the 5th the whole of the French army was re-united there. Upon the heights of Watterdorf, beyond Deppen, the Grand Duke of Berg found eight or nine thousand cavalry; he ordered several charges, and compelled

the enemy to retreat. Marshal Ney overtook a Prussian column under General Lestocq, endeavouring to effect a passage through Deppen. This general was completely routed, abandoned all his cannon and baggage, and two thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. In consequence of these movements, the Russians lost a part of their line of communication; their depôts at Liebstadt and Guttstadt, and their magazines upon the Aller.

On the 6th of February the rear-guard of the Russian army was attacked near Hoff, and the village carried. The Russians continued their retreat; but on the 7th, at day-break, the French advanced-guard overtook them about a quarter of a league from Prussian Eylau, when a sanguinary engagement took place, especially with the Russians who had been stationed in the church and church-yard of this place. At ten at night both these positions were carried, the town of Eylau taken, and the streets covered with dead bodies. The Emperor then caused the division of Legrand to advance beyond the town, and that under St. Hilaire to move to the right: Augereau's corps was placed in the rear of Eylau, upon the left; and the Emperor fixed his head-quarters upon the plain behind Eylau, in the midst of the infantry of the guard; and in these positions the army passed the night between the 7th and 8th.

At break of day, on the 8th, the Russian army, eighty thousand strong, appeared in columns within half cannon-shot of Eylau, with a formidable artillery in its front, which soon commenced a warm cannonade upon the division of St. Hilaire, and upon the town. To answer this terrible fire, the Emperor repaired to the position near the church, and besides the artillery of the two corps under Soult and Augereau, ordered all that of his guard, consisting of sixty pieces, to advance. Augereau's

corps was drawn up in two lines towards the left of St. Hilaire's division, and between that and the church-yard, so obstinately defended on the preceding night. The Emperor arrived near the church at the moment when a line of the enemy's tiralleurs were advancing to get possession of this post, but the dispositions he ordered paralized their attack.

The violent and well-directed fire of the French artillery caused great ravages in the enemy's masses: to withdraw from this, they made a movement to their right, to carry the position at a wind-mill, at the extremity of the left of Leval's division, formed to the left of Legrand's corps, and some of the first houses in the town. In this critical situation, Napoleon ordered St. Hilaire's division to move upon the extremity of the enemy's left, whilst Augereau's divisions, formed in columns, debouched upon the centre of the same line, to repulse the Russian tiralleurs who had advanced to the foot of the little hill upon which the church and church-yard of Eylau are situated. These troops, and some other divisions, were intended to form an oblique line, which, by distracting the enemy's attention, was to prevent him from advancing against Marshal Davoust, who had arrived on the right, upon the left flank of the Russians. Scarcely had this movement disengaged the French left, when the atmosphere was suddenly obscured by a thick fall of snow, which covered both armies. During this obscurity, which lasted half an hour, the head of Marshal Augereau's column lost its way, and went too far to the left. When the sky cleared up, the Emperor, to remedy this false step, ordered the Grand Duke of Berg to place himself at the head of the divisions of Milhaud, Klein, Grouchy, and d'Hautpoult, and sustained by Marshal Bessieres at the head of the cavalry of the guard, to turn the division of St. Hilaire, in order to fall upon the enemy's right flank.

This manœuvre was executed with equal precision and intrepidity. The Russian infantry impetuously charged, was overthrown, and lost the artillery in their front.

Affairs then took a new direction: the enemy, supported by the woods near the village of Klein Sausgarten, was obliged to deploy, and extend upon their right. During the darkness before mentioned, a Russian column of five or six thousand men losing their way, presented themselves before the cemetery, when the advance of a battalion of the grenadiers of the Emperor's guard suddenly arrested the march of this column. At the same time another squadron near the Emperor, fell upon this terrified body with the rapidity of lightning. They had begun to give way, when General Bruyeres, at the head of a brigade of chasseurs, charging them in their rear, completed their route. Few were saved out of the six thousand that composed this unfortunate column. During this time, Marshal Davoust arrived upon the height of Klein Sausgarten, driving before him some of the enemy's tiralleurs; he soon found himself on the right of St. Hilaire's division, who had driven the left of the Russians from the plain before the village, the height of which the French ascended, and whence the enemy endeavoured to dislodge them three times successively, without effect. The French army was then placed obliquely with respect to Eylau, which supported its left, having its right on the plain, and near the woods that the enemy had occupied during the day, and was thus master of the field of battle, and the enemy in full retreat.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Prussian division under General Lestocq was seen to arrive on the extreme left of the French army, near the village of Altdorf, closely pursued by Marshal Ney. The head of this corps, consisting of grenadiers, seeing the Russian columns retreating towards Kœnigsberg, quickened their pace to come to their assistance. The enemy's rear-

guard wished to take possession of the village of Schnaditten, to give time to the wounded and the artillery to file off; but this they found already occupied by Marshal Ney's advanced-guard. Six battalions of Russian grenadiers arriving at this village, were received by a discharge of musketry within-pistol shot, and were afterwards charged with the bayonet. The remains of the enemy's rear-guard completed their retreat in disorder, and night put an end to the pursuit.

The charge executed by the Grand Duke of Berg, and that of the Imperial guard, were among the most brilliant. Twenty thousand infantry overthrown, had abandoned their artillery, and the victory would then have been decided, had it not been for the wood of Sausgarten and the inequality of the ground.

The sight of the field of battle offered a dreadful spectacle. Nine thousand dead were counted, two-thirds of whom were Russians. The French had nearly six thousand wounded. On the 9th, at day-break, the Grand Duke of Berg pursued the enemy for the space of ten leagues, without seeing a single detachment of cavalry. His guards took a position within half a league of Kœnigsberg.

Such was the issue of the battle of Eylau. Half of the French army were not engaged, and the other obtained the victory by efforts almost unheard of, and by means of dispositions made at the moment by the Emperor. The Russians carried sixteen thousand wounded into Kœnigsberg; forty-five pieces of cannon remained with the French, and twelve thousand prisoners, including those made on the days preceding this great battle. The French army remained on the field of battle nine days, having determined to give the troops some repose. The following proclamation was inserted in the order of the day for the 16th of February:

"Soldiers! We had begun to take a little repose in

our winter-quarters, when the enemy attacked the first corps, and shewed themselves on the Lower Vistula. We marched against him, and pursued him eighty miles. He has taken refuge under the ramparts of his strong-holds, and retired beyond the Pregel. In the battles of Bergfried, Deppen, Hoff, and Eylau, we have taken from him sixty-five pieces of cannon, sixteen standards, and killed, wounded, and made prisoners, 40,000 men. The heroes who on our side have remained on the field of battle, have died a glorious death. It is the death of true soldiers. Their families will always have a just claim on our care and beneficence. Having thus defeated all the enterprises of the army, we shall return towards the Vistula, and resume our winter-quarters. Those who shall dare to disturb these quarters, shall repent it; for whether beyond the Vistula, or on the other side of the Danube; in the midst of winter, or in the beginning of autumn, we shall always be French soldiers, and soldiers of the grand army.

"The battle of Eylau was a scene of carnage, which lasted from morning till night. The Russians attacked three French divisions, all of which would have been destroyed, if Soult and Ney had not come to their assistance about noon. Napoleon, in a grey riding coat and Polish cap, at the head of his guards, led on the attack. The bullets whistled around, and a shell burst within a few paces of him. Augereau's arm was broken, and Lasnes was wounded, but not severely.

"At the beginning of this contest Augereau was scarcely in his senses, from the severity of rheumatic pains to which he was subject; but the sound of the cannon awakens the brave: he flew in full gallop to the head of his corps, after causing himself to be tied on to his horse. He was constantly exposed to the hottest of the fire, but was only slightly wounded. After the battle, Napoleon passed several hours upon the field, a horrible

spectacle, but which duty rendered necessary. Let any one figure to himself, the space of a square league covered with nine or ten thousand dead bodies; four or five thousand horses killed; whole lines of Russian knapsacks; broken pieces of muskets; the ground covered with cannon balls; twenty-four pieces of cannon, near which were lying the bodies of their drivers, killed at the moment they were striving to carry them off: all rendered the more conspicuous from the ground being covered with snow.

"In a few days after, the Emperor Napoleon sent to Paris sixteen stands of colours taken at this battle. His Majesty ordered the cannon to be melted down, and made into a brazen statue of General d'Hautpoult, in the uniform of his regiment. This gallant officer commanded the second division of cuirassiers, and was killed in the action."

The sixty-third bulletin, dated Osterode, February 28, 1807, records the following heroic trait: Captain Auzoni, of the Imperial horse-guards, mortally wounded in the battle of Eylau, was lying upon the field. His comrades came to take him up, and carry him to the hospital. He recovered his senses only to say to them, "Let me alone, my friends; I shall lie here contented and happy, since we have gained the day, and that I can die upon the bed of honour, surrounded by the cannon taken from the enemy, and the wrecks of their defeat. Tell the Emperor I have but one regret, which is, that in a few moments I shall be no longer able to do any thing for his service, and the glory of our dear France. To her my last breath—" The efforts made to utter these words exhausted the little strength he had left, and he immediately expired.

The zeal, activity, and talents of Doctor Larrey, ably seconded by his worthy colleagues, saved the greatest part of these wounded men, who were almost all em-

barked upon the Vistula by the *voitures de ambulance*, the form and lightness of which were found extremely serviceable on this occasion.

On the 16th of February, the Russian General Essen was defeated at Ostrolenka by General Savary, commanding the fifth corps, and pursued for several leagues. In this affair they lost General Suwarrow, son of the celebrated Suwarrow, and several officers of distinction, leaving behind them 1200 wounded. The fifth corps was now ordered to resume its winter-quarters. About the beginning of February, Schweidnitz surrendered. Glatz soon shared the same fate, and the Emperor ordered the fortifications of all the captured places in Silesia to be demolished. In the meanwhile Marshal Mortier was equally successful in Swedish Pomerania. The Russians that had retired behind the Pregel, encouraged by the apparent inactivity of Napoleon, repassed that river with a part of their troops, and formed a line, which extended from Kœnigsberg to Seeburg, and pushed their advanced posts upon the Aller and the Passarge, within sight of the French. On the 25th of February, a Russian division that had advanced to Braunsberg, was attacked by General Dupont, who defeated them, took sixteen pieces of cannon, and upwards of ten thousand prisoners; drove them from the place, and compelled them to repass the Passarge.

Much skirmishing occurred in the vicinity of this river, previous to the recommencement of the campaign in the beginning of April, during which time Colberg and Dantzick were completely invested; the latter city surrendered to Marshal Lefebvre on the 24th of May, and the fort of Weichselmunde, near the mouth of the Vistula, two days after. Marshal Lefebvre was on this occasion created Duke of Dantzick. The capture of Dantzick was followed by the sanguinary affairs of Spanden, Lomitten, Deppen, Guttstadt, and Heilsberg.

At length, on the 13th of June, the decisive battle of Friedland only served to add to the trophies already obtained. The Emperor himself advanced towards that place with the corps of Marshals Ney, Lannes, Mortier, and the Imperial guard. The presence of the first corps of the army, upon the lower Passarge, was no longer necessary, after the affair of Heilsberg. Napoleon ordered these troops into the line, and General Victor, who commanded them in the absence of Bernadotte, followed the movements of the other corps towards Friedland.

On the 14th in the morning, the Russian army that continued to march upon the right bank of the Aller, debouched upon the bridge of Friedland, and attacked the advanced guard of Marshal Lannes, whose corps followed in the first line, as well as that of Marshal Mortier. Napoleon, on hearing the sound of the first cannon, exclaimed, "This is a happy epoch! this is the anniversary of Marengo;" words in some degree prophetic, as the results of the battle of Friedland were similar to those of Marengo. The troops of the Marshals Lannes and Mortier, successively engaged, were supported by General Grouchy's dragoons and Nansouty's cuirassiers. The Russian General-in-chief, who foresaw that Napoleon would attempt to cut off his retreat to Kœnigsberg, made every effort to overthrow the only two corps that were then before him; but these being well supported by the cavalry, prevented the enemy from passing beyond the village of Pothnem. The divisions of Nansouty and Grouchy covered themselves with glory by the vigour of their reiterated charges, and took four pieces of cannon.

In the meanwhile two other corps, under Marshals Ney and Victor, arrived upon the field of battle with the Imperial guard, and the Emperor assigned them their posts. At five o'clock all the preparatory movements were completed. The Emperor made the following dispositions: the right of the army was formed by the troops under

Marshal Ney, having the dragoons of Latour Maubourg as a reserve in his rear. Marshal Lannes was in the centre; his reserve consisted of La Houssaye's dragoons and the Saxon cuirassiers: on the left was the corps under Marshal Mortier, supported by Grouchy's dragoons and a division of French cuirassiers: the reserve was formed by the troops under General Victor and the Imperial guard.

The enemy, on his side, completely deployed his whole army; his left extended to the town of Friedland; and his right a mile and a half to the height of Heinrichsdorf. The Emperor having reconnoitred the position of the Russian army, was decidedly of opinion that the town of Friedland should be carried without delay, by suddenly changing his front, and ordering his right to advance: he commenced the attack with the extremity of this wing.

At half past five in the afternoon, Marshal Ney put himself in motion; he was covered by the wood of Sortlack, and preceded by a battery of twenty pieces, which thundered upon the enemy as they came within shot. The division under General Marchand advanced sword in hand, taking the tower of Friedland church for its direction: the left of this division was supported by General Bisson.

The moment the enemy perceived that Marshal Ney had quitted the wood of Sortlack, they pushed forward several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a cloud of Cossacks. Latour Maubourg's division of dragoons immediately rode up full gallop, and repulsed the enemy's charge. At the same time General Senarmont, commanding the artillery of the first corps, advanced a battery of thirty pieces of cannon, four hundred paces in front of the centre of the reserve: this formidable fire caused the enemy an immense loss, and all the demons-

trations of the Russians to effect a diversion were of no avail.

General Bennigsen, aware of the importance of preserving Friedland, made a violent attack upon the left of Marshal Ney; but was briskly repulsed with the bayonet by Marchand's division; the enemy's columns were driven into the Aller, and several thousands of them drowned; only a few saved themselves by swimming: in the meanwhile Marshal Ney arrived at the ravine that surrounds Friedland.

When the General-in-chief perceived that Napoleon directed his principal attack upon this point, upon which the Russian Imperial guard, horse and foot, had been placed in ambush, they debouched with great intrepidity as soon as the French division was within shot, which threw Marshal Ney's column into some confusion. Upon this, General Victor brought up Dupont's division, which formed the right of the reserve: these fresh troops attacked the Russian Imperial guard, overthrew them, and made a great carnage. This check compelled the Russian general to draw new reinforcements from his centre and his reserves, to defend Friedland. A part of the enemy's left wing pushed upon Friedland, were shut up in a narrow space between the Aller and a brook, which in a manner separated them from the rest of the line, having the troops of Marshal Ney in front, whilst they were hardly pushed by Dupont. The Marshal faced the reinforcements sent upon this point by General Bennigsen: in this situation, and crushed by the fire of the French artillery, the Russians fell back into Friedland in great disorder; which town was soon forced, and the streets covered with their dead. At this moment the town presented the most frightful spectacle of the horrors of war: the Russians who had escaped the bayonets of the French, traversed the bridge of Friedland in the greatest con-

fusion, to gain the right bank of the Aller; almost all the artillery of this part of their army, and a great number of prisoners, remained in the power of the victors.

Whilst the intrepid Marshal Ney, at the head of the right wing, so far decided the success of the day, a direct attack was made upon the centre, under Marshal Lannes, by General Bennigsen, who being mortified at the inutility of his efforts upon the extremity of the French right, wished to renew them in this quarter; but his columns were vigorously repulsed by the divisions of Oudinot and Verdier. The reiterated charges of infantry and cavalry made by the Russians, were in vain: the impressions given them by such chiefs as Lannes, Oudinot and Verdier, were irresistible; all the devotion, all the impetuosity of the Russians, were like the dashing of the waves against an immoveable rock; no impression was made upon any of the corps: those enemies who were not swept away by the bullets and balls, found their death upon the points of the bayonet.

On the left, Marshal Mortier had maintained himself with much *sang froid* and firmness against troops much more numerous than his own. When he saw the centre of the army repulse the enemy and march forward, he followed the same movement, and was supported by the fusileers under Colonel Curial. Korsakow, who commanded the enemy's right wing, at first only yielded the ground inch by inch; but when the defeat of the Russian centre was so complete as to deprive it of any support from the right, the enemy's general seeing a great part of these victorious troops ready to fall upon him, he accelerated his retrograde movements towards Friedland; but Marshal Ney was already in possession of the place. Pressed by the troops of the left and the centre of the French, and seeing the flames rising from the roofs of the houses in Friedland, Korsakow thought for a mo-

ment that he should be compelled to lay down his arms; however, a reconnoitring party that he had sent to the Aller to find a fordable place, having returned with the information that they had succeeded, the troops rushed towards it in crowds; but being pressed by the French, numbers were drowned, killed, or made prisoners: some cannon was carried over the river, but others were lost, with caissons and carriages, and the rest fell into the hands of the enemy.

At eleven at night, the victory, which had not been doubtful for a moment, was complete; the Imperial guard, horse and foot, excepting the fusileers under General Savary, and two divisions of the first corps, had not been engaged. Fifteen thousand of the enemy's dead covered the field of battle; seventy pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, many colours, and some thousands of prisoners, were the trophies of this memorable day: the Russian cavalry had suffered an immense loss; twenty-five generals, and a considerable number of officers, were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Owing to the position of the French, by which they were in a great measure covered, their killed and wounded did not exceed six thousand; the Russians, on the contrary, had been for a long time exposed to the murderous and well-directed fire of a formidable artillery. The results of the battle of Friedland entitled it to rank with those of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena: like the latter, it was gained over a well-appointed army, who had a fine and numerous cavalry, and who fought with great resolution. Napoleon on this occasion displayed that activity, and those great talents that he had shewn in the preceding campaigns. During this battle he was seen riding to and from the most exposed positions, and the troops frequently observed with apprehension, the balls that passed near him, or fell spent at his feet. Major-General Ber-

thier gave equal proofs of his zeal and intrepidity; he was often seen in the thickest of the combatants, executing the orders given him by the Emperor.

The retreat of the Russian army presented the spectacle of a dreadful route; the divisions that succeeded in repassing the Aller, were observed wandering about on the morning of the 15th; and the French parties, for the space of many leagues along the course of that river, met with cannon, caissons and carriages, abandoned by the enemy, almost at every step.

The French army bivouacked upon the field of battle. On the day following, June 15th, while General Bennigsen endeavoured to rally the wrecks of the Russian army upon the right bank of the Aller, Napoleon continued his manœuvres on the left, to cut off the retreat of the Russians to Koenigsberg. The heads of the columns of both armies arrived at Wehlau almost at the same time; a town situated on the right of the Aller, at the confluence of that river with the Pregel. On the same day Napoleon moved his head-quarters to the village of Paterswalde. On the 16th at day-break, having destroyed all the bridges over the Pregel, he availed himself of this obstacle, in order to continue his retrograde movement towards the Russian frontiers; but in the morning the Emperor threw a bridge over this river, and the army took a position on the opposite side.

Marshal Davoust passed the Pregel on the 16th, and had an engagement before Labiau, with the enemy's rear guard, from whom he took 200 prisoners. Marshal Ney, who was also in pursuit of the enemy's columns, passing through Intersburg, took 1000 wounded Russians and several magazines. On the 17th of June the main body of the army was in full march for the Pregel and the Niemen.

On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, Napoleon entered Tilsit, where the Emperor of Russia and the King

of Prussia had been some days. In the environs of this town the French saw Kalmucks for the first time. The arms of these Tartars, tributary to Russia, are arrows only, which they discharge flying like the ancient Parthians; a circumstance which excited the laughter of the French soldiers, who did not conceive these Tartars to be very formidable adversaries.

When the Russian army evacuated Tilsit, they burnt the bridge, and appeared to continue their retreat towards Samogitia; the Prussians in the meanwhile, between the Niemen and Memel, deserted by whole companies, and were brought to the French head-quarters every day.

In this state of affairs the Emperor Alexander again thought proper to throw himself upon the moderation and generosity of Napoleon, by soliciting an armistice, which was granted, and followed in the course of a few days by the celebrated meeting of the two Emperors upon the raft, on the river Niemen, near Tilsit. On the 22d of June the following proclamation was addressed by Napoleon to the army:

"Soldiers! On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found too late, that our repose was that of the lion: he regrets having disturbed it. In the affairs of Guttstadt, Heilsberg, and the ever memorable one of Friedland; in short, in ten days' campaign, we took 120 pieces of cannon, seven standards; killed, wounded, and made prisoners 60,000 Russians; carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals, and remain masters of Kœnigsberg, 300 vessels that were sent there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, and 160 fusils sent from England to arm our enemies. From the banks of the Vistula we have arrived upon those of the Niemen, with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz, the anniversary of the coronation.

You celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition. Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and me. You will return to France covered with laurels, after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you."

The meeting of the two Emperors Alexander and Napoleon in a pavilion erected upon a raft, as before mentioned, was followed by the landing of both in Tilsit, where it was agreed the Courts of Russia and Prussia should take up their residence. Both the Emperors on horseback, talking familiarly, rode through the high street of Tilsit, where the French Imperial guard, horse and foot, were drawn up, and when, by the effect of that gallantry peculiar to the French, the cry of *Vive l'Empereur Alexandre,* resounded at the same time with that of *Vive l'Empereur Napoleon!* The two monarchs afterwards dined together, the Grand Duke Constantine and Murat being the only persons present at this repast.

On the 27th Napoleon returned the Emperor Alexander's visit at his new residence. After dinner the monarchs mounted their horses, and reviewed the French Imperial guard; and by their questions and remarks, evinced that they were no strangers to French tactics. On the 28th the King of Prussia passed the Niemen, to occupy his new dwelling at Tilsit. He was received by Napoleon with all the consideration that could be expected, and the French monarch returned his visit on the same day. The palaces of the three sovereigns were near each other; during their residence at Tilsit they had but one table, and that was furnished by Napoleon.

The Queen of Prussia, as remarkable for the graces of

her person as by the active part she had taken in the war, came to embellish, by her presence, this meeting of the three monarchs. Napoleon lost no time in visiting this princess upon her arrival, and though he did not spare her in the official bulletins, he now paid his court to her with assiduity.

The Emperor, referring many years after to this meeting at Tilsit, remarked, that, had the Queen of Prussia arrived at the commencement of the negotiations, she might have exercised considerable influence with respect to the result. Happily she arrived when they were sufficiently advanced to enable the Emperor to decide upon their conclusion four and twenty hours afterwards. The King, it was thought, had prevented her early appearance, in consequence of a rising jealousy against a great personage, which was confidently stated, said the Emperor, "not to have been destitute of some slight ground."

The moment of her arrival the Emperor paid her a visit. "The Queen of Prussia," said he, "had been very beautiful, but she was beginning to lose some of the charms of her youth." The Emperor declared, that the Queen received him like Mademoiselle Duchinios in the character of Climene, thrown back into a grand attitude, calling aloud for *justice*. In one word, it was altogether a theatrical scene; the representation was truly tragic. He was unable to speak for an instant, and thought the only way of extricating himself was that of bringing back the business to the tone of regular comedy, which he attempted, by presenting her with a chair, and gently forcing her to be seated. She did not, however, discontinue the most pathetic expressions. "Prussia," she exclaimed, "had been blindfolded with respect to her power; she had dared to contend with a hero; to oppose herself to the destinies of France; to neglect his auspicious friendship: she was deservedly punished for it.

The glory of the Great Frederick, his memory, and his inheritance, had puffed up the pride of Prussia, and had caused her ruin! &c. &c." She solicited, supplicated, implored. Magdeburg in particular, was the object of her efforts and wishes. The Emperor kept his ground as well as he could. Fortunately, the husband made his appearance. The Queen reproved, with an expressive look, the unseasonable interruption, and shewed some pettishness. In fact, the King attempted to take part in the conversation, and spoiled the whole affair, and "I was," said the Emperor, "set at liberty."

The Emperor entertained the Queen at dinner. Here, he said, she played off all her wit against him; she had a great deal; all her manners, which were very fascinating; all her coquetry—she was not without charms. Determined not to yield, Napoleon found it necessary to keep a great command over himself, that he might continue exempt from all kind of engagement, and every expression which might be taken in a doubtful sense, and the more so, because he was carefully watched, and especially by Alexander.

An instant before dinner, Napoleon took a very beautiful rose from a flower-stand, which he presented to the Queen. She at first expressed, by the motion of her hand, a kind of prepared refusal; but suddenly recollecting herself, she said: "*Yes: but at least with Magdeburg.*"—The Emperor replied, "But . . . . . I shall observe to your majesty, that it is I who present, and you who are about to receive it."

The Queen was seated at table between the two Emperors, who rivalled each other in their attention. She was placed near Alexander's best ear: (with one he can scarcely hear). She retired in the evening. The Emperor Napoleon was now resolved to come to a point. He sent for M. de Talleyrand and Prince Kourakin; talked

big to them; and letting fly some hard words, observed, that after all, a woman and a piece of gallantry ought not to alter a system conceived for the destiny of a great people, and that he insisted upon the immediate conclusion of the negotiations, and the signing of the treaty; which took place according to his order.

"Thus," said he, "the Queen of Prussia's conversation advanced the treaty by a week or a fortnight. She was indignant when she heard that the treaty was signed; wept a great deal, and determined to see the Emperor Napoleon no more. Alexander was himself obliged to prevail upon her to accept a second invitation to dinner. She complained that Napoleon had broken his word. "He has made you no promise," was Alexander's observation to her; "if you can prove the contrary, I here pledge myself, as between man and man, to make him keep his promise, and he will do so, I am convinced." —"But he has given me to understand," said she, ... "No," replied Alexander, "and you have nothing to reproach him with."

Napoleon, who had no longer any occasion to be on his guard against her, redoubled his attentions. She played off, for a few moments, the airs of an offended coquette, and when the dinner was over, and she was about to retire, Napoleon presented his hand, and conducted her to the middle of the staircase, where he stopped. She squeezed his hand, and said with a kind of tenderness, "Is it possible, that after having had the honour of being so near to the hero of the century and of history, he will not leave me the power and satisfaction of being enabled to assure him, that he has attached me to him for life?"—"Madam," replied the Emperor, in a serious tone, "I am to be pitied; it is the result of my unhappy stars."—He then took leave of her. When she reached her carriage, she threw herself into it in tears; sent for Duroc, whom she

highly esteemed, renewed all her complaints to him, and said, pointing to the palace, "There is a place in which I have been cruelly deceived."

"The Queen of Prussia," said the Emperor, "was unquestionably gifted with many happy resources; she possessed a great deal of information, and had many excellent capabilities. It was she, who really reigned for more than fifteen years. She also, in spite of my dexterity, and all my exertions, took the lead in conversation, and constantly maintained the ascendancy. She touched, perhaps, too often, upon her favourite topic; but she did so, however, with great plausibility, and without giving the slightest cause of uneasiness. It must be confessed, that she had an important object in view, and that the time was short and precious. One of the high contracting parties," said the Emperor, "had frequently assured her, that she ought to have come in the beginning, or not at all; and observed, that, for his part, he had done every thing in his power to induce her to come at once. It was suspected," continued the Emror, "that he had a personal motive to gratify by her coming; but on the other hand, the husband had a motive equally personal in opposing it." Napoleon believed him to have been very kind, and a sincere friend in the business.

"The King of Prussia," said the Emperor, "had requested his audience of leave on that very day, but I postponed it for four and twenty hours, at the secret entreaty of Alexander. The King of Prussia never forgave me for putting off that audience; so clearly did it seem to him, that royal majesty was insulted by my refusal. Another heavy charge against me, and of which he has never been able to divest his feelings, was that of having violated, as he said, his territory of Anspach, in our campaign of Austerlitz. In all our subsequent interviews, however important the subjects of our discussion,

he laid them all aside for the purpose of proving, that I had really violated his territory of Anspach. He was wrong; but in short, it was his conviction, and his resentment was that of an honest man. His wife, however, was vexed at it, and wished him to pursue a higher system of politics, &c."

Napoleon reproached himself with a real fault, in allowing the King of Prussia's presence at Tilsit. His first determination was, to prevent his coming. He would then have been less bound to shew any attention to his interests. He might have kept Silesia, he might have aggrandized Saxony with it, and have probably reserved for himself another kind of destiny. He further remarked, "I learn that the politicians of the present day find great fault with my treaty of Tilsit; they have discovered that I had, by that means, placed Europe at the mercy of the Russians; but if I had succeeded at Moscow, and it is now known how very near I was, they would no doubt have admired us for having, on the contrary, by that treaty, placed the Russians at the mercy of Europe. I entertained great designs with respect to the Germans . . . . . But I failed, and therefore I was wrong. This is according to every rule of justice."

Almost every day at Tilsit, the two Emperors and the King rode out on horseback together; "but," said Napoleon, "the latter was always awkward and unlucky." The Prussians felt it very visibly. Napoleon was always between the two sovereigns; but either the King fell behind, or jostled and incommoded Napoleon. He shewed the same awkwardness on his return: the two Emperors dismounted in an instant, and took each other by the hand, to go up stairs together. But as the honours were done by Napoleon, he could not enter without first seeing the King pass. It was sometimes necessary to wait a long time, and as the weather was often rainy, it happened that the two Emperors got wet on the king's

account, to the great dissatisfaction of all the spectators.

"This awkwardness," said the Emperor, "was the more glaring, as Alexander is in possession of all the graces, and equal, in elegance of manners, to the most polished and amiable ornaments of our Parisian drawing-rooms. The latter was at times so tired of his companion, who seemed lost in his own sorrows, or in some other cause, that we mutually agreed on breaking up our common meeting, to get rid of him. We separated immediately after dinner, under the pretence of some particular business; but Alexander and I met shortly afterwards, to take tea with one another, and we then continued in conversation until midnight, and even beyond it."

Alexander and Napoleon met again some time after at Erfurt, and exchanged the most striking testimonies of affection. Alexander expressed with earnestness, the sentiments of tender friendship and real admiration which he entertained for Napoleon. They passed some days together in the enjoyment of the charms of perfect intimacy, and of the most familiar communications of private life. "We were," said the Emperor, "two young men of quality, who, in their common pleasures, had no secret from each other."

Peace, so anxiously desired, was concluded on the 9th of July. There were two separate treaties; one between France and Russia, and the other with Prussia. It was natural that Frederick William, who had provoked the war, should pay the whole expence. A part of the new kingdom of Westphalia, by virtue of these treaties, was given to Prince Jerome, brother of Napoleon; the Duchy of Warsaw was ceded to the ancient Elector, Frederick Augustus, then King of Saxony; the city of Dantzick and its territory was taken from the Prussian monarchy. Russia, by the special grace of Napoleon, gained a portion of territory upon the borders of the Bug and the

Narew, and was thus aggrandized at the expence of that sovereign in whose animosity against France she had participated.

The erection of that part of Poland that belonged to the King of Prussia, into the Duchy of Warsaw, did by no means discharge the debt of gratitude that Napoleon owed the Poles, for their bravery and their attachment. Many persons were astonished that Napoleon did not avail himself of those favourable circumstances resulting from his successes, to negotiate for the restitution of those parts of Poland that had fallen to Russia, Prussia, and Austria, at the period of its last dismemberment. The complete restoration of the ancient throne of the Jagellons and Sobieski, with a limited monarchy, would have formed a more imposing barrier, and a better counterpoise against the ambition of Russia, and the influence of Austria and Russia in Germany, than the two feeble states created under the names of the kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia. Besides these cessions of territory, the King of Prussia had to pay such enormous contributions, that his finances were exhausted; and his provinces, in consequence of their long occupation by the French troops, were in a deplorable situation. However, the two treaties of Tilsit will appear in the eyes of posterity, as unexceptionable testimonies of moderation on the part of a conqueror, who stopped in the delirium of victory, and even sacrificed the rights it had conferred upon him. Satisfied with having obtained the objects of the war, he only wished for a legitimate security of the advantages he had obtained. Alexander and Frederick William solemnly acknowledged the new Kings of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia. It is true, that Napoleon was still promoting the interests of his family; but he appeared animated with a sincere desire to procure for Europe a solid and lasting peace.

The King of Sweden having renewed his hostility, the

whole of Swedish Pomerania, Stralsund, and the island of Rugen, were soon in the power of the French under Marshal Brune. Under these circumstances, it was remarked that the English did not make the least attempt to succour their most faithful ally, but turned their arms against Denmark, whose sovereign had constantly observed the strictest neutrality: the result of this impious determination was the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the taking of the Danish capital with the fleet.

The different corps of the grand army that had been engaged in the battle of Friedland, and had afterwards advanced towards the Niemen, remained in the positions in which they had been placed by the Emperor, till the end of July, when each corps received its particular destination. In the environs of Tilsit, these troops had formed camps, similar to those they had occupied in 1803-4, and 5, at Boulogne and on the coasts of the ocean. Here the tents, arranged in right lines, formed streets, bearing names indicating the principal events of the campaigns in Austria, Prussia, and Poland; thus recalling the memory of the brave men who had fallen in battle. The barracks were constructed of wood whitened without, and covered with straw, and having doors and windows. Trees were planted between the lines of these habitations, and the kitchen-gardens attached, contributed to the nourishment and the exercise of the soldiers.

The Emperor Napoleon quitted Tilsit about the middle of July for Warsaw, and went from thence to Dresden. On the 24th he made his triumphal entry into Frankfort, the capital of the states of the Prince Primate of the Confederation of the Rhine; and on the 27th, at five in the morning, he was upon his return to his palace at St. Cloud. On the following day, at eleven, he received in succession the congratulations of the senate, the tribunate, and the legislative corps, the clergy of Paris, and

other bodies. The speech made on this occasion by M. Seguier, president of the court of appeal, will afford a sufficient idea of the spirit in which the other harangues were conceived: "Sire," said he, "it is long since your glory aspired after repose. You have been a great general from your earliest campaigns. Egypt beheld you as a conqueror. Elected Chief of the French, as the most magnanimous in the nation, you made that known to Europe in the fields of Marengo. Invested with the Imperial crown, you magnified it at Ulm, at Vienna, and at Austerlitz. Protector of the people on the Rhine, you had fixed the destinies of Germany, when Dantzick, Eylau, and Friedland had shewn to the most powerful monarch of the East and the North, that you ought to be the arbiter of the West and of the South. Is it necessary to renew our combats? Your successes, at first unheard of, but always increasing, sufficiently announce what must be the results. But, Sire, it is a thing most extraordinary, that in your Majesty's warlike prodigies, you resist what fortune seems disposed to give you—*the empire of the earth:* that you have less ambition for conquest than for reconciliation; that you only display the force of your arms to shew the danger of your enmity, and to make the benefits of an alliance with you appear from the strength of your genius.

"Napoleon always wished for the peace of the world: he has constantly presented the olive-branch to his enemies, who have compelled him to cover himself with laurels. Napoleon *is superior to human history; he belongs to the heroic ages;* he is above admiration; there is nothing but love that can elevate itself to his standard. This affection, Sire, we have sworn, when, taking the republic in your hands, you stifled intestine dissentions, and saved France from invasions and divisions. We will repeat our oath this day, when suppressing external disorders, you have promoted France to that supremacy

which you have created. Sire, the officers of your court of appeal, aggrandized in your sphere, and raised beyond themselves, would willingly offer you felicitations; but your immortal exploits speak louder than our respect or our fidelity."

On the 16th of August the Emperor opened the sittings of the legislative corps, upon which he made use of the following expressions: "Since your last session, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties of peace, have changed the political face of things in Europe. If the House of Brandenburg, which was the first to conspire against our independence, continues to reign, it owes this to the sincere friendship with which I have been inspired for the powerful Emperor of the North. A French prince is to reign upon the Elbe; he will know how to conciliate the interests of his new subjects with the first and the most sacred of his duties. The House of Saxony has regained the independence it had lost during fifty years. The people of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the city of Dantzick, have recovered their rights. France is united to the people of Germany by the laws of the Confederation of the Rhine; to those of Spain, Holland, Switzerland and Italy, by the laws of our federative system. Our new relations with Russia are cemented by the reciprocal esteem of these two great nations. I desire a maritime peace; no resentment shall ever influence my determinations; I shall never indulge any against a nation that has been the dupe and victim of the parties that tear it in pieces, and which is as much deceived in respect to its own affairs, as it is with those of its neighbours. But whatever issue the decrees of Providence may have assigned to this maritime war, my people shall always find me the same, and I shall always find my people worthy of me."

The answer to this speech concluded with a pledge

from the legislative corps, to second, with all their zeal, the grand projects which Napoleon entertained.

On the 23d of August, 1807, the marriage of Prince Jerome, the new King of Westphalia, with the Princess Catherine of Wirtemburg, was celebrated.

The next public act of Napoleon was the abolition of the tribunate, as a punishment for the audacity of some of its members, who had expressed free opinions before a man who acknowledged none but his own, and the servility of those of the majority, when in his favour. The *fêtes* soon after given to the Imperial guard, upon their arrival at Paris, in point of splendour, equalled any thing that had ever been seen of the kind.

The campaign which had been carried on in Calabria, in 1807, terminated by the taking of Reggio and Scylla, the only places that remained to King Ferdinand upon *terra firma.*

About the beginning of August, French troops were collected at Bayonne, to compel the Portuguese to shut their ports against the English; and in the middle of October they were on their march under General Junot. They were divided into sixteen columns, each marching within one day's distance of another. General Junot having preceded the arrival of his troops at Alcantara, with the assurance he should there find provisions in abundance, was very much deceived, no preparations having been made; and he saw with vexation, the same want among the Spanish troops that were to join him. The resources of the city, such as were found, were not spared; all the lead and powder was collected in haste; and the paper wanting for making cartridges, was taken from the archives of the knights of Alcantara. In passing from Castello Branco to Sobriera, a number of young soldiers perished with misery and fatigue, and the march to Abrantes, upon the whole, was one of the most dis-

tressing that had ever been undertaken. The army left Abrantes on the 26th of November, and arrived at Punhete, at the confluence of the Zezere and the Tagus; and hence the baggage of the army, the sick, the cannon, &c. were embarked for Lisbon, with 400 infantry, in boats, charged with flanking this armament. The right bank of the Zezere was garnished with redoubts and batteries that the Portuguese had abandoned.

The Prince of the Brazils, his family, his court and his ministers, had all embarked from Lisbon for South America on the 28th in the morning; however, before day-light on the 29th, General Junot left Saccavem with four battalions, not exceeding in number fifteen hundred men, and entered Lisbon at eight o'clock, without cavalry, a single piece of cannon, and almost without a cartridge that would take fire. The grenadiers and voltigeurs were so fatigued with their previous marches, that they could not regulate their pace by the sound of the drum, whilst passing through the streets of this immense city, which at that time contained a population of three hundred thousand souls, and fourteen thousand regular troops.

Within the intervals of one or two days, the rest of the French troops arrived in succession, but in a most miserable condition. Whole companies were disorganized; scarcely three hundred men could be counted under each eagle. The peasants were continually bringing soldiers into Lisbon upon asses, without arms, clothing, or shoes, and many in a dying state, who actually expired at the gates of Lisbon, or soon after their arrival. Twenty-five thousand men had left Bayonne for Portugal; but three weeks after the occupation of Lisbon, they could scarcely muster twenty thousand. Two Spanish corps marched on their flanks, but had suffered nothing in comparison with the French.

On the 15th of December the French army had happily recovered from its fatigues, and general measures had

been adopted for the common safety; the French colours were ordered by General Junot to be hoisted upon the forts, the castle of Belem, and the principal batteries at Lisbon, in the room of the Portuguese. This event, so unexpected by the people of that city, excited a sensation so much the more lively, as, according to popular prejudice, the national flag was looked upon as a gift from the Son of God, the Redeemer of man.

On the same day the commander-in-chief had ordered a grand parade of all the troops in Lisbon; but even this display did not produce any effect upon the multitude; the squares, the quays, and the streets swarmed with people. The clamours, after the troops had defiled, grew louder; the priests took an active part in spreading rumours, according to their own views. The churches were besieged by numerous supplicants. Soon after this the report was spread, that the famous King Don Sebastian, who had been slain five hundred years before at the battle of Alcala in Africa, (and who had been always expected by the Portuguese, as another Messiah), was now coming to exterminate the French. The people hastened to the most elevated parts of the city to see him come in; and some fanatics assured them that they had seen the statue of King Joseph I. upon the *Place du Commerce,* turn round twice by its own motion. In fine, nothing was neglected by the agents of the old government, that could exasperate a credulous and superstitious multitude; but though the populace was dispersed, the French general insisted that the theatres should continue open as usual. He went farther; he collected all the Portuguese authorities at his residence; and would not permit any one to quit his table till the moment he was ready to proceed to the Opera, accompanied by all his guests.

The night passed without any particular disturbance; but on the following day, about noon, two Frenchmen were massacred in the *Place du Rocio;* the criminals

were immediately seized, and the public tranquillity was no more disturbed. By virtue of a decree from the Emperor, issued near the end of December, this corps of the French army took the denomination of the army of Portugal.

CHAP. XXI.

Reflections upon the Decline of Napoleon's Military Fortune —Situation of Spain—Intrigues of Don M. Godoy—Ferdinand, Charles IV. and his Family, inveigled to Bayonne—Proclamation to the Spanish Nation—Attack on Valladolid—Battle of Baylen—Culpable Treatment of the French Prisoners—Extraordinary Catechism by a Bishop—Napoleon's Acknowledgment of the Impropriety of his Conduct towards Spain—New Preparations for the War—Address to the Soldiers—Escape of the Marquis Romana from Holstein—Napoleon arrives at Headquarters—Four Spanish Armies defeated at Espinosa, Burgos, Tudela, &c.—Attack of the Somo Sierra—Napoleon's Panegyric upon the Polish Lancers—Arrival of the French Army near Madrid—Napoleon's Discourse to the Spanish General Morla—Madrid surrendered—Interesting Anecdote—Siege of Roses by Gouvion St. Cyr—Proclamations by Napoleon to the Spaniards—Prudence of Sir John Moore—Napoleon's vain Promises and Pretensions.

WE are now arrived at an epoch in the life of Napoleon, from which we may fairly date the decline of his military fortune: this was the unjust war with Spain. This country, it must be allowed, was heartily tired of its alliance with France; resulting from the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau on the 26th of October, 1807. Its

navy was almost annihilated; its ports were shut by the English; besides these inconveniences the Spanish government had to pay an annual subsidy of six millions to Napoleon, during the war, in lieu of some other engagements stipulated by that treaty. When Prussia, excited by England, and supported by Russia, declared war against France, Godoy, the Spanish minister and favourite, not ignorant of the secret inclinations of Austria, hoped to see all Europe again joined in a coalition against France, and almost persuaded himself that he already saw the approaching ruin of the man to whose car he had attached himself during his prosperity. This minister then wishing in secret to join the cause that he expected would triumph, addressed a vehement proclamation to the Spaniards, in the name of his sovereign, which failed in its effect, precisely because it had been dictated by Godoy.

Napoleon was informed of this act of imprudence whilst on the field of battle at Jena, about sun-set on the 14th of October, 1806; but did not then seem to think it of any importance. Perhaps he was not sorry that Godoy the favourite, had furnished him with a pretext sooner or later, for depriving the Bourbons of the Spanish crown, as he had already acted in this manner by the King of Naples.

This Spanish proclamation, published on the 3d of October, 1807, began to circulate in Spain just after the arrival of the news of the battle of Jena. Godoy then felt the weight of his imprudence, and thought to repair his fault, by sending an ambassador extraordinary to felicitate Napoleon upon his new triumph. Being questioned upon the object of his proclamation, Godoy answered, that the apprehension of an immediate attack on the coasts of Spain by the Emperor of Morocco, seconded by the English, had excited this appeal, and the extraordinary armaments that were to follow; but

Napoleon could not be induced to listen a moment to an excuse so ridiculous.

Whilst General Junot, as we have before mentioned, was upon his march through Spain to Portugal, an event occurred which was to have the greatest influence upon the destiny of Spain, and for a time attracted all eyes upon the proceedings at the Escurial. A decided misunderstanding had long existed between Godoy and the heir presumptive of the Spanish crown; by some attributed to the indignation that had been excited in the mind of young Ferdinand by the scandalous elevation of a favourite without talents or virtue, and the overbearing ascendancy which he exercised over the King and Queen, not to mention the partiality he had shown for France. Charles IV. at length becoming seriously indisposed, a rumour was spread that Godoy had obtained a promise from him to be the regent of the kingdom, in case of Charles's demise, from whence the malignity of his enemies inferred the probability of the assassination of young Ferdinand, but who being alarmed, wrote a letter with his own hand, on the 11th of October, to Napoleon, requesting to be married to a Princess of his family, without acquainting the King of that correspondence. This was afterwards made use of by Godoy to the prejudice of the Prince, who it seems would certainly have fallen a victim to the intrigues of Godoy and his party, had not Napoleon, by his address, and for the furtherance of his own views on the country, got the King, Queen, and Prince, and the whole party into his power at Bayonne. On the 30th of April, the King and the Queen Mother arrived at that place. Godoy had preceded them four days, having been released from his confinement in the chateau of Villa Viciosa, and conducted to Bayonne by one of the aides-de-camp of Murat.

Ferdinand, when at Bayonne, being anxious to know

the intentions of Napoleon with regard to him, the Emperor, on the second audience that he gave him, declared that Charles IV. having abdicated in consequence of a popular commotion at Aranjuez, and this monarch having protested against that act, obtained from him by violence, the French sovereign could not acknowledge its validity, nor bestow upon the Prince of the Asturias an illegal title. The Spaniards who accompanied the Prince, were struck with consternation at this declaration, and the Prince himself deeply regretted that he had not taken the advice of his friends at Burgos, not to put himself into the hands of an enemy to the House of Bourbon. But the dejection of the Prince and his friends was extreme, when, a few days after, Napoleon gave him to understand, "that it was not convenient for him to suffer the Bourbons to reign any longer in Spain," and offered to Ferdinand the throne of Etruria in Italy, in exchange for that which he had lost. This offer he rejected, declaring that he never would renounce his right to the crown of Spain, and that he would have all or nothing. In the meanwhile, though Charles himself had been received by Napoleon as the reigning monarch, it was not long before he fell into the snares that had been laid for him; a treaty which he made with Napoleon on the 6th of May, 1808, contained his renunciation of the throne of Spain: this was agreed to by Ferdinand and the Infant Don Carlos, Charles IV. &c. The King, the Queen his spouse, Don Manuel Godoy, and the rest of the family, were sent to the chateau of Compeigne. Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos had their residence assigned them at the chateau of Valencay, an estate belonging to Prince Talleyrand. This chateau is one of the finest situations in France, in the midst of an extensive forest. This in 1808 was the residence of Ferdinand VII.; his brother and his uncle were there with him; they were without any guard; he had all his officers and servants, and received

what visits he pleased; he was at liberty to make excursions of several leagues, either for the purpose of hunting or in his carriage. Besides the 72,000 francs which the French treasury annually paid as the rent of Valencay, Ferdinand received for his maintenance 1,500,000 francs per annum. He wrote every month to Napoleon, who answered his letters. On the 15th of August, and on the Empress's birth-day, he never failed to illuminate the chateau and park of Valencay, and to distribute alms. He asked several time Napoleon's leave to go to Paris, which was successively adjourned: he solicited him to adopt him as his son, and marry him to a French princess. He had the enjoyment of a very fine library, often received visits from the neighbouring gentry and from the merchants of Paris, who were eager to carry novelties to him. He long had a theatre and a company of comedians; but his confessors inspired him with scruples of conscience upon the propriety of this diversion, and he dismissed the troop.

The junta of Spain, which was only a deliberative body, and a kind of privy council to the new government, was every moment in expectation of the changes that were to follow the new order of things. Murat did not delay laying before them the two treaties signed by King Charles and Prince Ferdinand, as well as a proclamation dated Bourdeaux, and addressed to the nation. In this document, the Infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos asserted, on the part of the Spaniards, the necessity and utility of uniting their interests to those of France. "The Emperor of France," said they, "has bound himself to preserve the absolute independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy; those of all its possessions beyond sea; to maintain the unity of the Catholic religion; the property, the laws, and customs of the kingdom, which will for a long period insure in the most incontestible manner the power and prosperity of

the nation. The princes think they cannot give a greater proof of their generosity and affection to the nation, and of their gratitude and attachment, of which there are so many testimonies, as the sacrifice of their own personal interests, by their adherence to the treaty of the cession of King Charles, and by the abandonment of their rights to the throne. Thus discharging the Spaniards from their obligations in this respect, their Royal Highnesses exhort them never to lose sight of the interests of their country; to remain united and peaceable; to confide the care of their happiness to the wise dispositions and the power of the Emperor Napoleon." This conduct, added they, will be the best proof the nation can afford of its fidelity and loyal attachment to a prince, and to the two infants, who on their part have sufficiently demonstrated their sentiments with respect to Spain, in abandoning their rights, and forgetting their own interests for the good of their country.

The contents of this document evidently prove that it was written by Napoleon himself, but published under the pretext of its being the production of the Spanish princes. The Emperor, on his side, addressed another proclamation to the Spanish nation, thus conceived:

"Your princes have conceded to me their rights to the crown of the Spains; I do not wish to reign over your provinces, but I wish to acquire eternal titles to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old; my mission is to renew it. I will ameliorate all your institutions; and if you second my efforts, I will cause you to enjoy the benefits of a reform without civil dissention, disorders, or convulsions. Spaniards, I have convoked a general assembly of deputies from the provinces and cities. I wish to make myself acquainted with your wishes and your necessities. I shall then lay aside all my rights, and place your illustrious crown upon the head of one who resembles me, in guaranteeing to you a

constitution which shall conciliate the holy and salutary authority of the sovereign with the liberties and privileges of the people. Spaniards, remember your ancestors; see what you are become; the fault is not in you, but in the wretched administration under which you have been governed. Repose all your hopes and confidence in the present circumstances, for I would wish your latest posterity to preserve my memory, and to say, *He was the regenerator of our country!*"

After having received various communications from Napoleon, several members of the junta proposed to the Grand Duke of Berg and the ambassador Laforest, to give the nation the free exercise of its rights, in convoking the Cortes; but such a proposal could not possibly be received by these agents of Napoleon; they were too well acquainted with the intentions of their master, even to venture to lay it before him. However, the same junta was very shortly after induced to publish their acceptation of Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon, as their sovereign; his promotion to the throne of Spain and the Indies, having been announced in an Imperial decree of the 5th of June, 1808.

Such were the events preparatory to a war that eventually led to the final overthrow of its author and his abettors, in consequence of the landing in Portugal by the English, and the astonishing success of Sir Arthur Wellesley and his successors.

The French army, defeated at Caldos, Roleia, and Vimeira, was obliged to capitulate on the 30th of August, according to the Convention of Cintra. General Junot was more fortunate than Dupont at Baylen, in June, 1808. The insurrection against the French in Spain had become general. War was declared against France by the Supreme Junta of Seville, on the 6th of June; the French Admiral Rossily, who was in the harbour of Cadiz with five men of war, capitulated on the 14th. Castanos,

the Spanish general, was nominated general-in-chief of all the troops in Andalusia; and General Caro obtained the same rank in the kingdom of Valencia, where he was attacked by Marshal Moncey at the head of 15,000 old soldiers. The defence was so skilful and so valorous, that the French were obliged to retreat towards Madrid on the 28th of June. General Blake was routed on the 14th of July at Medina del rio Secco, by Marshal Bessieres; but that defeat was amply revenged by the triumph of Castanos, an event in the life of Napoleon, which caused him the most extreme mortification.

The battle of Baylen proved one of the first and most fatal reverses of the French: here, after a desperate engagement on the 23d of July, upwards of eighteen thousand men, under General Dupont, surrendered to the Spaniards, defiled before the Spanish army with the honours of war, and deposited their arms in the manner agreed on by both parties. These troops, afterwards formed into two columns, began their march for the ports of Rota and San Lucar, where they were to be embarked for France; but the capitulation was most grossly violated by the Spaniards. At first the junta of Seville pretended that it was necessary to wait for passports from the King of England, for the safe conveyance of these troops into France: soon after, however, they threw off the mask. The English Admiralty, acting in unison with the junta, refused these passports. The French troops were exhibited as a spectacle to the people of Andalusia, and having been plundered, ill-treated, and partly assassinated, were thrown into fortresses or dungeons. Some hundreds were put on board the hulks in Cadiz harbour; but the greatest number of them perished with wretchedness and famine. Those who survived, were transported into the little island of Cabrera, some leagues south of Majorca, where, besides the privations they endured, they were delivered up to a demi-barbarous population, who

had been made to believe they were heretics and miscreants deserving the greatest torments. The wretched remains of these unfortunate men taken at Baylen, were declared prisoners of his Britannic Majesty, and transported to England, there to be sent on board the hulks, and to share the fate of other Frenchmen who had fallen more legitimately into the hands of their enemies. Such was the deplorable issue of the expedition of General Dupont into Andalusia; but confining ourselves to a simple statement of facts, we must leave to our readers the painful task of fixing their opinion upon the incidents here related. Napoleon ordered the arrest of the Generals Dupont, Marescot, and Vedel, as soon as they were released by the enemy, in the month of September: these three officers, without being brought to trial, remained as exiles in the interior of France till the fall of the Imperial throne in 1814.

As some apology for the excesses committed by the Spanish populace, it seems that the aid of religion had been called in, or rather prostituted on this occasion, by some of its most eminent professors. The following are questions and answers drawn up by a bishop, for the purpose of being taught by parents to their children: "*Q.* From whence came Napoleon? *A.* From sin.—*Q.* And Murat? *A.* From Napoleon.—*Q.* And Godoy? *A.* From the intrigues of both.—*Q.* What are the French? *A.* Ancient christians and modern heretics.—*Q.* Who has brought them into such slavery? *A.* False philosophy, and the corruption of morals.—*Q.* What is he who is come into Spain? *A.* Murat, the second person of an infamous trinity.—*Q.* What is their principal employment? *A.* To deceive, plunder, and oppress.—*Q.* Who can deliver us from such envoys? *A.* Arms and union.—*Q.* Is it a sin to assassinate a Frenchman? *A.* No, reverend father, we perform a meritorious work in delivering our country from these insolent oppressors."

The catastrophe of Baylen, the valiant defence of Saragossa, and the necessity the French army was under, of taking a defensive position upon the right bank of the Ebro, had in some measure opened the eyes of Napoleon, as to the character of the nation upon whom he wished to impose the yoke of his power. He acknowledged too late, that he had imprudently entered into the war, and committed a great fault in having commenced it with forces too few in number, and too widely scattered. It is reported, that after receiving the intelligence of Dupont's capitulation, he said in one of the moments of involuntary expansion, "Godoy and Murat have deceived me; the Spanish nation have displayed an energy I was far from expecting. I should have done better in declaring open war against their King. I should have had to contend with regular troops, but not with numerous bodies: the former are easily conquered and difficult to recruit, whilst, if this struggle should continue as it has begun, with preaching, exhibitions of the cross, and consecrated banners, the priests and monks will compel every Spaniard in the kingdom to march against me."

Well would it have been, if he had then lent an ear to the counsels of prudence, and repaired the error he had committed, by listening to the wishes of the Spanish nation, in delivering up their princes, and restoring the dynasty so loudly called for; but Napoleon had advanced too far to return suddenly. He imagined that the flames of discord which he had lighted up, might be quenched with blood, and he wished to make it appear to Europe, that the cause of the people might be conquered as easily as that of kings had been. To subdue the whole Spanish nation, which had risen against him, he thought the increase of his armies would be sufficient. Eighty thousand of his old troops, the instruments of his glory and success in Italy, Germany, and Poland, were consequently ordered to march towards the Pyrenees; the contingents

of the Confederation of the Rhine were also put in motion, and his senate sanctioned the levy of an hundred and sixty thousand conscripts.

Determined to march at the head of this new army, Napoleon wished before-hand to fathom the inclinations of the courts of Austria and Russia, in order that no obstacles might be thrown in his way; he therefore procured an interview with the Emperor Alexander at Erfurt, where the princes of the Rhenish Confederation were present. Having thus endeavoured to secure the peace of the north of Europe, he hastened to Paris, to forward the preparations for his intended campaign. Reviewing the advanced-guard of this new army in the court of the Tuileries, and having assembled the officers in a circle, he said:

"Soldiers! I have need of you; the hideous presence of the leopard, defiles the continents of Spain and Portugal; but from your presence he will fly with affright: let us carry our triumphant eagles to the pillars of Hercules: we have outrages to avenge even there. Soldiers, you have surpassed the renown of modern armies: you have equalled the glory of those of Rome, which in the same campaign triumphed upon the Rhine, upon the Euphrates, in Illyria, and upon the Tagus. The reward of your labours will be a long peace and a durable prosperity. A true Frenchman cannot, nor ought not to take any repose, till the seas are opened, and the liberty of the ocean restored. Soldiers, all that you have done, and all that you will yet do for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, will be eternally engraved upon my heart."

At the time of Napoleon's return from Erfurt, almost all the corps intended to form a part of the army of Spain, had passed the Bidassoa, or were near this frontier. Napoleon soon followed. On the 3d of November, 1808, he was at the castle of Marrac, near Bayonne, and here he

gave the first orders for the actual recommencement of hostilities upon the borders of the Ebro. During this kind of truce, whilst the French were concentrated near this river, the Spaniards had augmented their means of resistance to such a degree, that in less than six weeks after the victory of Baylen, they had an hundred and eighty thousand men under arms, and ready to shed their last drop of blood in defence of the independence of their country.

The ill success of General Junot in Portugal, having rendered a part of the British army disposable, fifteen thousand men under Sir John Moore had orders to march towards Valladolid, whilst another corps of ten thousand, coming directly from British ports, were to disembark at Corunna, under the command of Sir David Baird. In the mean time the Spaniards received a reinforcement which they did not by any means expect. This consisted of the troops under the Marquis of Romana, whom Bonaparte had sent to the north of Germany for the protection of Holstein, and placed under the direction of Bernadotte. Informed by the English naval commander in the Baltic, of what had passed in Spain, the marquis took the resolution to escape, if possible, with his troops, and to join the defenders of his country, invaded by a perfidious ally. Assisted by the English, these troops, to the amount of nine thousand men, arrived upon the Spanish coast on the 30th of September. The presence of the marquis and his veterans, infused fresh vigour into the Spaniards. Nothing less was thought of than marching forwards, and surrounding the army that was advancing from the Ebro. Inflated with their success in Andalusia over the little army under General Dupont, the Spaniards flattered themselves with the hope of surrounding another French corps, and compelling it to agree to a shameful capitulation.

Napoleon, who left Bayonne on the 4th of November,

arrived on the 5th at the head-quarters at Vittoria; on the 8th, taking the command of the centre upon himself, his head-quarters were transferred to Miranda upon the Ebro. His intention was to move rapidly upon Burgos, to prevent the junction of the corps under Blake and Castanos. The French having advanced on the 10th of November, Burgos was carried almost by a *coup-de-main*, and the army of Estremadura lost three thousand killed and wounded, five thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery. This success was owing to the vigorous measures taken by Marshal Soult, the brilliant charges of cavalry under Marshal Bessieres, and the distinguished valour of the troops under General Mouton.

Napoleon then fixed his head-quarters at Burgos, and sent out detachments in several directions in pursuit of the enemy. The battle of Espinosa, fought on the 10th and 11th of November, was extremely sanguinary. The troops posted in advance of the ravines and precipices that surround this place, were completely overthrown; the two regiments de la Principessa and de Zamore were nearly destroyed. The ardour of the French in this attack, was increased by their considering their adversaries as perjured, and deserters from the French ranks in the Baltic. The battle being renewed on the morning of the 11th, the Spaniards were compelled to flee, throwing away their arms, and the red coats with which the English had supplied them, and to put on their dark brown great-coats, the better to conceal themselves from their pursuers. Out of forty-five thousand men, of which the enemy's army consisted, more than half were killed or made prisoners. Blake retired with the remains of his army among the mountains. On the 16th of November, the French being masters of all the country in their rear, entered St. Andero, where they found an immense quantity of cotton, colonial produce, and English merchandize, which they sold for the benefit of those Spaniards

whose property had been confiscated for their adherence to King Joseph. The troops under Marshal Soult scoured all the country thirty miles beyond St. Andero, every where disarming the inhabitants, and using the gentlest measures to persuade them to a voluntary submission; but at the same time that the Spaniards seemed disposed to submit to the conqueror, they assassinated all the French stragglers and the small detachments that were not upon their guard. The desire of revenge had increased among the Spaniards near the mountains, in consequence of the recent defeats that had repeatedly wounded their national pride.

Two of the principal Spanish armies being thus destroyed, viz. those of Estremadura and Gallicia, no forces remained but those of the right; namely, the armies of Andalusia and Arragon. The first plumed itself upon its success at Baylen; the second upon its first defence of Saragossa; and both were regarded by the Spaniards as the most powerful means they had of resisting the invasion of the French. The Spanish generals, anticipating an attack by the latter, had concentrated their troops at Tudelá, where their total defeat was soon effected by Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello. Three thousand prisoners, and three hundred officers, seven pair of colours, and thirty pieces of cannon, were the trophies of this victory: more than four thousand men had been killed, or drowned in the Ebro. This success determined the Emperor to march rapidly upon Madrid, whilst his armies on the right and left, completed the dispersion of the vanquished troops, and prevented their junction with the corps that covered the capital. Part of the fugitives retired to Saragossa, others fled in disorder to Tarragona and Agreda.

On the 29th of November Napoleon was at Bozeguillas; on the 30th, at day-break, the Duke of Belluno, Marshal Victor, arrived near the strong position of Somo

Sierra, defended by thirteen thousand men under General San Juan. The Puerto, or narrow neck of land forming the pass, was intersected by a trench fortified with sixteen pieces of cannon. While a part of the French advanced on the direct road to this position, other columns gained the heights on the left. The Somo Sierra forms a part of the chain called Carpetanos, which traverses the great road from Castile. The enemy's tiralleurs covered the heights on the right and left. Whilst the French infantry were making the most painful efforts to ascend these, sustaining with their wonted firmness the double fire of the Spanish musketry and artillery, Napoleon arrived at the head of the cavalry of his guard, which were preceded by the Polish lancers. The Emperor stopped near the foot of the mountain, and attentively examined the enemy's position, the fire from which seemed to redouble; many balls fell near him, or passed over his head. As the French infantry did not appear to make any sensible progress, the Emperor confided to the Polish lancers, the service of charging the enemy's battery upon the summit of the mountain. Conducted by their chief, Count Krasinski, these brave men advanced four a-breast, the narrow causeway not admitting more. For a moment the fire of the battery and that of the Spanish tiralleurs arrested their progress; but rallied by Count Krasinski and Colonel Dautancourt, they soon returned with other squadrons, assisted by the French infantry, when, notwithstanding the fire upon their flanks, and the shower of grape shot, the defeat of the enemy was the work only of a few minutes: the artillery was seized, and the men sabred, dispersed, or taken. The regiment that had performed this brilliant charge, was from that moment justly associated with the flower of the old French Imperial guard.

The advantages of an action thus memorable, were decisive. The Spanish corps were totally dispersed. They

lost ten stands of colours, all their artillery and baggage, thirty caissons, the regimental chests, a great number killed, wounded, and prisoners, including several colonels and other superior officers. The Polish lancers had fifty-seven men killed and wounded, besides several officers. From a subsequent account, it appears that Colonel Piré, who was first sent upon this service with the Poles, having reconnoitred the position, countermanded the advance of the Poles, and sent an officer to inform the Emperor, that the undertaking was *impossible*. Upon this information Napoleon, irritated, striking the pommel of his saddle, exclaimed, "impossible! Why, there is nothing impossible to my Poles." General Wattier, who was present, endeavoured to calm him; but he still continued to articulate, "Impossible! I know of no such word. What! my guard checked by the Spaniards, by armed peasants?" At this moment the balls began to whistle about him, when by a natural instinct, several officers came forward to persuade him to withdraw. Among these, Napoleon observing Major Philip Segur, he said, "Go, Segur, take the Poles, and make them take the Spaniards, or let the Spaniards take them."

Piré having informed the chef d'escadron Kozictulski of what the Emperor had said, this officer replied, "Come then alone with me, and see if the devil himself, made of fire as he is, would undertake this business." He was right: thirteen thousand Spaniards were placed, as it were, in an amphitheatre, in such a way that no one battalion was masked by another; they could only join in columns. From this point the Poles would have to sustain forty thousand discharges of musketry; and as many of cannon, every minute. However, the order was positive. "Commandant," said Segur, "let us go; it is the Emperor's wish: the honour will be ours: Poles, advance. *Vive l'Empereur!*" The squadron then rushed

forward; when out of upwards of eighty men, scarcely twenty remained unhurt. Four officers out of seven were killed on the spot; the Polish commandant and two others were wounded. Major Segur, some paces in advance, was struck by several balls, and found himself standing alone with Lieutenant Rudowski, a fine tall man, and of great promise. The bodies of the Polish lancers choaked up the passage; this squadron was annihilated; but though thus defeated, they had drawn upon themselves the enemy's whole attention. At this moment Count Krasinski and Colonel Dautancourt, at the head of other squadrons, rallying the few that had sustained the first charge, and supported by the French infantry, commenced the second, which was attended with such prodigious success.

On the first of December the whole of Marshal Ney's corps formed a junction with the army of the centre, and the head-quarters were fixed at the village of Sant Augustino on the same day. On the second the Emperor, with the cavalry of his guard, Maubourg's and Lahoussaie's dragoons, moved towards the heights from which Madrid may be seen, approaching it by the high road from Castille. This city was in a state of fermentation in the highest degree. An aide-de-camp sent by Marshal Bessieres to summon the authorities to open the gates, narrowly escaped with his life, from the exasperation of the populace. The military junta returned for answer, that the populace would rather bury themselves under the ruins of the place, than submit. It is sufficient to add, that this city could not resist the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, that soon made a breach in the edifice called the Retiro, which, with other places, were immediately inundated by French troops. Consternation now became general, and a second and third summons intimidating the authorities, ultimately allowed them only two hours to accept or reject.

At five o'clock General Morla and Don Bernado Yriarte arrived, to solicit a suspension of arms during the rest of the day, in order to give the constituted authorities time to obtain the consent of the populace to the surrender of the capital. These deputies being presented to the Emperor, on seeing Morla, who had used no hesitation in seizing five French ships of war in Cadiz harbour, even before the Spanish nation had declared war, he could not conceal his indignation, and said in an angry tone, "It is to no purpose that you put yourself forward in the name of the people; if you cannot assuage their irritation, it is because you have excited it; it is because you yourselves have produced it by your falsehoods. Collect the curates, the chiefs of the convents, the alcades, the principal proprietors; and at six o'clock let the city be given up, or it shall cease to exist. I will not, nor ought I to withdraw my troops; you have assassinated the unfortunate French prisoners that have fallen into your hands. Only a few days ago you murdered two domestics in the streets, belonging to the Russian embassy, only because they were born Frenchmen. The inability and the baseness of a general (Dupont) had put into your power the troops that had capitulated upon the field of battle, and you violated the capitulation. You! Monsieur Morla! what letter was that which you wrote to this general? It well becomes you indeed to talk of pillage; you who, having entered Roussillon, seized upon the women, and divided them like a booty amongst the soldiers! What right have you to hold such language? Look at the conduct of the English, who are very far from piquing themselves upon being rigid observers of the law of nations—they complain of the convention of Cintra, made in Portugal; but they have performed its conditions: to violate a military treaty, is to renounce all civilization, and to place yourselves upon a level with the Bedouins of the desert. How

can you demand a capitulation? You who have violated that of Baylen? See how injustice and bad faith always turn to the prejudice of the culpable. I had a fleet at Cadiz; it was in alliance with Spain, and you turned all the mortars in the place against it. I had a corps of Spaniards in my ranks: instead of disarming them, I preferred seeing them precipitate themselves from the rocks of Espinosa, and go on board the English fleet: I preferred having seven thousand more men to combat with, to any failure in good faith or honour. Return to Madrid: I give you till six o'clock to-morrow morning; return then, and if you cannot inform me that all the people have submitted, you and the regular troops excepted, all shall be put to the sword."

This discourse was pronounced with a degree of passion more assumed than real, in order that it might be communicated to the multitude; though at the bottom, Napoleon ardently wished that the surrender of Madrid should have the appearance of a voluntary act: he flattered himself, that all Spain would follow the example of the capital.

Notwithstanding this, the militia and the populace not only refused to lay down their arms, but kept up a brisk fire from the windows of the houses that looked towards the Prado. General Maison, imprudently venturing this way, was wounded, and General Bruyeres killed. Deserters who hourly arrived, announced that more than forty thousand of these infuriated beings ran about the streets, demanding to be led to battle. The Marquis of Castellar, and the greatest number of the general officers, not believing this enthusiasm would arrest the progress of the French army, availed themselves of the darkness of the night, to leave the city with all the troops of the line, and sixteen pieces of cannon.

On the 4th of December, at six in the morning, General Morla and Don Fernando de la Vera returned to the

head-quarters of the Prince of Neufchatel, to announce that the peaceable inhabitants would gratefully accept the generous proposals of the Emperor; but that it would be necessary to adopt strong measures to check the fermentation that still continued amongst the lower orders. General Belliard being appointed governor of Madrid, entered the capital about ten o'clock, with a body of troops. All the posts were occupied about the same time. Napoleon wishing to allay the effects of the popular resentment, caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed. The moderation of the victor, and the rigorous discipline of the troops, soon restored order and security. The shops were re-opened, and continued so till eleven at night. The inhabitants who had laboured so hard to fortify their houses, were now in greater haste than before to replace things as they were. Still the French cavalry were ordered to be on the alert, and the horses remained saddled; no troops were lodged in the houses, but distributed in the various convents in different parts of the town.

The entrance of the French into the street called Alcala, was attended with the following circumstance: A corner house, an hotel, was occupied by an ancient Spanish officer. The French commandant, imagining this house would make a good military post, had determined to occupy it himself. He accordingly entered with some of his men. The respectable proprietor, eighty years of age, advanced to meet him, leading his daughter by the hand, veiled. "I am," said he, "an old soldier. I know the rights and licentiousness of a state of war: here is my daughter; save her honour; be her spouse; I will give her a dowry of 180,000 piastres." To this appeal made to his delicacy, the French officer made a proper reply. He treated the old general and his family with the respect that was due to them; but he did not consent to become his son-in-law, till he had ascertained

that the young lady had not the least repugnance to the union proposed.

The Emperor not choosing to enter Madrid, encamped with his guards upon the heights of Chamartin, a mile from the city, where he continued to take measures calculated to ensure the subjugation of the whole country. Six or seven hundred militia that endeavoured to defend the Escurial, were forcibly driven out of that monastery on the 5th, by a division of dragoons. The occupation of the Spanish capital did not produce the submission expected in the provinces. None of them attempted, for a considerable time, to soothe the vengeance of the conqueror. In the mean while, Marshal St. Cyr was sent into Catalonia, to besiege the important fortress of Roses on the 6th of December. On the 17th he attacked and defeated General Reding, the second in command at the battle of Baylen.

After the French troops had entered Madrid, Napoleon lost no time in issuing a proclamation, in which he promised the Spanish nation every thing that the benignity of his disposition could bestow, provided they quietly received his brother, and, like loyal subjects, swore fealty and allegiance to him: while, on the other hand, he denounced the severest vengeance if they continued contumacious. He distinctly told them, that he would, in the latter case, put the crown on his own head, treat the country as a conquered province, and find another kingdom for his brother: for, he added, God had given him both the inclination and the power to surmount all obstacles. In an address, which the corregidor and magistrates of Madrid presented to him on the 9th of December, the inhabitants are made to thank him for his clemency, and to solicit the favour of seeing King Joseph at Madrid.

All these fine words did not deceive the true Spaniards, fully persuaded that they had been betrayed by

Morla, who sought an excuse for the severity of his conduct towards Admiral Rossily and General Dupont. He wished also to betray the English into the hands of Napoleon; as he solicited General Moore to march in the direction of Madrid, under pretence of defending that capital. But Sir John Moore suspecting his design, prudently declined taking any such step, and manœuvred on his right flank, to effect his junction with the corps of Sir David Baird, near Benavente, on the 20th of December, 1808.

Napoleon spoke with much self-complacency on his reduction of the number of ecclesiastics, and the abolition of the court of Inquisition, with the feudal rights. He also promised many other benefits which it never was in his power to procure, and vainly seemed to arrogate to himself a portion of omnipotence; but still he wanted the guarantee of thirty thousand of the inhabitants of Madrid, fathers of families, to assemble in the churches, and take an oath of fidelity to their new king, not only with their lips, but with their hearts. He also called for the assistance of the priests, in the confessional and the pulpit; upon the lawyers, and the mercantile class in their correspondence, and predicted the blessings of posterity upon those labours that were destined to fall to the ground in the course of a few months!

CHAP. XXII.

Retreat of the English Army—Combat of Benavente—Napoleon's Arrival at Astorga—Affair of Cacabelos—Death of General Colbert—Manœuvres in the Environs of Lugo—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Napoleon's Return to France—Surrender of Roses and Saragossa—Reflections—War between France and Austria—Proclamations by the Archduke Charles and Napoleon—Battles of Abensberg, Landshut, and Echmuhl—Attack of Ratisbon—Napoleon wounded—Combat of Ebersberg—Surrender of Vienna—Position of the French Army—Battle of Essling—Interesting Interview between Bonaparte and Marshal Lannes, when mortally wounded—Operations of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Ragusa.

NAPOLEON having been informed of the last movements of Sir John Moore, quitted his head-quarters at Chamartin on the 22d of December, and advanced with his guard, the corps of Marshal Ney, and the cavalry of Marshal Bessieres, in the direction of Valladolid. It was announced in the order of the day, that the English leopard was ready to fly before the French eagle. On the 25th, the Emperor's head-quarters were at Tordesilas; but the English army was rapidly retreating, to avoid the fate which was preparing for it by Napoleon. Sir John Moore was on his march through Villada, towards Carrion, with the intention of attacking the French, when he learned that Marshal Soult, reinforced by the divisions of the eighth corps, was himself marching on his right towards Leon and Astorga, and that another corps under the Emperor in person, had arrived by forced marches at Valladolid. Perceiving the danger of his position, the English general immediately ordered

his troops to fall back upon Benavente, upon the borders of the Esla, at which place they were collected on the 29th of December. General Lefebvre Desnouettes forded this river with only his regiment of chasseurs, when he found himself in the front of two thousand English cavalry under Lord Paget and General Stewart. Surrounded by this numerous troop, the French chasseurs defended themselves with their accustomed valour, but were forced to repass the Esla. Amongst sixty wounded or dismounted, was General Lefebvre, who fell into the hands of the English. Another charge was attempted by the French chasseurs to rescue their colonel, but the grape-shot from two pieces of artillery made them abandon their intention. From the prisoners Sir John Moore learned, that the Emperor's head-quarters were only six miles from Benavente; this caused him to accelerate his retreat. After having broken the bridges upon the Orbigo, the English columns pursued their way to Villafranca. This march was performed through bad roads, over hills covered with snow; in many parts inundated by torrents, and attended by the most severe weather. On the 1st of January, 1809, the Emperor arrived at Astorga: he ordered Marshal Soult to continue the pursuit of the English army. General Franceschi came up with the Spanish rear-guard at the village of Mancilla, routed it, took two standards and fifteen hundred prisoners.

The French columns seemed to rival each other in their efforts to overtake the enemy on the two roads from Astorga to Pont Ferrada. In their precipitation, the English abandoned their sick; hamstringed their horses when unable to keep up with them, and destroyed the greatest part of their ammunition and baggage. On the 3d of January, the heads of the French columns came up with the English rear-guard in the defile of Cacabellos. The enemy was about six thousand strong, including

seven hundred cavalry. Though the position occupied by these troops was a good one, and difficult of access, General Merle did not hesitate in attacking it. The French infantry advanced at a charging pace, and overthrew the English, who retreated, after making an obstinate resistance. At the moment of this attack, General Auguste Colbert advanced in front of his brigade of light cavalry in the midst of the tiralleurs, to see if the ground would allow him to form his squadrons, so as to attack the enemy; when he received a ball which made him fall from his horse; but recovering for a moment, and being able to seat himself again, he said to those about him, "Friends, I am still very young to die; but my death is worthy a soldier of the grand army, since in dying, I witness the flight of the enemies of my country." Only two days before this accident occurred, Napoleon reviewing this brigade at Astorga, said to this general, "You have proved to me in Egypt, in Italy, and in Germany, that you are one of my bravest warriors; in a short time you shall receive the recompense due to your brilliant services." "Lose no time, Sire," said Colbert with a noble vivacity; "for though I am not yet thirty, I feel that I am old already."

The defeat of the English rear-guard, increased the disorder that reigned amongst them; on this occasion they shook off the yoke of their so much boasted discipline. Villafranca became a shameful scene of drunkenness and pillage. The town was completely sacked; so that if the place had been stormed by an enraged enemy, instead of being occupied by friends and allies, it could not have been worse treated. Neither officers nor soldiers paid any attention to the endeavours of the generals to put a stop to these excesses.

The British army had overrun the space of fifty-five leagues between Villafranca and Lugo, where it arrived on the 5th, at night, in forty-eight hours; but to make

this effort, it was necessary to abandon a part of their treasure, cannon, baggage, and ammunition. The French troops were not in a situation to profit by the confusion of the enemy, the rear-guard of which, was the only corps that marched under the special direction of Sir John Moore. Marshal Soult was detained by the same obstacles which had disorganized the ranks of his adversaries; his troops were without provisions. The Gallicians, terrified at the odious conduct of their friends and allies, and dreading greater excesses on the part of their enemies, had all fled into the mountains. Burning villages; women expiring in consequence of the brutality of the soldiers; muskets, cannon, bags, horses killed or mutilated by their riders, covered the roads; bodies covered with the English uniform, also bore witness of the revenge taken by the Spanish peasants. Some leagues from Villafranca, the French seized a convoy of silver, valued at nearly a million, left in some carriages from which the horses had been taken. On the same day that the English entered Lugo, Marshal Soult arrived at Ferriera, and there overtook a rear-guard belonging to the enemy. In the evening, the divisions under Generals Lorge and Lahoussaie bivouacked near Constantine. General Moore, thinking that a halt of one or two days was necessary to put a stop to the disorganization of the greatest part of his troops, adopted this resolution, with a view likewise of checking the French in their pursuit, which appeared too ardent for his safety. Marshal Soult, perceiving that the English general intended to make a stand at Lugo, thought proper to reunite his columns before he commenced a decisive attack. The English had taken a position behind Lugo, their right extending to Minho, and their left to the mountains. During the 6th, the French advanced-guard confined themselves to skirmishing with the English advanced posts. The bulk of their army arriving in the

night between the 6th and 7th of February, at break of day Marshal Soult formed them in order of battle: he placed a part of the cavalry on the right wing, with a view of turning the English left, which was only accessible at one point; a division of infantry and some light artillery were to have supported this cavalry in its movements; but the day passed over without any serious engagement between the two parties. The English general, however, convinced by the dispositions made by his able adversary, that in retaining this position he could not possibly avoid a certain defeat, resolved to continue his retreat by the direct road to Corunna, from which he was still distant fifteen leagues.

On the 9th, at four in the morning, the French army was under arms; but the English had taken the precaution to light large fires, whilst the noise of a continued movement seemed to indicate that he was preparing for battle. Day, however, unveiled the truth. The French entered Lugo at an early hour, and there found fifteen pieces of cannon, and four hundred horses that the English had killed, upon the glacis; the road was encumbered with the wrecks of artillery-carriages and baggage. At every step, soldiers without shoes, or half dead with hunger, were found. For want of means they could not destroy the bridges. The main body of the English had withdrawn from Lugo at nine o'clock on the preceding night, so that on the next day they had gained ten leagues in advance of Marshal Soult. After sustaining unheard-of fatigues, the English advanced-guard could not suppress their shouts of exultation on seeing the walls of Corunna on the 11th of January, at which place, in the course of the afternoon, all the troops, to the number of fifteen thousand, were collected. From three to four thousand light troops, detached by Sir John Moore from Astorga towards Orensee, were not pursued, and reached Vigo in safety.

The English, in this disastrous retreat, lost between three and four thousand men, in consequence of hunger and fatigue. The cavalry was dismounted, and nearly three thousand horses died, or were killed by their riders.

To secure the troops whilst at Corunna, Sir John Moore made all the inhabitants assist in raising works to defend the only approach to the place. It is acknowledged that the excellent dispositions made by the English general to prevent any surprise on the part of the French, and the firmness of the British in the battle of Corunna on the 16th, procured him leisure to embark his troops from that port with little or no molestation, though it cost the life of their general, whom Napoleon himself acknowledged was a "brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent: he died gloriously: he died like a soldier."

The English fleet having disappeared, Marshal Soult summoned the place, still garrisoned by two Spanish regiments under General Alzedo, who capitulated on the 20th. The entry of the French into Corunna, set at liberty M. Fourcroy, the French consul, and three hundred and fifty other prisoners. They found in the place two hundred pieces of cannon, twenty thousand fusils; six thousand cartridges, powder and magazines, and about five hundred living horses that had been hamstrung; besides twelve hundred dead carcasses of these wretched animals scattered about the streets, and which had begun to spread a dangerous infection. To remove these carcasses, was one of Marshal Soult's first objects; this precaution, joined to the excellent discipline observed by his troops, did away the gloomy prejudices with which the English had inspired the inhabitants of Corunna, as to the conduct of their enemy.

Ferrol was the next place that opened its gates to the French; and the occupation of Vigo soon after, com-

pleted the conquest of Gallicia, which Marshal Soult was charged to maintain, whilst the Duke of Dalmatia was instructed by the Emperor to undertake a new expedition against Portugal.

Napoleon having been informed of the embarkation of the English army, and of the secret preparation of the Emperor of Austria to attack his army in the north, returned to France.

Still, whilst he continued to astonish Europe by the rapidity of his movements and the display of the resources of his military and political genius, let it be remembered that he had left to themselves an army in the Peninsula, distributed over an immense space of territory, weakened by endemic diseases, reduced by partial combats, and without reinforcements from the interior of the empire. During the whole of the German campaign of 1809, the French in Spain were merely able to maintain themselves in the positions which they occupied soon after Napoleon's departure. The results of the war here, after he ceased to take a part in it, decidedly prove that it was not in the power of his lieutenants to complete the subjugation of that country. The absence of the supreme director paralized all their efforts, and even rendered their advantages short-lived and illusory.

Marshal St. Cyr was successful in Catalonia, where he took possession of the important fortress of Roses, which opened its gates to the French on the 6th of December, 1808. Barcelona, blockaded by General Reding, was liberated by the defeat of the Spaniards. Marshal Lannes was sent by Napoleon to take the command of the army besieging Saragossa, which surrendered on the 21st of February, after the most heroic defence under General Palafox. But this success, though very brilliant on the part of the French, was not sufficiently decisive to induce the Spanish nation to submit to their new King Joseph.

Undoubtedly if Austria had resisted the seductive

offers of England, and remained at peace with France, it may be affirmed, that Spain, even if it had been supported by the British nation much more effectually than it was, would not have come out victorious from the struggle in which it was engaged with the conqueror of Europe. In spite of all the Spanish heroism, and the vows of the nation to conquer or die, it is most probable that it must have yielded to the force of arms a second time in the space of a century, and received Joseph from the hands of Napoleon, as it had before accepted Philip V. from Louis XIV.

At the commencement of 1809, a warlike monarch, surrounded with all the charms of victory, and the paraphernalia of invincible power, was at the head of the French armies in Spain. In four pitched battles he destroyed all the forces that a nation risen in a mass could oppose against him. The terror which his name had inspired was such, that an English army marching from Portugal to the assistance of their allies, was suddenly arrested, doubtful whether they should proceed against an enemy already victorious, and eager for new triumphs. At the first report of Napoleon's approach, the English general hastened to avoid an engagement; the issue of which it would appear he foresaw, in adopting those measures which prudence could have suggested to Sir John Moore. Spain, deprived of his support, must soon have found itself at the mercy of the conqueror. Many towns and cities had already implored Napoleon's generosity, by deputations to his head-quarters: a few more victories, and this proud nation must, at least for a time, have submitted to the yoke of a complete conquest.

Under these circumstances, and whilst a great number of Spaniards were already persuaded that the revolution effected at Bayonne, and the invasion of the country, might eventually lead to the enjoyment of rational liberty, Austria suddenly interfered with menaces of war,

and Napoleon was forced to turn his attention to the defence of the territory of his allies in Germany. He then traversed Spain with the rapidity of lightning, and flew to the spot where new dangers and new triumphs awaited him. Napoleon took with him his guard, that imposing reserve of his army. He left behind him a feeble king, equally as incapable of keeping, as of obtaining a conquest; and marshals who, no longer restrained by the presence of an inflexible chief, mostly delivered themselves over to their own self-love, or to the indulgence of their private passions.

Such were the effects of the departure of Napoleon. There was no longer any agreement amongst his generals: each of them endeavoured to carry on the war upon his own foundation; and none of them was sufficiently disinterested to make any sacrifice in favour of another. It was therefore owing to the diversion effected by Austria, and to the succour of England, and not to their own proper energy, that the Spanish nation at last obtained the advantage of triumphing over their invaders, and the temporary establishment of the bases of a liberal government.

Scarcely had Napoleon repassed the Pyrenees, when the British cabinet, redoubling their solicitations to the court of Vienna, insisted that the moment was arrived for avenging the humiliation of former campaigns, and for disengaging itself from the shameful stipulations of the treaty of Presburg. Hostile preparations were then renewed with more vigour than ever; and some official rumours were spread through the hereditary states with profusion, calling upon the people to arm for the defence of their independence and that of all Germany. A war at this period with Austria was so contrary to the views of Napoleon, that he used every possible means of conciliation to avoid it, and even proposed to Francis II.

the mediation of Russia; but, following the advice of the British cabinet, this overture was rejected.

In the month of February 1809, the disposable forces of the Emperor of Austria amounted to 400,000 men; whilst for opening the campaign in Germany, Napoleon could not reckon upon more than 200,000, including the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine. The courts of Paris and Vienna had continued to exchange illusory notes till the end of March; but on the 6th of April, a proclamation from the Archduke Charles, appointed generalissimo of the Austrian armies, put an end to all uncertainty. It was conceived in these terms:

"The protection of the country calls upon us for new exploits: As long as it was possible to preserve peace by making sacrifices, and as long as these were compatible with the honour of the throne, the security of the state, and the prosperity of the nation, our beloved monarch imposed silence upon every painful sensation of his heart; but when all our efforts were found useless to guarantee our happy independence against the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror; when other nations were falling around us; and when legitimate sovereigns have been torn from the hearts of their subjects; when the dangers of a general subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria and their peaceable inhabitants; then the country demands its security from us, and we are ready to afford it protection. Upon you, my dear companions in arms, the eyes of the whole world are fixed, and upon all who still regard the national honour and the public prosperity. You will never partake of the shame of becoming the instruments of oppression: you will never carry on endless wars in distant climates, to satisfy a desolating ambition; you will never shed your blood for a foreign interest, and for the avidity of another. Never upon you shall fall the malediction of having ex-

terminated innocent people, and opened a way for the stranger to ascend an usurped throne over the bodies of the defenders of their country. A more propitious fate awaits you. The liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners; your victories shall loosen its chains; and your brothers of Germany, still in the enemy's ranks, expect their deliverance from you. The struggle is just; if it were not, I should not be at your head. We will renew in the environs of Ulm and Marengo (to which the enemy so often allude with boasting), the glorious exploits of Wurtzburg and Ostrach, Leiptingen, Zurich, Verona, the Trebbia and Novi. Our arms shall procure a lasting peace for our dear country; we can only obtain this noble end by great virtues. Absolute obedience, the most rigid discipline, persevering courage, and unshaken fortitude in dangers, are the companions of true bravery. The unity of the will, and the combined operations of the whole mass, will lead to victory, &c."

Two days after, this proclamation was followed by a manifesto addressed by Francis II. to his subjects, mostly a repetition of the same ideas. According to custom, this monarch affirmed that it was against his will that he had been compelled to recommence war.

On the 9th of April the Archduke Charles addressed the following note to the General-in-chief of the French army at Munich: "According to the declaration of his majesty the Emperor of Austria, I have to inform M. le General-in-chief, that I have orders to advance with the troops under my command, and to treat all those who make resistance as enemies." On the same day the Austrian advanced guard passed the Inn, and on the following, hostilities commenced, whilst the bulk of the army followed the movement of the advanced guard. On the 10th of April correspondent operations took place at all points.

The Emperor Napoleon having been informed at Paris on the evening of the 12th, of the commencement of hos-

tilities in Germany, this was the signal for his departure. On the the 16th he arrived at Dillingen on the Danube, where he met the King of Bavaria, who had retired from Munich. Napoleon promised Maximilian to restore him to his capital in fifteen days. On the 17th his head-quarters were at Donawerth, where he employed himself in giving such orders as circumstances had rendered necessary. To dissipate the inquietude that might arise from the actual numerical inferiority of the French army, he published this proclamation:

"Soldiers! The territory of the Confederation of the Rhine has been violated. The Austrian general would have us fly at the sight of his army, and that we should abandon our allies; he is approaching with the rapidity of lightning. Soldiers! I was surrounded by you when the Sovereign of Austria came to my bivouac in Moravia; you heard him implore my clemency, and swear eternal friendship. A conqueror in three wars, Austria owes every thing to our generosity; three times she has been perjured. Our former successes are certain guarantees for the victory that awaits us. Let us march then, and beholding us, the enemy will recognize his conqueror."

The Emperor Napoleon, after having read the first reports made to him of the manœuvres of the enemy's army, had sent orders to put his army in motion against the Austrians. General Oudinot arrived at Pfaffenhoffen, where he met three or four thousand Austrians, whom he attacked, and took three hundred prisoners. The Duke of Rivoli arrived next day at Pfaffenhoffen. The same day the Duke of Auerstadt left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and to draw near to Ingoldstadt. It was evident then that Napoleon's plan was to out-manœuvre the enemy, who had passed through Landshut.

The combat of Tann took place on the 19th. The division of St. Hilaire, part of the Duke of Auerstadt's left, arrived at the village of Pressing, and here Napoleon

gained a battle most glorious to the French arms. General St. Hilaire, supported by General Friant, overturned all that opposed him, and took the enemy's positions and a number of prisoners. The 72d regiment distinguished itself; and the 57th maintained its ancient reputation. Sixteen years previous to this period, this regiment obtained in Italy, the name of the *Terrible*. In this action they maintained their claim to that title, attacking singly six Austrian regiments in succession, and routing them. Another Austrian division was attacked both in front and rear by General Morand and the Duke of Dantzick; they were driven from their positions, and lost several hundred men. In all these affairs Generals St. Hilaire and Friant distinguished themselves. Those unfortunate Austrians who had been led from Vienna with music and with songs, under a persuasion that there was no longer a French army in Germany, and that they should only have to deal with Wirtemburgers and Bavarians, experienced the greatest terror, when they found those old bands which they had been accustomed to consider as their masters. The Prince of Lichtenstein, General Lusignan, and others were wounded; and the loss of the Austrians in colonels, and officers of lower rank, was considerable. In the battle of Abensberg, which occurred on the 20th, the Emperor was resolved to destroy the corps of the Archduke Louis and General Keller, amounting to sixty thousand men. Taking his post at Abensberg, he ordered the Duke of Auerstadt to keep in check the corps of Hohenzollern, Rosemberg and Lichtenstein, whilst he attacked the corps of the Archduke Louis and General Keller in front, and caused the communications of the enemy to be cut off by the Duke of Rivoli. The divisions of Morand and Gudin formed the left, and manœuvred under the orders of the Duke of Montebello. The Emperor determined to fight that day at the head of the Bavarians and Wirtemburgers.

He ordered their officers to form a circle, and addressed them in a long speech, translated to them in German by the Prince Royal of Bavaria. The Austrians, he said, had always been the enemies of the Bavarians, and now wanted to destroy their independence; and said, he would render them so powerful, that they alone should be able to contend with the House of Austria. He spoke to the Wirtemburgers of the victories they had obtained over the Austrians when they served in the Prussian army. He told them all, that the moment was come for carrying the war into the Austrian territory. This speech, repeated by the different captains, produced the desired effect. The Emperor then gave the signal for battle, and adapted manœuvres to the particular character of the troops. General Wrede attacked an Austrian division opposed to him; General Vandamme attacked the enemy on their right flank; the Duke of Montebello with his two French divisions, forced the extremity of the enemy's left, and advanced to Rohr and Rothenburg. The cannonade of the French was successful at all points, and the enemy, disconcerted by these movements, beat a retreat after fighting about an hour. Eight standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand prisoners, were the result of this affair, which cost the French but few men.

The town of Landshut is partly situated between two arms of the Iser, and on the side of Pfaffenhoffen is approached by a narrow defile, through some marshy plains. This the French found encumbered with caissons, the baggage of the whole army, as well as the equipage of a bridge. It is easy to figure to one's-self the situation of a body of troops in full retreat through such a place as this, and pursued by a victorious army, and particularly where an obstacle of this kind occurs near the passage of a river, from whence the most dreadful disorder must ensue. Men, horses, baggage, cannon, pontons, all were con-

founded together in the defiles, and near the suburb of Seelingthal. As this situation could not escape the eye of Napoleon, he repeated his attacks without intermission. The bulk of the enemy's cavalry was sabred and overthrown by Marshal Bessieres. After this, the suburb of Seelingthal was carried by the Emperor's aide-de-camp, General Mouton, and the infantry under his command, who passed the bridge over the first arm of the Iser at a charging pace, and entered Landshut, where confusion had reached its acme. The arrival of General Oudinot at the head of his whole corps by way of Mandelstadt, and the information received by the Austrian General Hiller, that Massena had passed the Iser at Mosburg, and was advancing to join Napoleon, hastened the further retreat of the enemy upon the Inn, through Neumark and Alt Oetting, still pursued by Marshal Bessieres; and thus the operations of two remarkable days effected the separation of the grand Austrian army in two parts; and thus the retreat of General Hiller left the centre of the Archduke Charles's army completely uncovered.

During these proceedings the Archduke Charles had formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, and obtained some partial success at Ratisbon. Two battalions of the 65th infantry of the line, left to guard the bridge of Ratisbon, having expended their cartridges, and being surrounded by the Austrians, were obliged to surrender. This event made an impression upon the Emperor, and he swore that in twenty-four hours Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon, to avenge the insult that had been offered to his arms. There was no time to be lost; the Emperor began his march from Landshut with several divisions under him. At two o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite to Echmuhl, where four corps of the Austrian army, consisting of one hundred and ten thousand men, had taken a position under the Archduke Charles. The Duke of Montebello attacked

the enemy on the left with the division of Gudin; those under the Dukes of Auerstadt and Dantzick, with the cavalry also, took their positions on the first signal. One of the most beautiful sights which war could produce, then presented itself: one hundred and ten thousand men were attacked on all points, turned on their left, and successively driven from all their positions. The enemy thus completely routed, lost all his cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The Austrian cavalry, strong and numerous, attempted to cover the retreat of the infantry, but were attacked by the French both on the right and left. A column of three Hungarian battalions, consisting of fifteen hundred men, was met with escaping, by General Nansouty, and compelled to surrender. The division of St. Sulpice charged another of the enemy, where the Archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken, owing his safety to the fleetness of his horse. Darkness at length compelled the French to halt. In this battle of Echmuhl, not half of the French troops were engaged. The enemy, closely pressed, continued to defile the whole of the night in small divisions, and in great confusion. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, and twenty thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors.

On the 23d at day-break the French army advanced upon Ratisbon, and soon came in sight of the enemy's cavalry, which attempted to cover the city. Three successive charges took place, all to the advantage of the French. Eight thousand Austrians having been cut in pieces, the enemy precipitately repassed the Danube. Having no time to destroy the bridge, the French passed over with them to the left bank. This unfortunate city, which the Austrians so rashly attempted to defend, was on fire during the night, and suffered considerably. The corps of General Bellegarde arrived the day after the battle, and then retired into Bohemia.

At the battle of Abensberg the Emperor beat separately the two corps of the Archduke Louis and General Keller: at the battle of Landshut he took the centre of their communications, and the general depôt of their magazines and artillery; finally, at the battle of Echmuhl, the three corps of Hohenzollern, Rosemberg and Lichtenstein, were defeated. The enemy, astonished by rapid movements out of their calculation, were soon deprived of their sanguine hopes, and precipitated from a delirium of presumption to a despondency bordering on despair.

On the 27th of April the Emperor Napoleon had his head-quarters at Muhldorf. At this period it was observed, that he had carried on the war almost without equipage and guards; having about him in their absence the allied Bavarian and Wirtemburg troops, wishing by these means to give them a particular proof of his confidence. A report was now circulated, that he had a leg broken; but the fact was, that a spent ball struck the heel of his boot, but did him very little injury. When Napoleon received this contusion, he was sitting on a green bank, talking with Marshal Duroc; the spent ball, as before observed, struck his right foot. "This," said he, "can come only from a Tyrolian; no other could take an aim at such a distance; these fellows are very clever." The first surgeon, Ivan, being near him, began to dress the foot; but the Emperor getting out of patience, mounted his horse before the dressing could be completed. Some courtiers having represented to him that he often exposed himself too much, "What would they have?" said he, laughing; "I must see how things are going on."

On the 24th the Emperor published the following proclamation, dated head-quarters, Ratisbon:

"Soldiers! You have justified my expectations: you have made up for numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the difference that exists between the

soldiers of Cæsar and the armed cohorts of Xerxes. In three days we have triumphed in the three battles of Tann, Abensberg, and Echmuhl, and in the actions of Pressing, Landshut, and Ratisbon. One hundred pieces of cannon, 40 standards, 50,000 prisoners, 3000 waggons full of baggage, all the chests of the regiments: such is the result of the rapidity of your march and your courage. The enemy, besotted by a perjured cabinet, seemed no longer to preserve any recollection of us. They have been promptly awakened. You have appeared to them more terrible than ever. Lately they had crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our allies. Lately they presumed to carry the war into the heart of our country. Now defeated and dismayed, they fly in disorder. Already my advanced-guard has passed the Inn: before a month has elapsed we shall be at Vienna."

On the 28th, a detachment of fifty horse chasseurs, commanded by Capt. Margaron, arrived in Dittmoning, where he fell in with a battalion of the famous militia, called the *landwehr*, which on his approach retired into a neighbouring wood. Capt. Margaron summoned them to surrender: after much deliberation, 1000 of this vaunted militia, posted in a thick wood, inaccessible to cavalry, yielded to fifty chasseurs. The Emperor wished to see them; they were badly armed, worse accoutred, and commanded by superannuated officers of artillery, and really excited compassion. Austria at this period, it was observed, had raised numerous armies, divided into corps like the French army; her generals published bulletins, proclamations, general orders, all in imitation of the French. The Emperor Francis, on leaving Vienna, published a proclamation, drawn up by M. Gentz. When he was informed of the results of the battle of Echmuhl, he went to Scharding, a position well adapted for a sovereign who wished to be neither in his capital nor in the field.

The Duke of Dantzick, after having accompanied the

King Maximilian to Munich, who was impatient to see his subjects, advanced through Wasserburg and Altenmark, upon Salzburg, with two Bavarian divisions. He had orders to enter the Tyrol with the whole of his force; to drive the Austrians out of that country, and thus secure the rear of the grand army against any attempts from this quarter.

On the 27th of April the Marshals Lannes, Bessieres, and Massena, began to advance beyond the Inn. On the 30th, the Emperor arrived at Burghausen with his guard, and the bridge over the Salza, which the Austrians had destroyed, was re-established. From the 30th of April till the 2d of May, the French army continued its progressive march. General Oudinot seized upon Ried, where he found more than twenty thousand quintals of meal, and made fifteen hundred prisoners. The Dukes of Montebello and Istria occupied Wels, which also contained considerable magazines of provisions and ammunition. On the right, Marshal Lefebvre directed the march of a column upon Kuffstein, and another upon Rastadt upon the Ems, thus occupying two routes leading into Italy across the Tyrol. A third column, pursuing the retreat of the Austrian General Jellachich towards Styria, came up with the enemy at Colling, and occasioned him some loss. On the left, the Duke of Rivoli pursued the route from Scharding to Efferden.

On the 3d of May the advanced guard of the French army under Massena, arrived at Lintz; the remains of the two corps of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller had marched the same way; he there found them collected to the number of thirty thousand men, in an advantageous position in advance of the Traun: however, fearing to be turned by his left, the Austrian general marched towards Ebersberg, in order to pass the river there. On the same day the Emperor's head-quar-

ters were at Lambach; he had ordered General Oudinot and Marshal Bessieres to advance in the direction of Ebersberg, to support the movement of the Duke of Rivoli. General Claparedes' division, that marched at the head of Oudinot's corps, overtook the rear of the Austrian division near Ebersberg. The enemy was boldly attacked the moment he was advancing towards the bridge to gain the right bank of the Traun, under the protection of numerous batteries. This bridge was prolonged by a number of little islets. The French voltigeurs and tiralleurs were several times arrested by the violence of the enemy's fire, till General Claparede advanced with the rest of his division; then cannon, caissons, carriages, men and horses, were overthrown in the Traun; but the fire having caught some houses near the bridge, the first arches of it were burnt, so that the French troops that had already passed the river were separated from the rest, and had to contend against the thirty thousand Austrians that General Hiller had formed upon the heights behind the town. General Claparede's division, scarcely seven thousand strong, had to sustain this unequal contest a long time; but they acquitted themselves with a resolution and intrepidity worthy of the highest eulogy. Still this handful of brave men must have fallen a sacrifice to their valour, if the other divisions had not come to their assistance, after extinguishing the fire at the foot of the bridge. The Austrians left four pieces of cannon, two standards, and a heap of dead in Ebersberg, the ruins of which continued smoking eight days after the battle. The houses, the streets, the sides of the river, were encumbered with bodies half burnt. This day cost the Austrians four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and from six to seven thousand prisoners. General Claparede's division had more than three hundred killed, and more than seven

hundred badly wounded. A company of Corsican voltigeurs, in pursuing the enemy, made seven hundred prisoners, who had taken refuge in a wood.

During this glorious combat at Ebersberg, the Duke of Montebello arrived at Steyer, and restored the bridge that the enemy had cut away. On the same evening Napoleon slept at Ens, and there received some deputies from the circle of Upper Austria.

The other corps forming parts of the grand French army now advanced rapidly to join those already in line. The ninth corps, commanded by the Prince of Ponte Corvo, consisting of twenty thousand men, and composed entirely of the King of Saxony's contingent, had proceeded along the western frontier of Bohemia, and seized upon Egra, after dispersing a considerable body of the landwehr collected there. On the 6th of May the Prince of Ponte Corvo had his head-quarters at Rœtz, upon the high road from Ratisbon to Prague. On the same day the Duke of Montebello arrived with his troops at Moelk, whilst the Duke of Rivoli supplied their place at Amstetten, and the Duke of Auerstadt at Lintz.

On the 7th of May the Austrian General Hiller arriving at St. Polten, divided his troops, and passed the Danube over the bridge of Krems with the most numerous body; the rest, composed of light troops, under General Nordmann, pursued the route to Vienna, to assist in the defence of that city till the arrival of the Archduke Charles, who had flattered himself with being able to operate on both sides of the Danube. On the 9th of May the corps of Marshals Massena and Lannes formed a junction near Sieghartskirchen, four leagues from the Austrian capital. On the same day the Emperor's head-quarters were at St. Polten; the Prince of Echmuhl quitted Lintz for Moelk. The Prince of Ponte Corvo pursued the rear of the Archduke Charles, and harassing him with several demonstrations, obliged him to divide his army; lastly, the

Duke of Dantzick continned to march towards the Tyrol, and arrived at Inspruck.

On the 10th of May, at nine in the morning, Napoleon appeared at the gates of Vienna, with the corps of the Duke of Montebello. This was exactly a month after the Austrian army had passed the Inn to invade Bavaria. The Emperor slept in the evening at the Imperial chateau of Schoenbrunn, half a league to the south: this was a position very favourable for directing the affairs in the environs of Vienna, then occupied by the Archduke Maximilian with ten battalions of the line and ten of the landwehr, making from fifteen to sixteen thousand men. The fauxbourgs of Vienna that were not fortified, but contained two-thirds of the population, surrendered without resistance to the troops under Oudinot; but when General Thurreau, commanding the advanced guard, appeared upon the esplanade that separates the suburbs from the city, the guns from the ramparts fired grape shot upon him, and obliged his troops to retire. The Duke de Montebello then, by order of Napoleon, sent Colonel Lagrange to summon the city to open its gates, when the enraged populace would have assassinated him, had he not been rescued by a picquet sent forward by General O'Reilly, who thus prevented the people of Vienna from violating one of the most sacred rights of nations. Yet whilst Colonel Lagrange thus escaped certain death, the city militia carried a butcher's boy about in triumph, who was one of the first that had struck the French officer that brought the summons. General Andreossy being appointed governor of Vienna, he assembled a deputation of the principal inhabitants of the suburbs, and sent them to Napoleon at Schoenbrunn. They were graciously received, and sent back with a letter to the Archduke Maximilian, endeavouring to persuade him to save the city from the horrors of war, and assuring him that if the Emperor

should be compelled to make a regular attack upon it, it would be totally destroyed in thirty-six hours, by the fire of the bombs and batteries. The deputation that brought this new summons, entered Vienna at eleven o'clock; but an hour after the fire of the ramparts commenced at all points, and fifteen inhabitants and two French soldiers were killed.

Reduced thus reluctantly to the hard necessity of bombarding the place, Napoleon, accompanied by the Duke of Rivoli, arrived upon the arm of the Danube that separates the promenade called the Prater, from the faux-bourgs, and caused a little pavilion on the left to be occupied by two companies of voltigeurs, whilst a bridge was constructed, and completed without any interruption. The French army then formed a circle about the ramparts; their left supported by the Danube near Dobling; the right at Simmring, and the centre in the environs of Schoenbrunn.

General Bertrand of the engineers, chose to erect a battery of twenty howitzers upon the spot where the Turks in 1683 first opened their trenches. This battery, covered by the Emperor's stables, began to bombard the place about nine o'clock; but could not silence the fire of the ramparts. Several hotels and large buildings in the city became the prey of the flames, and spread the greatest consternation amongst an immense population, shut up as it were in a narrow space. In the interim a flag of truce was sent out, to announce that the young Archduchess Maria Louise, ill of the small-pox, not being able to accompany her father and mother, was then in the Imperial palace, exposed to the fire of the French artillery. Out of respect to this princess, Napoleon changed the direction of the batteries in such a manner, that the palace was preserved. At one in the morning the Archduke marched out with two battalions, to attack the pavilion which had protected the building of the bridge by which

the Emperor entered the Prater. The two companies of voltigeurs posted here, received the Austrians within musket-shot, and their fire, and that of a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon on the other side, and forced the Austrians to retire in great disorder. The Archduke finding his communications thus threatened, ordered the troops of the line to evacuate the city, leaving the battalions of the landwehr, under General O'Reilly, whom he had authorized to treat for a capitulation. In fact, the Emperor Napoleon on the following day granted the deputation sent to him, the same capitulation which they had received from him in the year 1805; the articles were signed in the evening, and on the following day General Oudinot's troops occupied the city, the garrison of which remained prisoners of war.

Napoleon did not enter Vienna, but the Imperial guard was cantoned about Schoenbrunn, and the corps under the Dukes of Rivoli, Montebello and Istria, in the environs of that city. Two points offered themselves for the passage of the Danube; the first to the left of the place, near the village of Nausdorf, and below Bisamberg, and which commanded an excellent position on the other side, supposing the river could be passed in sufficient force before the enemy arrived. An attempt made to seize this position did not succeed, and part of a French battalion that passed over in boats, were made prisoners. The second point was on the right, between the island of Lobau and Presburg. Here the Danube is divided into several branches, and the heights on the right bank allow of the works being protected by batteries. The isle of Lobau, to which the Emperor gave the preference, about a mile and a half east of Vienna, is covered with trees, and surrounded with bushes on all sides, which conceal even the most elevated situations upon it.

On the 21st of May the whole Austrian army was under arms, and drawn up in two lines behind Gerardsdorf,

between the mount Bisamberg and the Russbach, a brook. The troops under General Hiller, forming the right wing, were near Stamersdorf; the corps of Generals Bellegarde and Hohenzollern formed the centre, and that of General Rosemberg the left. All the cavalry under Prince John de Lichtenstein, had orders to fall back, and form behind the centre, between the corps of General Hiller and the Prince of Rosemberg. The whole of the plain of Markfeld extended in the front of this line.

At four in the evening the Archduke, having learnt by his out-posts that a part of the French army was in position, no longer hesitated to advance. Having formed his troops in five columns, his object was to enclose the French in a narrow circle, then by attacking them with vigour, force them to recross the Danube, and to destroy the bridges. The Austrian army then presented a total of ninety thousand men, with two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon of different calibre. To resist this force Napoleon had not more than forty thousand men with him, and the greatest part of the artillery was in the island of Lobau.

The enemy's columns now began to debouch in the plain, and the action soon commenced with a vigorous attack by the Archduke upon the left wing of the French at Gros Aspern. Marshal Massena had disposed his troops in large sections in the front of this village; their front was covered by two battalions that lined the hedges; his right by a battery, and his left by a long and deep ditch that extended to the Danube, and a little island, in which some platoons were posted. The defence was equally as spirited as the attack; three times the Austrians, much superior in number, endeavoured to carry the village of Aspern, and three times they were repulsed, fighting with the greatest fury in every street, house and barn. General Hiller, who commanded them, fatigued with this obstinate resistance, gave up the idea of mak-

ing himself master of Aspern. Boudet's division, which defended Essling under the Duke of Montebello, did not display less firmness and valour; however, attacked in front by the enemy's fourth column, and their rear by the fifth, the Marshal would certainly have been forced to abandon this village, if the Emperor had not diverted the enemy from these attacks, by ordering all his cavalry under Marshal Bessieres to fall upon their centre. This movement was supported by other troops, whose presence was not strictly necessary to secure the positions between the two villages of Aspern and Essling. Marshal Bessieres advancing with rapidity upon the corps under General Hohenzollern, broke it, and threw it into disorder. The Austrian cavalry in their turn endeavoured to overthrow the French; O'Reilly's regiment was cut in pieces; but night came on and put an end to this combat.

This murderous day, in which the advantage did not rest with either party, and which was the prelude to the terrible and memorable battle on the day following, was signalized by the loss of General D'Espagne, one of the bravest officers in the French army: he was killed in a charge, the result of which was the taking of fourteen pieces of the enemy's cannon. The Generals of brigade Fouler and Durosnel were made prisoners. The number of killed and wounded was considerable in both armies, who passed the night in presence of each other, in the same positions which they occupied at the end of the action. During the night the division of St. Hilaire, the corps of Oudinot, a part of the old and new guard, two brigades of light cavalry, and the train of artillery, arrived from the island of Lobau, and entered into line with the other troops. These reinforcements increased the French army to forty-five thousand men.

On the 22d at day-break the Archduke Charles made his dispositions for renewing the battle, which began at four in the morning. From every point of the circum-

ference of the enemy's line they directed a flanking fire upon the French centre, which the artillery of the latter returned with much vigour: the Austrian columns advancing, those of Generals Hiller and Bellegarde attacked the village of Aspern, still occupied by the Marshal Duke of Rivoli, with an additional division. One of the enemy's regiments lodged themselves in some of the first houses in the village, but were soon driven out by the bayonet; other regiments returned to the charge, and penetrated as far as the church, which they seized, but it was soon retaken, and remained in the hands of the French. Whilst this was passing on the left of the French line, the Austrians attacked the village of Essling with equal vigour; but this was obstinately defended by Boudet's division.

Towards seven in the evening Napoleon conceived the idea of separating the Austrian army, by penetrating through its centre, and charged the Duke of Montebello with this operation. This marshal put himself at the head of St. Hilaire's division, having upon his left the troops of General Oudinot, and Boudet's division on his right; the cavalry, formed in a mass, was placed in the intervals, and behind the infantry, to sustain the efforts of the whole, as occasion might require. This line advanced in the best order: its front garnished with a numerous artillery under General Laribossiere, returned the fire of the enemy, and caused great ravages in his ranks; the Archduke seeing the danger that threatened him, reinforced his centre, and repaired thither himself. The enemy's efforts to resist the French columns were in vain; they continued to advance with the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* the Austrian line was soon obliged to retreat, though in very good order. The French cavalry charged that of Prince Lichtenstein with great valour. It was seven in the morning: the French cavalry had reached the little village of Breitenlee, the Archduke's

head-quarters. Only a few more efforts were now wanting to complete the triumph of fifty thousand Frenchmen over ninety thousand of their enemies, when suddenly it was understood that the Emperor had just received information, that the bridges thrown over the Danube had been carried away by boats loaded with stones, launched from the islands above that of Lobau. It now appeared impossible that the rest of the army, composed of more than forty thousand men, eighty pieces of artillery, &c. could pass into the isle of Lobau, or over to the left shore of the Danube. Such intelligence as this would have disconcerted any other chief than Napoleon: he, without shewing the least alteration in his countenance, and with heroic indifference, sent orders to Marshal Lannes to slacken his pursuit, and to return slowly into a position between Aspern and Essling.

Perceiving the French thus arrested in their career of victory, the Archduke Charles had no doubt but that the auxiliary means that had been preparing had taken their intended effect. The Austrian line was again advancing; the cavalry returned to the charge: the artillery, which was retreating, again took a position, and the battle was renewed upon the same ground, and with the same balance of success as on the preceding evening. A most destructive fire was directed upon the French line from two hundred pieces of cannon; the two villages of Aspern and Essling were attacked by the reserve of the enemy's grenadiers, who had not before taken any part in the action. The feeble French army, compelled to be sparing of its ammunition, knowing they could no longer receive any supply, could oppose nothing but their bayonets to these terrible attacks, excepting their native valour and unshaken constancy. The troops, exposed to this dreadful fire from their adversaries, never fired unless when the enemy's columns were within forty paces. Whilst the intrepid Marshal Lannes, at the head of his brave men,

was running along the front of his line, and encouraging them by his voice and example, he was struck on the knee by a ball. General St. Hilaire and a number of officers were mortally wounded, yet their fall did not dishearten the brave men they commanded for a moment; they saw their ranks thinned without any emotions of terror; they closed as fast, and still dared the death that menaced them.

Napoleon saw that victory was departing from his eagles; but superior to fortune, he continued his dispositions as in a day of triumph. He sent reinforcements to the points most pressed; he endeavoured to gain time without compromising the safety of his troops. Gros Aspern in the mean while was taken and retaken four times, and Essling eight. At the last of these attacks, the Emperor made the regiment of fusileers, and the tiralleurs of the guard, advance under the Generals Mouton and Curial: they took and remained in possession of Essling, which the enemy attempted no more to disturb. The old guard, commanded by General Dorsenne, was placed in the third line, and the Austrians wisely thought that their efforts would fail against those brave veterans. At length, at nine at night, this sanguinary conflict ceased: the French preserved the positions they had in the morning, and the Austrians bivouacked where they were. Both armies sustained nearly an equal loss; from fifteen to twenty thousand men had been killed or wounded on both sides. Among the Austrians were four field-marshals, eight generals, and six hundred and sixty-three officers.

Ever since ten in the morning the engineers and the artillery officers had been employed in the island of Lobau, repairing the damage done to the bridges, especially that which kept up the communication with the left bank of the Danube; but they had now to struggle with the fire-ships that were continually coming down,

and against the waters of the river, that had risen eight feet in the space of some hours, occasioned by the melting of the snows in the mountains. Cables were broken; vessels drifted away, had the greatest difficulty to regain the current; they were replaced and drifted again and again. Before the bridge was well fixed, men and ammunition were passed over, which enabled the French to hold out till night. Though the engagement ceased to be general at nine o'clock, the advanced posts continued firing till midnight.

During this time, all the wounded that could by any means reach the foot of the bridge, were crowded together; but pushed on by those behind them, several thousands, mostly mortally wounded, found a grave in the Danube; others followed, and shared the same fate, with men and horses entangled in the cordage used for lashing rafts, &c. together.

Napoleon had passed over to the isle of Lobau before the bridge was in a state to sustain the numbers that followed. To afford relief to the wounded that remained, now seemed to engross all his attention. He was walking alone at a great pace, and apparently with his eyes to the ground, when he observed a long file of the wounded endeavouring to gain the island, there to find protection and relief to their sufferings. In tracing the line of this funeral march, he observed a groupe advancing, and carrying Marshal Lannes. Crossing their firelocks, and with some branches of oak, twelve old grenadiers, covered with blood and dust, had formed a bier, upon which lay stretched the illustrious warrior. As soon as the Emperor perceived this was the Duke of Montebello, he hastened to meet him. The grenadiers stopped, and Napoleon throwing himself upon his old companion in arms, who had fainted with the loss of blood, with a voice scarcely articulate, said several times, "Lannes, my friend, do you know me? It is the

Emperor; it is Bonaparte, your friend." At these words Lannes opening his eyes, till then closed, collected his spirits, and made some attempts to speak; but not being able, he could only lift his dying arms to pass them round the neck of Napoleon. Thus embracing and mingling their sighs, the old grenadiers during this mute eloquence could not suppress the tears of sympathy that fell from those eyes that had so lately gleamed with a very different passion. The fear of exhausting the little life that remained in the marshal, determined the Emperor to leave him; but all surgical assistance proved ineffectual.

When as many of the wounded as it was possible to remove, had been brought to Lobau, a bark was prepared, in which Napoleon traversed the broadest arm of the Danube, and joined the troops that remained upon the right bank of that river. Before he quitted the island he dictated an order to Marshal Massena, enjoining him to make his retreat to the island with all possible silence, after having lighted and increased the fire of his bivouacks, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy. The French army performed this retrograde movement and the passage of the bridge with admirable order; at four in the morning all the troops and the artillery were collected in the island, and the bridge removed.

Napoleon, in passing the Danube, was accompanied by the Prince of Neufchatel, and one orderly officer. The waves agitated by an impetuous wind, the trees and wrecks floating with the current, and the profound darkness of the night, contributed to render this passage very dangerous; but like Cæsar, Napoleon trusted to his fortune.

But to return to the operations on the other side: from the approaching sound of the cannon, the corps of Marshal Davoust, the division of carabiniers and cuirassiers under General St. Sulpice, and some other troops left on the right of the river, could easily judge how much their presence was wanted. Their desperation was ex-

treme, when they found that no means were left for their passage. At the same time the whole population of Vienna was in a state of agitation, and assembled on the banks of the river, endeavoured to conjecture the issue of the combat by the direction of the firing, and which was supposed would decide the fate of the Austrian monarchy.

Whatever might be their thoughts, the people did not shew the least disinclination to assist the wounded French that arrived on this side of the river previous to the breaking of the bridges at Lobau. A number of country people were waiting before a baker's door, for their small portions of bread, when a carriage passing by loaded with wounded, each of the country people willingly sacrificed a part of the subsistence intended for their families. Other villagers are known to have conducted several soldiers into their houses, and to have carried the firelocks and knapsacks for those who were lame, or overfatigued.

The Archduke Charles did not profit by the advantage which this retreat of a part of the French army had offered him, and which was more than counterbalanced soon after, by the arrival of the army of Italy under Prince Eugene.

The Archduke John, commanding the Austrian army in Italy, was completely beaten by the French in the affairs upon the Piave, St. Daniel, Tarvis, and Goritzia. On the 28th of May the Duke of Ragusa, commanding the army of Dalmatia, effected his junction at Fiume, with the army of Italy.

In adverting to the plan of operations laid down by Napoleon, it may be necessary to observe, that according to this, the divisions of infantry under Generals Clausel and Montichard, that occupied Dalmatia and part of Illyria, were to form the extreme right of the grand army as soon as Prince Eugene should have formed

his junction with it. In the meanwhile the viceroy, in advancing upon the frontiers of Austria and Hungary, on the 5th of June was in possession of Œdenburg, the first frontier town in Hungary. Two days after this the prince established his head-quarters at Guntz. Advancing towards Raab on the 12th, the town of Papa was occupied, after a brisk engagement, in which General Grouchy made six hundred prisoners.

CHAP. XXIII.

Battle of Raab—Desperate Affair of the Square-house, or Farm—Ability and Courage of Prince Eugene—Address of Captain Matthieu—Positions occupied by the Army of the Archduke Charles—The Island of Lobau—Anecdote—Operations of the French—Passage of the Danube—Battles of Enzersdorff, Wagram, Gros Aspern, &c.—Generals Macdonald and Oudinot appointed Marshals—Retreat and Pursuit of the Austrians—Arrival of Napoleon at Znaim—Conditions of an Armistice agreed upon—Marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise proposed by Napoleon—Reflections—Proposal to Napoleon to depose the Emperor Francis II., why rejected—Attempt of a young German to Assassinate Napoleon—Arrival of the Emperor at Fontainebleau—Vain Hopes of the French People, as to the Conclusion of the War in Spain——Causes of the general Resentment against the French—Expedition against Walcheren—Napoleon's Remarks.

On the 13th in the morning, the French army was in motion for Raab; here they found the Austrian army in position upon the heights that mask that city; their right

was supported by the village of Szabadhege, and its left by the marshes in the direction of Wesprim; the centre was established in the village of Kismegyer. A numerous light cavalry was disposed in front of the line, and twelve hundred select troops occupied as an advanced post, a farm, or large square building, which had been carefully fortified. A deep water which enclosed the marsh on the left, bathed the walls of this farm, and increased the difficulties of its approach. The rear of this formidable position was bristled with artillery; and its left covered by natural entrenchments, extending in the direction of Raab, which was guarded by four thousand men, and provided with a numerous artillery. Prince Eugene having reconnoitred the whole line, made his dispositions for the attack, which was fixed for the 14th. The viceroy, the bulletin observed, drew up his army in order of battle, and with thirty-five thousand men attacked fifty thousand of the enemy. The zeal of his troops was animated by the recollection of the memorable event which had consecrated this day, June 14. All the soldiers shouted with joy when they saw the enemy. The attack commenced on the right and towards the centre of the French line. Whilst General Seras made an attempt upon the farm, or square-house, General Montbrun made a movement upon the right of the enemy's light troops, which obliged them to unmask the front of their infantry, and throw themselves precipitately towards the left of their line. Having arrived near the farm, General Seras made dispositions for carrying it by main force; but the depth of the water spoken of before, presented an obstacle which his troops could not easily surmount. Upon the marshy ground over which they had to pass, they frequently sunk up to the middle, and could only disengage themselves from this quagmire with great difficulty, where many perished. General Seras, however, whilst other corps were more

successful against the enemy, made a vigorous attack upon the troops posted on the right of the square-house; but notwithstanding the success that attended this movement, he did not obtain possession before three successive attacks had been made upon it. The taking of this position was absolutely necessary to ensure the success of the day; accordingly the viceroy sent a brigade to reinforce General Seras, with orders to renew the attack without delay. This brigade then proceeded to attack the front of this fortress, whilst General Seras turned the position, to take it in the rear; still, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of the assailants, they could not sustain the dreadful fire of musketry and grape poured upon them by the Austrians. In the course of a few minutes General Roussel's brigade had upwards of six hundred men, with thirty-six officers, killed and wounded, and was obliged to retire on his right. General Seras, then rendered almost desperate by his want of success, took the resolution to recommence another attack with the whole of his troops. After having run through the ranks, and animated the courage of the soldiers, telling them that the success of the day depended entirely upon the last effort they were going to make, he ordered the charge to be beaten, and putting himself at their head, precipitated himself upon this fatal position. Expression would be wanting, to give the details of this terrible attack; but in some minutes the square-house was entered, in spite of all the obstacles that surrounded it; the walls were scaled, the gates forced open by the sappers, and the French, covered with blood and dirt, entered the walls. In vain did the Austrian grenadiers demand quarter upon their knees, of the conquerors, whose fury knew no bounds: the house was burnt, and all that escaped the flames, perished by the sword. Not one Austrian survived this terrible disaster. When the enemy's reserve appeared, after his first and second had been defeated,

the viceroy also advanced with his reserve. This fine position of the Austrians was taken, and at four o'clock the victory was decisive. Three thousand prisoners, and six pieces of cannon, were the result: the enemy left three thousand dead on the field. On the following day he was closely pursued on the road of Comorn and Pest.

The operations of the army of Prince Eugene in Carinthia and Styria, previous to his union with the French army in the island of Lobau, did equal credit to his ability and the courage of the troops under his command, especially in the combat of Gratz, where the 94th regiment so highly distinguished itself, that Napoleon, reviewing them on the 7th of July in the island of Lobau, passed high eulogiums upon its devotedness; and he had introduced into the order of the day, that the following device should be engraved upon the eagle of the regiment, *Un contre dix*—"One against ten." The Colonel Gambin was nominated a Count of the empire, with a considerable dotation, and ninety-three decorations of the Legion of Honour were distributed among the officers and privates.

The activity of Prince Eugene during this campaign, had placed him in a distinguished rank amongst the first generals of the French armies. In the space of two months he had advanced from the shores of the Adige to the Danube. The army of Italy, under his command, had passed several rivers in sight of the enemy; fought three pitched battles, and several combats, particularly that at St. Michele's, where General Jellachich's corps was completely destroyed. Thirty-seven thousand prisoners, twelve standards, nearly two hundred pieces of cannon, ammunition, magazines, &c. were the trophies that Prince Eugene presented to Napoleon, when he came with his valiant troops to contribute to the latest success of the grand army.

Soon after the above-mentioned defeat of General Jel-

lachich, Captain Matthieu of the staff was sent out by the prince upon a reconnoitring party in the direction of Salzburg. Having approached the position of Rottenmann, he was made prisoner; but by an extraordinary presence of mind, he pretended he was the bearer of a flag of truce sent to announce the defeat of General Jellachich, by which he succeeded in persuading three thousand men under Major-General Plunket to lay down their arms. Captain Matthieu soon after this was called Baron Rottenmann; because, under the walls of the town of that name, he saw the numerous prisoners defile, who, in consequence of his daring summons, fell into the hands of Prince Eugene.

Ever since the battle of Essling, the two grand armies, French and Austrian, had remained not inactive, but without undertaking any thing of moment. The army of the Archduke, augmented by the numerous levies made in Hungary, counted in his ranks upon the left bank of the Danube, upwards of an hundred and seventy thousand men, with nearly nine hundred pieces of artillery. Still this mass of combatants, and this immense *materiel*, did not inspire the Austrian generalissimo with the confidence he possessed previous to the battles of Abensberg and Echmuhl. He was better able to carry on a defensive than an offensive war: thus the works that he had raised opposite the island of Lobau, parallel with the Danube, formed a line extending from the village of Gros Aspern, and passed through the village of Essling to the little town of Enzersdorff. These works, executed with the greatest care, and connected by a curtain, were pallisaded and provided with *chevaux des frieze*, and strengthened with one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The main body of the Austrian army, established upon some hills about a mile behind these entrenchments, had its front covered by a running water, the Rusbach, the borders of which were fortified with other small works. Thus

entrenched, the Archduke patiently awaited a new attack from the French, hoping he should succeed in driving his redoutable adversary into the Danube, if he should dare to cross this river a second time. Means were also again taken to destroy the French bridges, as before the 22d of May; but Napoleon's measures were such, that it might be said, "there was no longer any Danube for the French." The Emperor had also availed himself of the Archduke's inaction, to establish the greatest part of his army in the island of Lobau. This island, about two leagues in circumference, had been reserved as hunting-ground for the princes of the House of Austria, and was now become a kind of fortified place, nearly covered with works. Three bridges were constructed in parallel lines, six hundred paces in length. Upon one of these, three carriages might pass abreast; by these the land of the island was connected with the right bank of the Danube, and secured a communication with Vienna. Stockades established in different directions, protected these bridges against every new insult, and even from fire-ships, and other incendiary machines: the redoubt and the *tetes-du-pont* were defended by an hundred and twenty pieces of cannon.

The island of Lobau had received the name of Napoleon; the adjacent islands, equally fortified, were those of Montebello, St. Hilaire, D'Espagne, Petit, Massena, and Alexander, from Berthier's christian name. From these works the little town of Enzersdorff might have been rased to the ground in a few hours; and one month had been sufficient to complete them. On the 1st of July the French army, including the troops marching under the viceroy, was from 140 to 150,000 strong. The corps who had fought at Essling were encamped at Lobau; the others were distributed between Vienna and Presburg.

During the execution of these labours, Napoleon had occupied the palace of Schoenbrunn; but on the 1st of July

he came and fixed his head-quarters in the island of Lobau. Walking round his tent on the first day of his arrival, he stopped before a group of grenadiers who were taking their repast—"Ah, friends," said he, "how do you find your wine?"—"It will not get into our heads," said one of them, pointing to the Danube—"that is our wine-cellar."—The Emperor, who had ordered a bottle of wine to be given to each man, was surprised to find his orders had been so badly executed; but upon enquiry, it was found that those persons to whom the wine had been consigned for distribution, had sold it for their own emolument. These culprits were arrested, tried by a military commission, and condemned to death.

The time was now approaching when the fate of the Austrian monarchy was expected to be decided by a single battle; the French troops had never shewn more confidence and enthusiasm, and Napoleon took care to increase these sentiments by all the means so familiar to him, and generally so successfully applied. The Archduke imagined the French army would debouch upon the left of the Danube, from the same point as before, and by the same means. The Emperor, on his part, endeavoured to strengthen this supposition, in order to draw the attention of this prince from his real object, which was to render all his works and entrenchments of no use to him. He intended to pass the Danube below the point where the army had passed to the left side on the 21st of May. On the 2d of July five hundred voltigeurs passed into the island Du Moulin, opposite Essling, and took a position: this island was soon joined to the continent by a little bridge, in advance of which a *fleche* was constructed. As the Emperor wished, this operation attracted the attention of the enemy; and the redoubts of Essling directed a brisk fire upon this false point of attack. During the 4th, a large portion of the army was collected on the right bank: at ten at night General Oudinot embarked fifteen

hundred voltigeurs, under General Conroux, on board ten gun-boats, who landed them below the isle of Lobau: some of the enemy's posts were driven back upon the village of Muhlleuten. At eleven o'clock a terrible cannonade commenced upon Enzersdorff and the enemy's left: the houses at Enzersdorff were soon on fire. The enemy's artillery answered that of the French with great vigour. The sky had been overcast all day, and the storm threatened to burst out at this moment. The wind seemed to blow from all points; the rain fell in torrents; the peals of cannon and those of the thunder succeeded with such rapidity, that it was almost impossible to distinguish them: the islands in the Danube were inundated; but nothing could now oppose the passage of the Danube by the French: at five in the morning the sky became serene, and the sun shone out with his usual splendour. The army was formed, Massena's corps was on the left, those of the Prince of Ponte Corvo and General Oudinot in the centre, and Marshal Davoust upon the right. The army of Italy, under the viceroy, the corps of the Duke of Dalmatia, the Imperial guard, and the heavy cavalry, debouched successively, to form a second line and the reserves. The enemy could then perceive the intentions of Napoleon: he saw the French army drawn up in order of battle upon the left extremity of his line, all the works of which were now rendered useless. The Archduke, compelled to change his front, was obliged to leave his redoubts nearly a mile in his rear, and accept battle upon the ground which the French Emperor himself had chosen.

The action commenced between seven and eight in the morning. At this moment the batteries that had played upon Enzersdorff all night, had compelled the enemy to retire, excepting four battalions left to protect the smoking ruins. Colonel St. Croix being sent upon this point, made these battalions prisoners. General Oudinot then

surrounded the castle of Sachsengang, which the enemy had fortified, took nine hundred men he found there, and twelve pieces of cannon. The Emperor then made the whole army deploy in the immense plain of Enzersdorff. The Archduke Charles, thus deceived in his hopes, ordered several manœuvres, with a view to regain some advantages upon this new field of battle. Leaving the main body of his army in their lines near the Danube, and behind the Rusbach, he detached several columns of infantry, supported by a numerous artillery and all his cavalry, to overwhelm the right of the French. One of these columns occupied the village of Rutzendorf; but General Oudinot soon drove them out, and Napoleon sent orders to the Prince of Echmuhl to support his right, whilst he threatened the enemy's left. From noon till nine at night, the French continued to manœuvre in the plain of Enzersdorff, and occupied most of the villages in advance of Rusbach. Marshal Massena successively seized upon the works of Essling and Gros Aspern, while the Saxons, under Prince Ponte Corvo, carried the village of Raasdorf. At nine o'clock an attack was made upon the Austrian centre at Wagram by Prince Eugene. This position, strongly fortified, was soon carried by the three divisions of Pacthod, Seras, and Lamarque. Three thousand prisoners and five standards were in the hands of the victors, who had already got beyond Wagram, when numerous reinforcements sent by the Archduke, and the flanking fire of many batteries on the right and left, forced General Macdonald to retreat. This movement, executed in the best order in the dark, however, proved fatal to three French divisions: the Saxons, posted at Raasdorf, mistook these divisions for enemies, who, pursued by the Austrians, were thrown into such disorder, that they could not be rallied, and the three thousand prisoners escaped in the confusion. Out of five grenadiers who carried the Austrian colours, four were killed, and only one pre-

served his flag. Several officers were killed and wounded in this rash enterprise. The darkness which proved so fatal to General Macdonald, was not more favourable to the enemy, who were prevented from following up the advantage they had obtained. Instead of pursuing the French beyond Wagram, they were satisfied with retaking the position, and remaining in it. General Macdonald rallied his columns, and the whole army bivouacked upon the field of battle, waiting with impatience the return of day.

The operations here described, have in some narrations been called the battle of Enzersdorff; but the affair of the 5th of July was in reality only the prelude to the great battle that was fought on the day following, generally called the battle of Wagram.

Napoleon had employed a part of the night in collecting a strong mass opposite the centre of the enemy's line, and within cannon-shot of the village of Wagram. Marshal Massena advanced upon the left of Atterklau, leaving at Gros Aspern a single division, with orders, if necessary, to fall back upon the isle of Lobau. Marshal Davoust passed the village of Grosshoffen, to approach the French centre. Subsequent to the movements of the evening, the Archduke had weakened his centre to reinforce his wings, to which he gave a much greater extent. The right of the enemy's line, upon which they had begun to raise, fresh redoubts, supported by the Danube, extended from Stradlau to Gerasdorf; the centre at Wagram, and the left, from this last village to Markgrafen Neusiedel.

At day-break the French army was again formed and under arms; the Prince of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena on the left; Prince Eugene in the centre, with the troops of the army of Italy, reinforced by Broussier's division, that had arrived from the isle of Lobau; the corps of Dalmatia, under General Marmont; that of the

grenadiers and voltigeurs united, under General Oudinot: in the rear of these were the Imperial guard and the heavy cavalry, forming several lines; the Prince of Echmuhl's corps formed the right. The ground covered by the two armies, was about two leagues in extent. The troops nearest the Danube were but twelve hundred fathoms from the city of Vienna, so that the towers, the steeples, and the tops of the highest houses, were covered by the numerous population, thus become spectators of the terrible contest that was preparing.

At sun-rise the cannonade commenced upon the two lines. At five o'clock the left of the Austrian army, under Prince Rosemberg, debouched from Markgrafen Neusiedel, whilst the right, composed of the corps of Generals Bellegarde, Kollowrath, Lichtenstein, and Hiller, advanced upon Stadlau; Prince Hohenlohe's corps alone forming the centre, remained in its position at Wagram. The Emperor, perceiving that the Prince of Rosemberg was moving against Marshal Davoust, repaired in person to the right wing, which he reinforced with the cuirassiers under General Arrighe, and caused twelve pieces of light artillery to advance upon the flank of the enemy's columns. After an obstinate engagement of two hours' duration, Davoust succeeded in repulsing his adversary as far as Neusiedel, with considerable loss.

Whilst the French army thus signalized itself by its success in the beginning of the day, the battle was carried on all along the rest of the line. In carrying his grand masses to the right, it was the intention of the Archduke to force the French left, and cut off the army from its bridges upon the Danube. Thus at the moment when a part of his columns were warmly engaged with the Prince of Ponte Corvo and Marshal Massena, he put himself at the head of thirty-five thousand of his best troops, in the space between the main body of Massena's troops and the division he had left at Gros Aspern. This mass easily

overthrew the feeble posts which occurred in its progress, and soon threatened the flanks of the French army. The columns also that attacked the left front, made great progress: Gros Aspern was carried; the Prince of Ponte Cor vo's corps, consisting of Saxons and Bavarians, was overthrown and routed. The left wing of the French, thus forced, formed in a square, with one side facing the Danube. The Archduke pursuing his success, outflanked the French by more than half a league. He even pushed parties almost up to the bridges. A panic was spread in the rear of the French army; and to the number of non-combatants the battle seemed lost: they fled with all imaginable speed towards Lobau, carrying with them the most alarming rumours. It was about nine in the morning when several officers of the staff came to inform Napoleon that the enemy had made a furious attack upon Marshal Massena and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and that the left wing was already outflanked to the extent of nearly three thousand toises; that the enemy deployed numerous troops, and a formidable artillery, in the space that separated Gros Aspern from Wagram. After having ordered Marshal Davoust to turn the position of Neusiedel, and then to proceed to Wagram, Napoleon hastened to the left, to enquire into the real state of affairs. The movement prescribed to the Prince of Echmuhl was happily executed. Whilst the two divisions of Gudin and Pacthod attacked the village on the right, General Morand moved on the left of the enemy, whom he turned and attacked all at once. He was supported by General Friant, who disposed his troops in *echelons*, having on his left the artillery of the division, reinforced by seven twelve-pounders that the Emperor had caused to advance on this point. The superiority of the enemy's forces at first compelled Morand's division to give ground; but Friant's having advanced with a charging pace, the Austrians were driven back to their intrenchments, where they were forced, and

in a few moments the heights between Wagram and Neusiedel were crowned by the victors. At the same moment Neusiedel was carried by the divisions of Gudin and Pacthod. The enemy's left, entirely overthrown, was forced upon the centre, and pursued by the four divisions under Davoust. The movement upon the heights of Neusiedel was General Friant's own act, and obtained the applause of Napoleon. At the moment his division appeared upon the heights in close columns, and in the most imposing attitude, the Emperor said to the group that surrounded him, "You shall see that Davoust will gain me another battle;" recalling, by these flattering expressions, the success of this marshal at Auerstadt, or the battle of Jena.

When the Emperor perceived his light troop upon the heights of Wagram, he ordered Marshal Massena to make good his positions, and asserted that the battle was gained; at the same time he ordered a decisive attack upon the enemy's centre by the three divisions of Seras, Broussier, and Lamarque, under Marshal Macdonald, to be supported by the corps under Generals Marmont and Oudinot. Marshal Bessieres had also been ordered to move with the cavalry of the guard, and that of the reserve, and to make a charge upon the flanks of the formidable columns under the Archduke Charles, whilst General Lauriston, at the head of a battery of an hundred pieces of cannon, advanced upon a trot, without firing, till they came within half shot of the enemy's columns.

The enemy presented nine grand masses of infantry and cavalry, protected by artillery. The Austrian cavalry was the first to charge the French; but these, formed in squares, repulsed the shock with vigour. The enemy, to avoid being turned by the troops under the Prince of Ec hmuhl, abandoned the heights of Baumersdorf; these were occupied by General Pacthod.

During this time, the hundred pieces of cannon under General Lauriston, had made great ravages in the enemy's right, and reduced his artillery to silence. The left wing of the Austrians, hotly pursued, hastily retired to Wagram, where they hoped they should be able to rally; but the united attacks of the divisions of the Prince of Echmuhl and General Oudinot gave them no time to form again. Wagram was carried by the bayonet, by General Pacthod's division, whilst the corps under Echmuhl and Oudinot drove the enemy from the positions on the right and above Wagram, making a great number of prisoners. The village of Sussenbrunn was next carried, though strongly protected. Gerasdorf was attacked and defended with equal resolution; the conflict remained undecided upwards of an hour. When the enemy was driven out, they were pursued by the Polish light-horse and the chasseurs of the guard. Their endeavours to disperse the mass of the Austrian infantry were fruitless. They charged the enemy's squares three times, and were as many times thrown back upon the French infantry: the Austrians retired, but in a manner worthy of the admiration of the brave troops who had compelled them to make this movement.

After the village of Gerasdorf had been carried, the enemy's centre no longer thought of any thing but a retreat. His left wing had already given ground before the corps of the Prince of Echmuhl and General Marmont, and their right, after having for a long time maintained itself against the united attacks of Marshal Massena and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, no longer supported by the centre, had retired in the direction of Jedlersdorf and Strebersdorf; and thus the battle was completely gained. The Emperor, witness to the last and incredible efforts of the army of Italy, directed by Macdonald, was so well satisfied, that he thought proper to reward all these brave

men upon the field of battle, in the person of their worthy chief. On the day following the victory, and before the army was in motion to pursue the vanquished, Napoleon embraced General Macdonald, and named him a marshal of the empire. This remunerative act was heightened by the grace and good will with which it was performed. Penetrated, and melted even to tears, Macdonald seized the Emperor's hand, which was affectionately held out to him, and pressing it with transport, he exclaimed in an accent altogether chivalrous, "*Ah, Sire! desormais entre nous c'est a la vie et a la mort.*" The same rank was granted a few days after to General Oudinot, and to the Duke of Ragusa, for their eminent services.

In the night between the 6th and 7th, the Austrian army retired upon Kornenburg and Wolkersdorf, where the Emperor Francis had staid during the battle. From hence he hastened to Moravia, abandoning, as the trophies of his defeat, ten standards, forty pieces of cannon, nearly eighteen thousand prisoners, nine thousand wounded, and a great quantity of equipage. His loss in killed, amounted to about four thousand; among the latter were the Field-marshals Nordmann, D'Aspre, Wukassowich, and Major-general P. Weczaio. Field-marshal Nordmann was born in Alsace, and had been in the French service till the year 1792. The Archduke Charles, the Field-marshals Rouvroy and Nostiz, the Major-generals Prince de Hesse Hombourg, Mayer, Vacquant, Matzen, Slutterheim, Honneberg, Merville, and Rothkirk, had been wounded.

The loss of the French, much less than that of the enemy, was six thousand wounded, and two thousand six hundred killed. Marshal Bessieres was among the former. The French army had to lament the loss of the valiant Lasalle, one of the first generals of the light cavalry. Colonel Oudet, made a general on the eve of

the battle, got his death in an ambuscade, and survived only three days; twenty-two officers of his regiment fell at the same time.

The soldiers, of all arms, had rivalled each other in intrepidity and glory on this memorable day. Napoleon himself had been several times exposed in the midst of the most terrible fire. Ever since morning he had been running through the different lines, encouraging the troops by his presence and his persuasive eloquence. Many were killed by the balls and bullets that flew about him. It was observed, that the enemy's fire was particularly directed against the groups that environed the Emperor. In consequence of this, Napoleon was obliged to change his surtout three times. The aides-de-camp and the officers of the staff were also given to understand that they should keep themselves more at a distance; and the regiments were instructed not to salute the Emperor with their acclamations at the moment he was passing.

On the 7th of July, at a very early hour, the Emperor came out of the tent which had been fitted up for him on the field of battle, and walked on foot round the bivouacks, without either hat or sword, and with his hands thrown behind him; when, according to his usual custom, he entered into familiar conversation with the soldiers of the guard. His manner and his countenance expressed satisfaction and confidence.

The Austrian army retreated through Gaunersdorf, and the French overtook their rear-guard beyond Wolkersdorf, where Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in the same house the Emperor of Austria had occupied on the evening before. In the engagement that took place here, the Austrians lost a number of prisoners and much baggage. Another strong column retiring through Stockerau to Hollabrun, was pursued by the Prince of Essling;

and General Marmont, after proceeding on the route to Brunn, turned towards Znaim, the route which had been taken by the Emperor Francis, the Empress, the Archduke Anthony, and a suite of more than two hundred carriages belonging to the court.

On the 9th, the Duke of Ragusa attacked, and drove a rear-guard that attempted to arrest his progress: on the same day the Prince of Echmuhl arrived with the third corps at Nicolsburg. On the following day, Marshal Massena came up with the column that he pursued near Hollabrun, and defeated it. The Duke of Ragusa, arriving on the heights of Znaim, received a letter from General Bellegarde, requesting him to suspend his march, and informing him that the Emperor of Austria had sent Prince John of Lichtenstein to Napoleon's head-quarters to treat for an armistice. To this, the French general answered, that not having received any instruction on this head, he could not defer the attack he was going to commence; and which taking place accordingly, the enemy was forced to abandon his position. On the morning of the same day, the Prince of Echmuhl had passed the Taga opposite Nicolsburg, and General Grouchy had repulsed the Prince of Rosemberg's rear-guard, and taken a number of prisoners.

On the 11th at noon, Napoleon arrived before Znaim, at the moment the Prince of Essling had seized upon the bridge at this city, which the Duke of Ragusa had turned. General Bruyeres had been wounded, and General Guiton had made a fine charge with the tenth regiment of cuirassiers, when Prince John of Lichtenstein presented himself before the French posts. The Emperor received this envoy, who had been sent on a similar mission in 1805, and immediately ordered the firing to cease. The proposed armistice was concluded in the night between the 11th and 12th; and the principal articles stipulated, that the citadels or forts of Brunn and Gratz should be

evacuated directly by the Austrian troops; that they should abandon the Tyrol and the Voralberg, and give up the fort of Sacksenburg to the French. The armistice of Znaim, intended to last only a month, was prolonged till the month of October; but owing to difficulties that occurred, the treaty was not signed till the 14th of that month.

The most important clause in this treaty, and which did not form any part of the articles signed by the plenipotentiaries, was not intended to be made known for a considerable time. Napoleon had demanded the hand of the young Archduchess Marie Louise, the eldest daughter of Francis II. Very great obstacles seemed to oppose this union, especially as it was one of the conditions dictated by the conqueror; it was repulsive to the conveniences, the opinion, and the hereditary pride of the House of Austria: however, the Emperor of the French undertook to smooth the difficulties that existed on his side, and the Austrian monarch consented to the sacrifice demanded.

It was in vain that a legitimate union, sanctioned by time, and consecrated by the solemnity of a coronation, had associated the fate of Josephine with that of Napoleon. Neither the virtues of this lady, whom he had placed by his side, nor the gratitude that he owed to the first promoter of his fortune, could arrest the ambition of the French Emperor. He pretended to be in want of an heir, though he had already proposed his brothers as his successors. A *Senatus Consulte* of the 16th of December, 1809, declared the dissolution of his marriage with Josephine. The church also yielded in its turn. The nullity of the marriage, as to any spiritual obligation, was likewise pronounced by the officialty of Paris. The victim too of this determination, whose grief should have saved her from the humiliation of figuring in this business, could not be excused: she was compelled to

come forward and declare, "that having no more hope of giving children to her husband, which would be consistent with his politics, she resigned herself to the greatest sacrifice that she could possibly be called on to make."

Napoleon, during his exile at St. Helena, referring to an occurrence subsequent to his concerted marriage with Marie Louise, observed, "that it only rested with him at one time to have deposed both the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. The Duke of Wurtzburgh frequently insinuated to him, that the only means to secure the good faith of Austria, would be to depose his brother Francis, and place the crown on his head!" These offers the duke afterwards transmitted to Napoleon through a minister, with an offer of his son as a hostage, but to appear as aide-de-camp to the Emperor. Napoleon's reflections upon his recent marriage with Marie Louise, put a stop to any further consideration on the subject, though he said nothing would have been easier at the time, and he afterwards thought he was wrong in not accepting the Duke of Wurtzburgh's offer.

Two days before the ratification of the treaty of Vienna, Napoleon was in danger of assassination, during the review of the troops upon the parade at Schoenbrunn. A young man of an interesting figure, and of a placid appearance, who had concealed himself among the spectators, suddenly rushed upon the Emperor, attempting to strike him with a poniard. The Prince of Neufchatel arrested his arm, and General Rapp immediately seized the assassin. Napoleon was sufficiently master of himself to preserve an unalterable countenance, and continued to order the evolutions, as if the incident that occurred had been of no importance. This young man was conducted to the guard-house and searched; nothing was found upon him but a common knife, four Frederics-d'or, and the portrait of a female. To all the questions put

to him by General Savary, he only answered, that he would speak to the Emperor. Informed of his obstinate silence, Napoleon sent for the culprit into his closet—"Whence came you," said he, and "how long have you been at Vienna?"—"I am a native of Erfurt, and I have been at Vienna two months."—"What would you have of me? You want a peace, and you say you can prove it is indispensible. Do you think I could listen to a man without a public character, or any mission?"—"If you had, I should have stabbed you."—"What harm have I done you?"—"You have oppressed my country and the whole world; and if you do not make peace, your death will be necessary to the happiness of humanity: in killing you, I should have performed the finest action that a man of honour could undertake. But I admire your talents, and as I reckoned upon your reason, I wished, before I struck the blow, to have convinced you."—"Have you been led to this determination by religion?"—"No; my father, a Lutheran minister, is ignorant of my project, which I have not communicated to any one. I have consulted no person whatever. I am alone, and for two years past I have meditated your conversion or your death."—"Were you at Erfurt when I was there last year?"—"I saw you there three times."—"Why did you not kill me then?"—"You suffered my country to respire: I thought peace was certain, and esteemed you as a great man."—"Do you know Schneider or Schill?"—"No."—"Are you an *illuminé*, a freemason?"—"No."—"You know the history of Brutus?"—"There were two Romans of this name; the last died in the cause of liberty."—"Have you any knowledge of the conspiracy of Moreau and Pichegru?"—"I heard of it from the public papers."—"What do you think of those men?"—"They laboured for themselves, and were afraid to die."—"A portrait has been found upon you; who does it represent?"—"My best friend, the adopted

daughter of my virtuous father."—"What! have you a heart susceptible of these tender emotions, and are you not unwilling to afflict and ruin those you love, in becoming an assassin?"—"I have listened to a voice much stronger than that of my own tenderness."—"But in assassinating me in the midst of my army, could you think of escaping?"—"In reality, I am astonished that I continue to exist."—"If I pardon you, what use will you make of your liberty?"—"My project has failed, and you will now be upon your guard. I shall return peaceably to my family."

Napoleon then called M. Corvissart, his first physician, and asked him if he did not perceive some signs of insanity in this young man? After having carefully examined him, he replied, he could not discern any symptoms of unusual emotion in him.

This unfortunate man remained under the care of two gendarmes two days; he walked about quietly, and frequently kneeled down to pray. At his dinner-time they brought him a table-knife. He took it; but looking at it some time, a gendarme would have taken it from him. "Don't be afraid," said he; "I shall do myself no more harm than you would." On the following day he heard the cannon fire, and asked the cause. "It is peace," said they.—"Peace!" said he; "do not deceive me."—He was assured nothing was more true. He then gave himself up to transports of joy, and tears fell from his eyes. He fell upon his knees, and prayed fervently; and rising up he said, "I shall die with more tranquillity." When he was called upon to undergo his sentence, he said to the officer, "Sir, I have only one favour to ask; that is, not to be bound." It was granted; he walked freely, and died with calmness. This attempt at assassination, upon which the French journals of the time observed a profound silence, has been variously related: the present details were communicated by an eye-wit-

ness; but the attempt is said to have powerfully contributed to accelerate the peace with Austria, and hasten the return of Napoleon to France.

Napoleon departed from Schoenbrunn on the 27th of October; on that day he rose at five in the morning, and sending for General Rapp, they walked out to the great road, to see the Imperial guard pass along on its way to France. Napoleon again spoke of the young German who had attempted to assassinate him; he thought it a thing unparalleled, and told the general to inquire how he died. It appears that the prisoner had been executed in the morning of the 27th; that he had taken no food since the 24th, but constantly refused it, saying he had strength enough to walk to the place of execution. He was informed that peace was concluded, and this seemed to excite some agitation in him. His last words were, "Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!" It seems that the peace was intended to be ratified at Munich. When Napoleon and his suite arrived at Nymphenburgh, the court of Bavaria was there: General Rapp was known to the king, whom he had not seen since the campaign of Austerlitz. He described to the general the unhappy state of his subjects, and added, that if some change did not soon take place, "he should be obliged to put the key under the door, and set off." These were the expressions he used on this occasion. General Rapp said he bore this conversation in mind, and was determined to report it, not with a view of injuring the king, but for the sake of proving to Napoleon that all the indemnities that he granted his allies, were far from satisfying or recompensing them for the burthens imposed on them by the war.

Arriving at Stuttgard, Napoleon was received in a style of magnificence: here he saw men in the royal garden working in chains. Asking the king who they were, he was told, "they were mostly rebels taken in his new

possessions." On his way to Rastadt he observed, "the King of Wirtemburg is a very harsh man, but very faithful: of all the sovereigns of Europe, he possesses the greatest share of understanding." At Strasburg Napoleon received dispatches, which again excited his displeasure against the fauxbourg St. Germain. Arrived at Fontainebleau, no preparations had been made for the Emperor's reception, not even a guard was upon duty; the court and family, however, arrived soon after. In a conference with the minister of police, Napoleon complained of the fauxbourg of St. Germain; he could scarcely conceive how the old nobility, many of whom resided there, could be so base and perfidious as to destroy with the one hand, while they solicited favours from him on the other. He appeared inclined to severity, but Fouche dissuaded him from that course. It was proposed that he should make a public entry into the capital, to give effect to the peace he had conquered; but this he declined: the conqueror of Europe looked down with indifference upon the triumphs which transported the Romans. The court left Fontainebleau on the following day: the Emperor rode to Paris without stirrups; he outstripped all his escort; only one chasseur was able to keep up with him. In this manner he arrived at the Tuileries.

Three days after his arrival at Paris, the peace was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies. It is useless to dwell upon the enthusiasm with which this event was hailed by the French people of all classes. The nation had already begun to be extremely weary of the wars, in which the politics of their sovereign were continually involving them: they flattered themselves with the vain expectation that Napoleon, now being able to dispose of the numerous forces till then employed in Italy and Germany, would soon put an end to the war in Spain. Contrary to their expectations, the war in Spain and Por-

tugal occupied several subsequent years, attended with a fruitless waste of blood and treasure, and a lamentable prostitution of genius and valour, for the attainment of purposes equally unjustifiable and visionary.

Among the causes that contributed the most towards exciting the resentment of all parties against the French, we may reckon the rich endowments that Napoleon granted to his marshals and others, from the invaded provinces, which were neither conformable to the ideas of the age, the laws of nations, nor social convenience. These sort of grants, violating the independence of nations, and wounding their pride, must sooner or later have raised up enemies, very difficult to appease. France was sufficiently rich to have found recompenses worthy of her warriors; but her insatiable ruler aspired to universal dominion, and claimed the right of disposing of every thing, as its absolute master: his ambition was not satisfied with reigning over a great nation, who at the price of the blood of a million of soldiers, had placed him upon a throne surrounded with trophies so dearly purchased.

The year 1809 was distinguished by the unsuccessful expedition of Lord Chatham to the island of Walcheren. The land forces amounted to thirty-five thousand men. The naval force, under Admiral Strachan, consisted of twenty ships of the line, an hundred and twenty other vessels, and between four and five hundred transports. Fortunately for Napoleon, this armament, which had been preparing ever since May, was not ready till the end of July, when the result of the battle of Wagram was known to the Br' ish cabinet. This event had the effect of checking any attempt at a co-operation on the part of the Dutch or Belgians with the enemies of France.

The French were by no means prepared for a visit in this quarter, though Napoleon had some intimation of it

whilst he was near Vienna; however, the disease that made such dreadful ravages in the English camp, called the Walcheren, or *marsh fever,* obliged the commandant to give orders for the complete evacuation of the island, and the destruction of the works at Flushing; and the 14th of September was the day appointed for the departure of the Earl of Chatham, and the greatest part of the troops forming the expedition.

This expedition, Napoleon observed to Dr. O'Meara, would have taken Antwerp, if it had been well conducted. His opinion was, that if the English had landed a few thousand men first at Williamstadt, and marched directly for Antwerp, that between consternation, and being unprepared, and ignorant of the number of assailants, it might have been taken by a *coup de main.* But after the fleet had got out of our way, he said it was impossible, as the crews of the ships, united with the national guard, workmen and others, amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand men. The ships would have been sunk, or taken into the docks, and the crews employed upon the batteries. Antwerp, though old, he said, was strongly fortified. We had, he said, too many, and too few men; too many for a *coup de main,* and too few for a regular siege. The inhabitants were all against us. It was a bad expedition for us; our ministers were badly informed about the country: to remain in that pestilential place, was the height of folly—"I knew that disease would carry the English off by hundreds. I sent none but deserters and *mauvais sujets* to garrison it, and gave orders that they should sleep in two frigates, sent there for that purpose." He also had water conveyed to the French garrison at Flushing, but still it was unhealthy.

CHAP. XXIV.

Marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Marie Louise proposed—Anecdotes of the Imperial Family of Austria—Repudiation of Josephine—Prince Berthier sent to Vienna—Communication to the French Senate—Reflections upon Napoleon's Divorce from Josephine—Religious Ceremony of the Marriage of the Emperor at Paris—Letter from the new Empress to her Tutor at Vienna—Napoleon's Remarks on the Conduct of the two Empresses—Napoleon's manner, in speaking of High Birth—Anecdotes of the Emperor Francis and the Pope—Origin of the Disagreements between Napoleon and the Pontiff—Ferdinand of Spain and Baron Kolly—Events of minor Importance—Removal of Disabilities in Religion—Napoleon's Conduct towards the Jews—Events of 1811—Birth of the King of Rome—Rome and Holland united to the French Empire—Napoleon's Address to the Legislative Body.

THE commencement of the year 1810 was rendered remarkable by the consummation of a marriage between Napoleon Bonaparte and the Archduchess Marie Louise, which had been the subject of rumour some months before. After Napoleon had made himself master of Vienna in 1809, he chose the beautiful castle of Schoenbrunn, near that city, for his residence; during which, he proceeded to gratify his curiosity in surveying the apartments deserted in haste some weeks before by the Imperial family. Napoleon, attended by M. Meyer, one of the castle inspectors, on entering an apartment, observed the portraits of the Emperor's children—Marie Louise, Leopoldina, and Clementina, when his attention

was so powerfully attracted by the first, that he asked the inspector if Marie Louise was as handsome and agreeable as there represented, telling him to state his opinion fairly and clearly. This he did with such satisfaction to Napoleon, that he ordered the portrait to be put into his cabinet, and placed before his writing-table. On leaving Vienna, he carried the portrait with him. It is added, that when the proposal of a marriage was made to Louise by her father, the windows of the room in which the conversation took place, opened towards the ruined walls and fortifications of Vienna. "Can you," said she to the Emperor Francis, "give the hand of your beloved child to such a destroyer?"—"True," said Francis, "but the evils you deplore, and all the misfortunes of the country, arise from the laws of war." In fact, it is stated, that the importunity of the Emperor with his daughter, was seconded by his *tears*, which she could not resist, but promised to comply with his wishes to their fullest extent.

It is also asserted by the Countess Chauclos, who was present, that the Princess Leopoldina, then between thirteen and fourteen years of age, perceiving the aversion of her eldest sister to this union, said, "she would be married to Napoleon, to deliver them out of their painful situation." The Emperor Francis tenderly smiling, replied, "You are a child; you don't understand what you say."

After the marriage of Marie Louise by proxy, she was accompanied by the whole of the Imperial family to Brannau, the frontier town, and there confided to the care of the Queen of Naples, Napoleon's sister and Murat's wife.

Preparatory to the marriage with the Austrian Archduchess, and the painful repudiation of Josephine, the Emperor and Empress declared their consent to the divorce in a family assembly. This took place in the grand

apartments of the Tuileries: it was extremely interesting: all the spectators were in tears. The consent being certified by the Arch-chancellor, the dissolution of the marriage was pronounced by the Senate. The Empress left the Tuileries, and proceeded to Malmaison. All the furniture of Napoleon's apartments in that small but delightful country-seat, remained in its place. Josephine had, besides the estate of Navarre, a revenue of two millions per annum, most of which she employed in encouraging the arts, and relieving the unfortunate. Malmaison is three leagues from Paris, and one from St. Cloud. She constantly resided there. In the course of five years she received three or four visits from Napoleon. The whole court regularly went thither. When the allies entered Paris, the Emperor Francis, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, paid her frequent visits.

On the 8th of February, this year, Prince Berthier left Paris, by order of Napoleon, to go to Vienna, and make a formal demand of the hand of the Archduchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. On the 15th the convention of marriage was ratified; and on the 27th the Emperor of France communicated his determination to the Senate, by the following message:

"Senators, We have sent to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary, our cousin the Prince of Neufchatel, to demand the hand of the Archduchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. We shall direct our minister of foreign affairs to communicate to you the articles of the convention of marriage between us and the Archduchess, which has been concluded, signed, and ratified.

"We have been desirous of contributing eminently to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the Continent have founded their prosperity on its dissentions, and its tearing itself to pieces. They can no

longer feed the flame of war, by feigning for us schemes incompatible with the ties and duties of relationship that we have just contracted with the Imperial reigning House of Austria.

"The shining qualities that distinguish the Archduchess Marie Louise, have gained her the affections of the people of Austria. They have fixed our regard; our subjects will love this princess out of love to us, till, after witnessing all those virtues that have placed her so high in our esteem, they love her for herself.

"Given at our Palace of the Tuileries, the 27th of February, 1810.

"NAPOLEON."

Napoleon had decided upon a marriage with the House of Austria; but notwithstanding, he still chose to consult a privy council upon this important subject. In this sitting, Prince Eugene, Talleyrand, and the Duke of Bassano, were for Austria; the King of Naples, the minister Fouché, and Cambacérès, were for Russia; Prince le Brun, Cardinal Fesch, the Duke de Feltre, and the King of Holland, were for Saxony. The reasons urged by the latter were, that the Emperor of Austria and France had been too great enemies to hope for a sincere reconciliation; he preferred Saxony to both the others, but Aus ria to Russia, on account of the similarity of religion. In this council the King of Naples argued strongly for Russia in preference to Austria; but he was answered by Napoleon with so much warmth, eloquence, and effect, that the whole assembly were astonished.

On the 5th of March following, the Prince of Neufchatel, commissioned to demand the Archduchess Marie Louise, made his public entry into Vienna; and on the 8th, appeared at court in full ceremony, where, after approaching the Emperor's throne, he announced the purport of his message in a short speech. The Emperor

Francis sent for his daughter: she appeared, gave her consent, and received a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon. After this, the Prince of Neufchatel waited on the Archduke Charles, and communicated to him the desire of the Emperor Napoleon, that he would act as his representative in the marriage ceremony. On the 11th of March the nuptials were celebrated at Vienna, at six in the evening, in the church of the Augustines; and on the 13th the Empress set out for Paris. At Brannau she was received by the Queen of Naples; and she was welcomed in all the capitals through which she passed. At Munich she was received by the King of Bavaria; at Augsburg, by the late Elector of Treves; at Stuttgard, by the King and Queen of Wirtemburg, in the most sumptuous manner. On the 22d of March she arrived at Strasburg. The Emperor Napoleon had repaired to Compeigne; and on the day on which she was expected there, he desired the King of Holland to go and meet her at Soissons; but while he stopped in that city, Napoleon changed his determination, set out for Compeigne in a calash, passed the King of Holland, met the Empress, and returned to the palace of Soissons whilst his brother was still there.

In the evening of the 27th of March, Napoleon re-entered Compeigne with the Empress, under a number of triumphal arches. This event was signalized by various acts of benevolence. The civil marriage took place at St. Cloud on the 1st of April, 1810, and the religious ceremony was solemnized in the chapel of the Louvre on the following day. All the kings and princes assembled in Paris were present.

In the chapel of the Louvre, where the ceremony was performed, an estrade, surmounted by a canopy, was erected in front of the altar. At the distance of thirty feet from the altar were placed two chairs of state, with a praying desk, for their Imperial Majesties. In

two chandeliers, close to the altar, were put two large wax candles, each of them incrusting twenty pieces of gold. A basin, containing thirty pieces of gold, and the marriage ring, was placed on the altar. At the bottom of he steps were two cushions for their Imperial Majesties, and at the top, three chairs for the officiating grand almoner and his two assistant bishops. The cardinals were seated on the right of the altar, and the bishops to the left. The princes, grand dignitaries, &c. were stationed according to their respective degrees of precedence.

The cardinal, grand almoner of France, his assistant, the grand almoner of Italy, and the body of the clergy, received the Imperial pair at the door of the chapel, and presented them with the censer and holy water. Their majesties, and the whole of the procession, having taken their places, the officiating grand almoner ordered the *Veni Creator* to be chaunted, all present being on their knees. At the conclusion of the first verse, the grand almoner proceeded to the highest step of the sanctuary, and standing with his back to the altar, pronounced a benediction on the thirty pieces of gold and the ring.

This part of the ceremony being completed, the grand master of the ceremonies made a bow to the Emperor and Empress, who, taking off their gloves, advanced to the foot of the altar, and there taking each other by the right hand, were thus addressed by the grand almoner:

"Sire, you declare that you acknowledge, and you swear before God, and in the face of his holy church, that you now take as your lawful wife and spouse, her Imperial and Royal Highness Madame Marie Louise, Archduchess of Austria, here present." The Emperor answered, "Yes, Sir."—The minister continued, "You promise and swear to be faithful to her in all things, as a faithful husband ought to be towards his spouse, according to the commandment of God." The Emperor answered, "Yes, Sir."

The same form was gone through with respect to the Empress; with this distinction only, that in compliment, no doubt, to her religious creed, the minister omitted, in the question put to her, the word "acknowledge," which he had introduced in addressing Napoleon, to denote the validity of the prior civil marriage, according to the modern code of France.

The minister then delivered the ring, and the pieces of gold, one by one, to the Emperor, who presented the latter, in like manner, to the Empress; by her they were transferred to a maid of honour, standing behind her, who finished this part of the scene by handing them to an assistant of the ceremonies. The Emperor then put on the ring on the ring-finger of the Empress's left hand, saying, "I give you this ring, in token of the marriage we contract;" and the minister, making the sign of the cross upon the hand of the Empress, pronouncing them "man and wife together, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The parties then kneeling, and continuing to hold each other by the right hand, the minister gave them the nuptial benediction, by repeating two prayers, *Deus Abraham*, &c. and *Respice Quæsumus Domine*, &c.

The Imperial pair then resumed their seats on the throne, and went through the form of kissing the Gospels; after which, they advanced in succession to the altar, each bearing one of the wax candles, inclosing twenty pieces of gold, and delivering the same as their offering to the grand almoner.

High mass was then performed, during which, the happy couple took the sacrament, and were repeatedly perfumed with incense, and sprinkled with holy water. During the *Propitiare*, the Emperor and Empress kneeled on the cushions placed for them at the foot of the altar, under a canopy of silver brocade, held over them by the Archbishop of Rohan and the Bishop of Versailles. The

Imperial pair again knelt at the *Ita Missau est*, and after another application of the holy water, and then kissing the *corporale*, (the same linen in which the sacrament is put), *Te Deum* was sung, and the procession returned to the Imperial apartments.

As this marriage was political, and that almost to a degree of cruelty towards the first Empress, many, no doubt, had their suspicion as to whether the connection would prove a happy one. To shew that it was such, the following letter, written by the young Archduchess, has been referred to. The old Count Edling had been Marie Louise's preceptor at Vienna. In June 1810, one of the chamberlains that accompanied her to Paris, returned to Vienna; and with other dispatches for the Imperial family, was charged by the Empress Marie Louise with an autograph letter in German to the old count, of which the following is a translation:

"MY DEAR COUNT EDLING,

"I have received from you so many testimonies of your care and affection, that I feel an ardent desire to inform you by Count Joseph Metternich of the particulars of my present situation. When I left you and my friends in Vienna, I saw the good people plunged in the deepest sorrow, from the persuasion that I was going as a sacrifice to my new destination. I now feel it an agreeable duty to assure you, that during three months' residence at this court, I have been, and am, the happiest woman in the world. From the first moment I met and saw the Emperor Napoleon, my beloved husband, he has shown me on every occasion such respectful attentions, with every token of kindness and sincere friendship, that I should be unjust and ungrateful, not to acknowledge his noble behaviour.

"Believe not, my dear Count, that this is written by any order of my husband: these sentiments are dictated

from my heart; nor has any one so much as read the letter. The Emperor is at this moment by me, but will not look at the contents. He has desired me to send you, in his name, the insignia of the order of the Legion of Honour. Respecting your wish to visit me at Paris, my husband and I will be very glad to see and receive you in the month of September at the Tuileries: we shall then have returned from a little tour. You will then be a witness of my satisfaction, which I cannot describe to you in this letter.

"Adieu, my dear and good Count Edling; remember me to all my beloved family and friends; tell them that I am happy, and that I thank God for this felicity. God bless and preserve you; and believe me that I remain for ever, your affectionate

"MARIE.

"*Paris, June* 16, 1810."

A copy of this letter was sent in an official dispatch to the Emperor Alexander at Petersburgh, in the first days of July, 1810.

Napoleon asserted, that no woman was more astonished than Marie Louise just after her marriage, when she observed the few precautions taken by him for his own personal safety. When she perceived that there were no sentinels except at the outer gates of the palace; that there were no *lords* sleeping before the doors of the apartments; that the doors were not even locked, and that there were no guns nor pistols in the room where she and the Emperor slept—"Why," said she with astonishment, "you do not take half so many precautions as my father, who has nothing to fear."—"I am," said Napoleon, "too much of a fatalist to take any precautions against assassination."

In one of the evening walks, in which the Emperor used to indulge while residing at the Briars, shortly after

his landing at St. Helena, he told Las Cases that he had in the course of his life been much attached to two women, of very different characters: the one was the votary of art and the graces; the other was all innocence and simple nature; and each, he observed, had a very high degree of merit.

The first, in no moment of her life, ever assumed a position or attitude that was not pleasing or captivating; it was impossible to take her by surprise, or to make her feel the least inconvenience. She employed every resource of art to heighten natural attractions; but with such ingenuity as to render every trace of allurement imperceptible. The other, on the contrary, never suspected that any thing was to be gained by innocent artifice. The one was always somewhat short of the truth of nature; the other was altogether frank and open, and was a stranger to subterfuge. The first never asked her husband for any thing, but she was in debt to every one; the second freely asked whenever she wanted, which, however, very seldom happened, and she never thought of receiving any thing without immediately paying for it. Both were amiable and gentle in disposition, and strongly attached to their husband. The Emperor declared, that he had uniformly experienced from both the greatest equality of temper, and most implicit obedience.

"Let Marie Louise," said he, another time, "be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me, she avowed in the most feeling terms to ***, her ardent desire to join me in my exile; extolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation." He also observed, that his son's disinheritance from the succession to Parma, gave him little or no uneasiness. "If he lives," added he, "he will be something. As to those contemptible little states, I would rather see him a private *gentleman*, with enough to eat,

than sovereign of any of them. Perhaps, however, it may grieve the Empress to think that he will not inherit after her; but it does not give me the smallest trouble." Still there is reason to suspect that there was more of affectation than reality in the manner in which Napoleon used to speak of high birth. A short time after his marriage, it is related, that the Emperor Francis one day told him, "That his, Napoleon's family, had governed at Trevisa in Italy; that it was a privilege beyond all price to have been a sovereign; and that the fact must be communicated to Marie Louise, to whom it would afford infinite pleasure."

A much better version of this story, was probably given by Napoleon himself: "The Emperor Francis," said he, "whose head is crammed with ideas of high birth, was very anxious to prove that I was descended from some of the old tyrants of Trevisa, and after my marriage with Louise, employed divers persons to search into the old musty records of genealogy. He imagined he had succeeded at last, and wrote to me, asking my consent that he should publish the account with all official formalities—I refused—He was so intent upon this favourite object, that he again applied, and said *Laissez moi faire* —'Let me do it'—that I need not appear to take any part in it. I replied, that this was impossible, as, if published, I should be obliged to take notice of it; that I preferred being the son of an honest man, to any descent from any little dirty tyrant of Italy; that I was the Rodolph of my family."

"There was formerly," added Napoleon, "one Buonaventura Buonaparte, who lived and died a monk. The poor man lay quietly in his grave; nothing was thought of him till I was on the throne of France. It was then discovered, that he had been possessed of many virtues never attributed to him before, and the Pope proposed to me to canonize him. '*Saint Pere*,' said I, '*pour l'amour*

de Dieu, épargne moi le ridicule de cela—Holy Father, for the love of God, spare me this ridicule: you being in my power, all the world will say I forced you to make a saint out of my family.'"

The continual disagreements between Napoleon and the late Pope, which commenced in 1805, and occupied nearly five years, originated in the measures adopted by the former, for resisting the progress of the Russians and the English in Italy, and especially in the vicinity of the Ecclesiastical States. Napoleon required the Pope to allow him to place a garrison of 3000 men in Ancona, which being refused, he required and insisted upon fresh conditions, viz. that the Pope should conclude an offensive treaty with the kings of Italy and Naples, for the defence of Italy, and that the ports of the Roman states should be shut against the English. To these proposals the Pope answered, "That, as father of the faithful, he could enter into no league against his children; that having no complaint to make against any power, he neither could nor would make war against them." Bonaparte answered, that when Charlemagne invested the Pope with a temporal sovereignty, it was for the benefit of Italy and Europe, and not for the purpose of introducing heretics and infidels among them; that the history of the Popes was full of leagues and alliances with the emperors and kings of Spain and France; that Pope Julius II. had commanded armies; that in 1797 General Bonaparte's headquarters were in the episcopal palace of Bishop Chiaramonti, when he was marching against the army of Cardinal Busca, which Pius VI. had raised to make a diversion in favour of the Austrians; a war which was terminated by the treaty of Tolentino. A correspondence on this subject was kept up during the years 1805 and 1806. The Pope perpetually spoke of his jurisdiction, and of his supremacy over terrestrial powers; "because," he said, "heaven is above earth, spirit superior to matter."

Again, after the peace of Presburg, the French Emperor insisted on the conditions he had before proposed to the court of Rome, and also threatened to seize the Marches of Ancona, which, when united to the kindom of Italy, would secure the communication between Naples and Milan, especially as French soldiers had been frequently assassinated in traversing these parts. The Pope's answer again consisted of impotent menaces; for it seemed an opinion had gained ground in Rome, that Napoleon was afraid of the thunders of the church! To dissipate this silly idea, he ordered a corps of 6000 men to enter Rome, under pretext of proceeding to Naples. The general entrusted with this charge, was ordered to shew the greatest respect for the court of the Vatican; but at the same time the Emperor caused it to be insinuated, that he would not be impeded in his temporal affairs by any spiritual obstacles. The court of Rome was now thrown into an absolute delirium: monitory letters, prayers, sermons, circular notes to the diplomatic bodies, &c. again protracted discussion till the commencement of 1808. The Emperor then informed the Pope, that unless his Holiness would adhere to the federative treaty of the powers of Italy within two months, Napoleon would consider Charlemagne's grant as null, and would confiscate the patrimony of St. Peter. No notice could be more explicit; still no regard was paid to it. Thus driven to extremities, Napoleon, in the course of 1808, decreed the annexation of the Marches of Ancona to the kingdom of Italy, leaving to the Pope the city of Rome, and the rest of his dominions situate between the Apennines and the Mediterranean; he also promised that the French troops should quit Rome as soon as the Roman court should acquiesce in the separation of the Marches. The Pope, however, instead of acquiescing, sent orders to his minister at Paris to demand his passports, which were immediately granted.

In the beginning of 1809, the fourth coalition being declared, the general commanding in Rome requested an increase of troops, and if that could not be granted, he desired that an end might be put to the anarchy of the Pontifical government. He received orders to assume the government, incorporate the Papal troops in the French army, maintain a good police, but to take care that the Pope should receive the sums usually paid out of the treasury, for the maintenance of his household. In the mean while the French troops in the Papal territory not being numerous, and the battle of Essling having for a short time rendered the issue of the war in some degree dubious, the populace of Rome were in a high state of agitation. The Holy Father, shut up in the interior of his palace, caused it to be surrounded with barricades, which were guarded by several hundred armed men with the strictest vigilance. Exasperation between these men and the French soon became mutual. The situation of the Pope was dangerous, and every moment a rupture was feared; and as the French general could not persuade those about the Pope that his Holiness would be much more secure if guarded only by the sanctity of his character, he resolved to act according to the exigencies of the case, and remove him to Florence. This restored tranquillity to Rome; but on the Pontiff's arrival at Florence, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, being persuaded that he had been sent there without the order of the Emperor, caused him to proceed to Turin, where the same motive led the governor-general of Piedmont to compel him to proceed to Grenoble.

The Emperor Napoleon, then at Vienna, hearing what had occurred, sent orders that the Pope should be treated with all the honours and attention due to his rank. Had his Holiness remained at Florence, he was to have been placed in a villa belonging to the grand duchy; and at Turin the whole of the Imperial palace would have been

given up to his disposal. But as he continued his journey to Savona, he was lodged at the archiepiscopal palace, and abundantly provided with every thing he wanted. He remained here several months, during which he might have returned to Rome, on his promise to acknowledge the government established there, and to concern himself only with spiritual affairs. This he would not consent to; but endeavoured to disturb the administration of the dioceses during the vacancies of several sees. The contention that had now lasted five years, had ceased to be a temporal concern. The turn it now took, produced the first and second assemblies of the bishops at the council of Paris, the Bull of 1811, and finally the concordat of Fontainebleau in 1812. The Emperor, no longer willing to be trifled with by absurd arguments in this mixture of spiritual and temporal power, resolved to separate those attributes for ever, and no longer permit the Pope to be a temporal sovereign. The *Senatus Consultum* of the 17th of February, 1810, annexed the states of Rome to the French empire, and thus settled the dispute for that time.

The Holy Father was at length removed to Fontainebleau, in order to place him in security against any attempt upon his person from sea. Here he had always seven or eight French bishops in his suite, and several cardinals; his medical establishment, his almoner, chaplain, and others. A number of carriages belonging to the court were also at his command; the guards waited on him for the pass-word every morning, and the Grand Marshal Duroc superintended the supply of every thing necessary, upon the same footing as the court of the Tuileries.

The Emperor saw the Pope but once after the concordat was signed, in company with the Empress: they paid him the first visit, which he, according to etiquette, returned immediately. The concordat was signed before

several cardinals, a great number of French and Italian bishops, and part of the Emperor's court. Napoleon evinced all through these discussions, more patience than could have been expected from the situation in which he stood, though frequently provoked by the barbarous style used by the Roman chancellor.

Napoleon, whilst at St. Helena, speaking of the Pope, said he was a good man, but a fanatic; that he was greatly annoyed by the libels which contained assertions of his having been ill treated at Fontainebleau. These reports he contradicted publicly, stating that, except politically, he had been very well treated. Napoleon acknowledged that at one time he had it in contemplation to take away all the Pope's temporal power, make him his almoner, and Paris the capital of the Christian world.

Another event occurred this year, which, had it been attended with the success expected, might have produced some singular results. The imprisonment of Ferdinand of Spain by Napoleon at Valencay in France, has already been noticed. Upon the credit of Napoleon we are told, that the British government had laid a plan to liberate Ferdinand VII. similar to the one which had already effected the escape of the Marquis de la Romana from Holstein. The person entrusted with this commission assumed the name of Baron de Kolly, and, besides the necessary credentials, wa furnished with the original letter written by Charles the IVth to George III., in 1802, notifying the marriage of his son, the Prince of Asturias, and containing a marginal note from the Marquis of Wellesley, in corroboration of his mission. A small squadron was also sent to cruise off that part of the French coast most contiguous to Valencay, under the orders of Commodore Cockburn, to be in readiness to receive the royal fugitive. On a sudden the Baron de Kolly was seized, and the plan frustrated; but the real

particulars were never known till Napoleon was banished to St. Helena. Sir G. Cockburn, who had been entrusted with part of the project, in his intercourse with Bonaparte, expressed a strong wish to know by what means De Kolly had been discovered and arrested, and the true circumstances of the affair, so totally unknown in England; adding, that if no motive of policy intervened, he was anxious to hear the whole disclosure. Bonaparte readily consented, and told him that De Kolly arrived in Paris, and lived in the greatest obscurity, dressed shabbily, and only ate his meals at cheap cook-shops in the suburbs. However, he was not satisfied with the common wine served up, and asked for the best Bordeaux, for which he paid five francs per bottle. This contrast of poverty and luxury excited suspicions in the waiters of two houses he thus frequented, and being in the pay of the police, they immediately sent in a report. Kolly was watched, and soon afterwards seized with all his papers. Bonaparte said, he then procured a person as nearly resembling Kolly as could be found, to carry on the English stratagem, under a hope that Ferdinand would have fallen into the trap; and with all the original credentials, this agent of the French police went to the castle of Valencay, under pretext of selling some trinkets. Ferdinand, however, said Bonaparte, was too great a coward to enter into the views proposed to him, but instantly gave information of what had been communicated to his first chamberlain, Amazaga, in a letter written to Mr. Berthemy, governor of the castle. By this means Ferdinand escaped being placed at the mercy of Bonaparte, whose intention was to intercept him in his flight.

Among the events of this year, of minor importance, we may include the departure of Napoleon and his new Empress from Paris, and their subsequent tour, during which they visited the palace of Laeken at Brussels;

Antwerp, Middleburg, Flushing, Dunkirk, Lisle, Havre de Grace and Rouen, and returned to Paris in the beginning of June.

Early in year, 1810, a decree was issued for the re-union to France of all the countries situated upon the left shore of the Rhine, and those on the right shore to the neighbouring departments. By another decree, the islands of Walcheren, South and North Beveland, Schurwen and Tholen, were created a department of France, called that of the Mouths of the Scheldt. On the 9th of July another decree announced the re-union of Holland to France, and Amsterdam was declared the third city of the empire.

In order to ensure the influence of the press in the interests of the government, another decree issued in August, reduced the number of journals printed in each department to one only, that of the Seine, including Paris, excepted.

Marshal Bernadotte, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, was this year elected by the Diet, Prince Royal, and inheritor of the crown of Sweden.

During this short period of comparative tranquillity, Napoleon had an opportunity of observing the progress and effect of the different measures he had adopted for the promotion of the internal prosperity of his empire; and this in particular from the encouragement given to foreigners, and the abolition of all civil disabilities with respect to religion. By the regulations of the Jewish body, which he first proposed in 1807, at an assemblage of a Sanhedrin at Paris, he certainly gained many soldiers, and would eventually have drawn great wealth to France; as it is probable the Jews in other parts would have flocked to a country where they might enjoy such superior privileges, not merely by toleration, but by right.

The Emperor, whilst at St. Helena, being asked why he encouraged the Jews so much, replied, he wanted to

make them leave off usury, and become like other men. There were a great many Jews in the countries he reigned over; by removing their disabilities, and putting them on a footing with Catholics, Protestants and others, he hoped to make them become good citizens, and conduct themselves like the rest of the community. He believed he should have succeeded in the end. His reasoning with them had this object, that as their Rabbis explained to them that they ought not to practise usury against their own tribes, but were allowed to practise it with christians and others, that therefore, as he had restored them to all their privileges, and made them equal to his other subjects, they should consider him, like Solomon or Herod, to be the head of their nation, and his subjects as brethren of a tribe similar to theirs: that consequently they were not permitted to deal usuriously with them or him; but to treat both as if he were king of Judah. That enjoying similar privileges with other French subjects, they were in like manner to pay taxes, and submit to the military conscription and other laws. But besides this, Napoleon wanted to establish an universal liberty of conscience. His system was to have no predominant religion, but to allow perfect liberty of conscience and freedom of thinking; thus to make all men equal, whether Protestants, Catholics, Mahometans, Deists, or others; so that their religion should have no influence in procuring them employments under government. In fact, that it should neither be the means of serving or injuring them; and that no objection should be made to a man's getting a situation on the score of religion, provided he were fit for it in other respects.

Napoleon would have made every thing independent of religion. All the tribunals were so: marriages were independent of the priests; even the burying places were not left at their disposal: they could not refuse interment to the body of any person, of whatsoever religion. His

intention was to render every thing belonging to the constitution, purely civil. He wished to deprive the priests of all influence and power in civil affairs, and oblige them to confine themselves to their own spiritual matters. Uncles and nieces could not marry in France without a special permission: being asked if this was to be granted by the Pope, "By the Pope," said he, smiling, "No; I tell you (Mr. O'Meara), that neither the Pope, nor any of his priests, had power to grant any thing: the permission came from the sovereign."

In 1811 Napoleon, though his troops were so much occupied in the Peninsula, caused some reports of an intended invasion of the island of Jersey.

On the 16th of June Napoleon, proceeding from the Tuileries in great state to the palace of the legislative body, announced to them the circumstance of the birth of his son. Discharges of artillery announced his departure from the Tuileries, and also his arrival at the legislative palace. There he met with nearly the whole of his family, all the corps diplomatique, and the mayors of the good cities who had been summoned to be present at the baptism of the King of Rome.

Napoleon on this occasion informed his auditors, that the peace with Austria had been cemented by his happy alliance; that the birth of the King of Rome had fulfilled his wishes; and that he had for ever put an end to all the scandal arising from the state of religion and politics: he observed, "if half Europe has separated from the church of Rome, we may attribute it specially to the contradiction which has never ceased to exist between the truths and the principles of religion, which belong to the whole universe, and the pretensions and interests which regarded only a very small corner of Italy."

He also informed the assembly, that he had united Rome to the French empire; that he had given palaces to the Pope at Rome and at Paris; and that if the pre-

sent and future pontiffs should have at heart the interests of religion, they would often sojourn in the centre of the affairs of christianity. It was thus, he said, that St. Peter preferred Rome to an abode even in the Holy Land. He also observed, that Holland had been united to the empire—"She is," said he, "but an emanation from it; without her the empire (of France) would not be complete." He next informed the assembly, that the principles adopted by the English government, not to recognize the neutrality of any flag, had obliged him to possess himself of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, and had rendered an interior communication with the Baltic indispensible. America, he added, was making efforts to cause the freedom of her flag to be recognized, and he would second her. As to the sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine, he had nothing but praises to give to them. To King Joseph of Spain, he said, he had given all that was necessary and proper, to unite the interests and hearts of the different people of his provinces. He added, that since the year 1809, the greater part of the strong places in Spain had been taken, after memorable sieges; that the insurgents had been beaten in a great number of pitched battles. Nothing, however, was said of the reverse of this picture, as the fall of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, the loss of the battle of Salamanca, the occupation of Madrid, the raising of the siege of Cadiz, and such other events as marked the arms of Spain and her allies under Wellington, with victory and glory.

At the close of this year 1811, it is well known that Napoleon, on his return from a tour of observation in the Low Countries, began to form plans for the execution of his designs against Russia, as the Emperor Alexander had for some time past began to deviate from his former adherence to the continental system. British produce in the meanwhile found its way to the continent through

the Russian ports, and thus furnished a similar example to other powers, who had hitherto submitted to the restrictions imposed upon them by the conqueror of the Continent.

CHAP. XXV.

Military Operations in Russia and Poland—Occupation of Swedish Pomerania—Report made to the Conservative Senate—Napoleon's Departure from Paris—Treaties with Prussia and the Emperor Francis of Austria—Napoleon at Dresden and Dantzick—Anecdotes—Napoleon's Plan relative to Russia—Causes that led to the War between Russia and France—Liberty of Speech used by General Rapp—Napoleon arrives at Gumbinnen—Proclamation to the Soldiers—Passage of the Niemen—Want first felt in the French Army—Battles of Ostrovno—Difference between Vandamme and Jerome Bonaparte—Defection of the latter—Melancholy Situation of the French on arriving at Wilna—Specimen of Russian Proclamations—Mischief introduced by Marauding—Battle of Krasnoi—Battle of Smolensk—Battle of Valutina—Culpable Conduct of Junot, Duke of Abrantes—Passage of the Dnieper—General Kutusow appointed to the Command of the Russians—Battle of Polotsk—The Duke of Reggio—Duplicity of Prince Schwartzenberg—Operations of the Austrian Corps of Auxiliaries—Infatuation of Napoleon—Remarks by General Rapp.

THE military events of 1812, especially in Russia and Poland, were of an unprecedented nature in the history of warfare, either ancient or modern. One of the first measures adopted by Napoleon, in furtherance of his

views upon the north of Europe, was to order General Friant, with a large force, to occupy Swedish Pomerania; and Stralsund was soon after taken possession of, partly as a *point d'appui*, or of support for the left wing of the grand army, and partly as a pledge for the quiescence of Sweden.

In March, Napoleon having nearly completed his preparations, began to develope his intentions, by ordering M. Maret to deliver a report to the Conservative Senate, in which he once more attacked the maritime policy of Great Britain, praised the Emperor Napoleon for his resolution to support the liberty of the seas in concert with the Americans, and declared that the Milan and Berlin decrees should remain in full force against all such powers as permitted their flags to be denationalized; he also informed France and the world, that his master had called out the greatest part of his troops to enforce those decrees.

So anxious was Napoleon to take every disposable soldier from France, that he ordered national guards to be formed for the home duty, out of all the conscripts for six preceding years, who had not been called to the army; and early in the spring, his whole force, accompanied by the contingent troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, were in full march for the Polish frontiers.

Towards the end of March, Marshal Ney had fixed his head-quarters at Weimar, whilst Napoleon's own equipage had arrived at Dresden; previous to which, he had compelled the Prussian monarch to consent to a treaty which placed the greatest part of his kingdom, with its resources, more at his disposal than it had even been by his military occupation previous to the peace of Tilsit. To avail himself of the popular feeling in Poland, he withdrew all his Polish regiments from Spain, to accompany him in his new expedition.

On the 9th of May Napoleon set off from Paris, at-

tended by his "right-hand," Berthier, and accompanied as far as Metz by the new Empress; from whence the royal pair again set out for Dresden, where a meeting took place with the Emperor and Empress of Germany, where these august personages remained some time.

Napoleon, finding his armies well advanced, suddenly quitted his Imperial festivities at Dresden, and proceeded on the 7th of June to Dantzick, on a tour of military observation; partly in hopes of facilitating a meeting which he was endeavouring to procure with the Emperor Alexander, but at which the ministers of the latter persuaded him not to be seen.

Still anxious to bear down every thing before him with a military force, he had negotiated a treaty with his father-in-law, by which Austria was to furnish 24,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of artillery, whenever he should call on them to act as auxiliaries.

Murat, King of Naples, wished to accompany Napoleon to Dresden, but being refused, was much mortified. He, however, came to Dantzick, and with General Rapp, was the first person Napoleon received. The Emperor began the conversation with the latter, in rather an odd manner: "What," said he, "do these Dantzickers do with their money; they gain a good deal, and I spend much among them?" Being told their trade suffered greatly, and that their trade was at the last gasp, Napoleon replied, there would be a change soon; that was agreed on; but he would keep Dantzick to himself.

The Emperor being fatigued, General Rapp and Murat withdrew; the former was soon recalled. When Napoleon was dressed, he said, "Well, General Rapp, the Prussians have become our allies, and the Austrians will soon be so too."—"Unfortunately, Sire," replied Rapp, "we do a great deal of mischief as allies: I receive complaints against our troops from all quarters."—"That," said Napoleon, "is only a passing cloud. I shall see

whether Alexander really intends to go to war; I will avoid it if I can."—Then breaking off abruptly, he said, "Did you observe how queer Murat looked? he seems ill."—"Not ill, Sire," said Rapp, "but out of humour."—"Why so; is he not satisfied with being a king?"—"He says he is not king."—"Why then he ought to be a Frenchman, and not a Neapolitan."

At supper, General Rapp, the King of Naples, and the Prince de Neufchatel, were present. In the saloon, before supper, at General Rapp's house, the Emperor, suddenly perceiving a marble bust on a bracket, asked whose head it was? Being told it was the Queen of Prussia's, he said, "So, General Rapp, you keep the bust of the fair Queen in your house: she did not like me."—"Sire," replied he, "I presume I may be allowed to possess the bust of a pretty woman; besides, she is the wife of a king who is now your ally."

Riding out next morning, Napoleon visited the fortress, and did not appear satisfied with the works: this not being noticed by General Rapp, he flew into a passion, and observed before a number of persons, "That he did not see why his governors took upon them to act the part of sovereigns, and that he wished his orders to be executed." There had been a trifling deviation from his instructions: upon which Murat said to General Rapp, "Do not vex yourself about these reproaches: the Emperor is out of temper; he received letters this morning that put him in an ill humour."

The next evening he asked General Rapp how far it was from Dantzick to Cadiz. "Too far, Sire."—"Ah, I understand you, general; but we shall be further off a few months hence."—"So much the worse," was the reply. Murat and the Prince de Neufchatel did not speak a word.—"I see, gentlemen," said Napoleon, "that you do not wish for war. The King of Naples does not like to leave his beautiful kingdom; Berthier wishes to hunt

at Gros Bois; and General Rapp longs to return to his superb hotel in Paris." The general observed, he had not yet been spoiled, and that he knew very little of the pleasures of the capital. Murat and Berthier continued to observe profound silence. After dinner, they told General Rapp that he had done right, to speak to Napoleon as he had done; on which he remarked, " they should not have allowed him to have spoken alone."

When Napoleon quitted Dantzick he proceeded to Konigsberg; he there spoke a good deal about Spain to General Belliard and Murat. General Flahaut then returned from a mission on which he had been sent to the Austrian General Prince Schwartzenberg: he spoke of the devotedness of the prince, and his impatience to attack the Russians. The Emperor, though he had doubts of this prince's sincerity, seemed to have been persuaded at length that his protestations might be real, and that gratitude might have operated upon him. Napoleon then explained his plan relative to Russia, saying, that if Alexander persisted in refusing to execute the conventions they had mutually entered into, and would not accede to the last proposals made to him, he would pass the Niemen, defeat his army, and take possession of Russian Poland, which he would unite to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. He said he was embarrassed as to what course he should adopt with regard to Gallicia, as the Emperor of Austria, or rather his council, were averse to parting with it, and therefore he would await the course of events.

Without entering at any great length into the causes that led to the war between Russia and France in 1812, it may be sufficient to observe, that till January 1811, the negative relations of harmony which had existed since the peace of Tilsit, continued. The cabinet of St. Petersburgh had entered into a negotiation with England, Sweden, Austria, and Prussia. For the first time for more

than an age, the Swedish nation seemed to have forgotten the reverses of Charles the Twelfth. Napoleon having put his army in motion, he notified to the Emperor Alexander, that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon the points in litigation. He consented to modify the continental system with regard to Russia, and proposed a treaty of commerce, which, without annulling the ukase of December 1810, should conciliate the interests of both nations. Hitherto facts speak in favour of Napoleon; and in spite of prejudice, it is impossible not to acknowledge on this important occasion, a spirit of moderation seldom found among monarchs habituated to victory. On the 30th of April the Russian ambassador, in answer to these proposals, demanded as preliminary conditions, the complete evacuation of the Prussian estates, and all the strong places in Prussia, as they were at the first period of their occupation by the French troops; the diminution of the garrison of Dantzick, and the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania. Napoleon, supposing the Russian minister had exceeded his instructions, ordered Count Lauriston, his ambassador at Petersburgh, to wait upon the Emperor Alexander in person at Wilna; but this sovereign refused to enter into any explanation. Arrived upon the banks of the Niemen, Napoleon sent Count de Narbonne, one of his aides-de-camp, to make a last effort; but this was attended with as little success as the former. War was declared: its real motives originated in the influence that the cabinet of St. James had obtained over that of St. Petersburgh, and in the wishes which the latter still indulged, to revenge the humiliation of Russia by the French, in the campaign of 1807.

Napoleon, having repaired to Gumbinnen, quitted it on the 20th of June, when the Imperial head-quarters were established at Wilkowiszki. A proclamation, dated from this place, announced the opening of the campaign.

"Soldiers! The second Polish war has commenced; the first was terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit. Russia had sworn eternal alliance with France, and war to England. She has now violated her oaths, and refuses any explanation of this strange conduct, till the eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, and left our allies at her mercy. Russia is hurried on by a fatality: her destinies must be accomplished. Does she believe that we are degenerate? Are we then no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war: our choice cannot be doubtful. Let us march forward: let us pass the Niemen: let us carry the war into her territory. The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first; but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guarantee, and put a period to the fatal influence that Russia had exercised for more than fifty years over the affairs of Europe."

On the 23d of June, 1812, the French army, consisting of three hundred and fifty-five thousand infantry, fifty-nine thousand five hundred cavalry, and nearly twelve hundred pieces of cannon, was in position, and ready to pass the Niemen. To these forces we may add the ninth corps, commanded by the Duke of Belluno, that occupied the country between the Elbe and the Oder, and the division of Daendels at Dantzick.

Soon after the arrival of Napoleon at Wilna, from which place the Russians had retired, the Diet at Warsaw having constituted itself in a general confederation, and named Prince Adam Czartoriski for its president, their first act was to declare the kingdom of Poland re-established. A deputation from the confederation waited upon Napoleon at Wilna, and submitted the act to his approbation. The object and design of this address was to secure Napoleon's approbation of the steps they had taken, and they assured him, "that there were sixteen millions of Polanders, among whom there is not one

whose arm, whose fortune is not devoted to your Majesty. Say, Sire, the kingdom of Poland exists, and that decree will to the world be equivalent to the reality!"

In the answer to this address, notwithstanding the testimony that Napoleon bore to the merits and bravery of the Poles, especially those who had been in his service in Italy and Spain many years, it was evident he could not comply with their wishes. He informed them, that having guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, he could not sanction any manœuvre, or any movement which might tend to disturb the peaceable possession of what remained to him of the Polish provinces; but he added, "Let Lithuania, Samogitia, Witespk, Polotsk, Volhynia, the Ukraine and Podolia, be animated by the same spirit which I have seen in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success your holy cause." With this vague answer, the Poles were compelled by existing circumstances to appear satisfied.

When the French troops arrived on the banks of the Niemen, which five years before had been the scene of their victories, they raised shouts of joy. Napoleon, disguised as a chasseur, proceeded to the advanced posts in company with General Haxo, reconnoitred the banks of the river, and gave orders for throwing bridges over it. The cavalry was mounted, the infantry was under arms, and never was a finer spectacle; the pontoons were laid at midnight, and at one o'clock they were on the right bank of the Niemen, and General Pajol took possession of Kowsno without a blow. A few pulks of Cossacs were seen blending with the line of the horizon, and the French advancing through Lithuania, arrived at Wilna, where they found its immense magazines in flames, which they extinguished, and saved the greater part of the provisions.

This movement upon Wilna having isolated the corps

of Doctorow from those of Bagrathion and Barklay, it became the object of the Emperor to prevent their junction, in which he would have succeeded completely, if Doctorow had not sacrificed his stragglers and all his baggage, and continued his retreat upon Swentziana. A sudden change in the weather, and heavy rains that continued four days successively, all at once rendered the roads impassable. The French army, that had already lost a great number of horses before their arrival at Niemen, now lost a greater number, especially draught horses, and those belonging to the artillery. This necessarily retarding the march of the convoys, want, for the first time, was now beginning to be felt. Previous to the commencement of the campaign every corps had been abundantly supplied. Immense and almost innumerable magazines had been established between Dantzick and Warsaw; but at present the army was reduced to what the country afforded, and to such magazines as the enemy had left undestroyed for want of opportunity. As it was a part of the Russian system to destroy every thing they could not carry off, the resources of the French were soon reduced to very little. The few magazines which the enemy neglected to destroy, generally fell into the hands of the first corps that happened to seize them, and thus became a prey to waste and disorder. On the 25th of July, General Nansouty, with the divisions under him, came up with the enemy within two leagues of Ostrowno. The battle commenced; the Russian cavalry, a part of which belonged to the guard, was overthrown. The enemy's batteries were carried by the French cavalry; and the Russian infantry that advanced to support their artillery, was broken and sabred, and the enemy compelled to retire, after sustaining a considerable loss, leaving eight pieces of cannon and six hundred prisoners in the hands of the victors. On the 26th in the morning, the army continuing to advance, another obstinate com-

bat took place a league beyond Ostrowno, where the French advanced guard engaged with the corps of Osterman.

The Russians, consisting of twenty-one thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, had on their left a small wood leading to the Dwina. At the same time a strong detachment of cavalry threatened to turn the left of the French: a charge made by a regiment of hussars having been repulsed, the left of Delzon's division were put in motion against the enemy. The first shock enabled them to pass the ravine that separated them from the Russians; but the latter, not apprehensive of any danger from uncovering their left, strongly defended by the wood, the French were obliged to repass the ravine. General Huard, however, passed it a second time, when a fresh reinforcement of Russians obliged them to retrograde. Another Russian column was now in motion, to pursue and crush him altogether; but the King of Naples ordered the Polish cavalry to charge the Russians: they did so, broke them, and put them to flight. In fine, the affair became general, and the Russian corps under Osterman, beaten at all points, retired in disorder into the woods on the road to Dobrijka, where the French troops hesitated to follow them; but on the Emperor's sudden arrival orders were given to advance: the French tiralleurs precipitated themselves upon those of the enemy in the woods, repulsed him, and forced him to continue his retreat.

On the 27th at day-break, Prince Eugene, the viceroy, made the division of Broussier file off in advance. The 18th of light infantry and brigade of light cavalry under Baron de Piré, wheeled to the right. Soon after the enemy's rear guard, consisting of numerous cavalry, was perceived drawn up in echelon on the plain, their right resting on the Dwina, and their left on a wood lined with infantry and artillery. General Broussier

took post on an eminence with the 53d regiment, waiting till the whole of his division has passed the defile. Two companies of voltigeurs had marched in advance alone; they skirted the river, advancing towards that enormous mass of cavalry, which made a forward movement, and surrounded these voltigeurs, who were thought to have been lost: but they concentrated themselves with the greatest coolness, and remained during a whole hour hemmed in on all sides, having brought down more than three hundred of the enemy; and these two companies thus obtained time for the whole of the French cavalry to debouch. The division of Delzon defiled on the right. The King of Naples ordered the wood and the enemy's batteries to be attacked. In less than an hour all the enemy's positions were carried, and he was driven across the plain, beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witespk. The army took a position on the banks of this river, a league distant from the town.

The enemy displayed in the plain 15,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. A battle was expected next day: the Russians boasted that this was their wish. The Emperor spent the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for the next day; but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.

The Emperor was on a height very near the two hundred voltigeurs, who alone on the plain had attacked the enemy's cavalry. Struck by their conduct, he sent to enquire what corps they belonged to: "To the 9th, and three-fourths of us are lads of Paris."—"Tell them," said the Emperor, "they are brave fellows, and that they all deserve the cross of the Legion of Honour."

The result of the three actions at Ostrovno, were ten pieces of cannon taken, twenty caissons of ammunition, fifteen hundred prisoners, and five or six thousand Russians killed and wounded.

On the 28th at day-break the French entered Witespk, a town of thirty thousand inhabitants, and containing twenty convents. Some magazines, particularly one of salt, were found here, of considerable value. During this time the Prince of Echmuhl was attacked at Mohiloff, and lost about seven hundred killed and wounded. Bagrathion, however, being repulsed, retired upon Bickow, where he passed the Borysthenes to advance towards Smolensk. For some time the Russians took post in an intrenched camp at Drissa, but burnt all their provisions, and fled in the night.

Bagrathion was vigorously pursued by Marshal Davoust; but the King of Westphalia advanced slowly, and in consequence the orders were not executed. The defeat of the Russians at Mohiloff would have been much more fatal than it was, had it not been for the difference between Vandamme and Prince Jerome. The Prince of Echmuhl being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Westphalian troops, complained to the Emperor of the laxity of their discipline. All the answer he received from Napoleon was an order from him, in addition to his own, to take the command upon himself of the fifth, sixth, and eighth corps. The pride of King Jerome, which could not stoop to receive orders from a French general, induced him to decide upon quitting the army; and he went to conceal his ill-humour at the waters of Neundorff in Westphalia, where he shut himself up with his principal favourites and some courtezans. The disputes arising from this event were the principal reasons that rendered the pursuit of Bagrathion without effect.

In the interim the Russians dispersed on the banks of the Niemen were preparing for the defence of Smolensk, which the French were determined to attack.

Previously to the arrival of the French troops at Wilna, the roads had been broken up; the men were losing themselves in the mud, and already perishing in the bogs

and quagmires of Pultusk from hunger and fatigue. Ten thousand horses died in the course of a few days; the soldiers, continually sliding on the clayey ground, were exhausted in fruitless endeavours to proceed. Unable to keep up, many lagged behind, especially the allies. Many probably, as well as some of the generals, foresaw that the issue of the war would be disastrous, though the prognostics of the Duke of Bassano at Wilna were of a different cast. Indeed all Poland was then in motion, and men, women, peasants, citizens and gentlemen, appeared to be animated with the most noble enthusiasm, and even the Diet of Warsaw, then assembled, spoke the same language. But after leaving Wilna, the French soldiers that could not keep up with their corps, visibly increased; they even encumbered the rear. Three leagues on this side Smolensk a complaint was made to Napoleon of this melancholy picture. "It is," said he, "the effect of long marches: I will strike a great blow, and every one will rally. What," said he to one of the generals, "is Hogendorp doing? he is wallowing in indolence: if he has his wife with him, she must go back to France or to Germany." Some Russian papers were brought in that had been translated, containing accounts of victories in which the Cossacks had beaten them all: others were proclamations and addresses, in which the French were spoken of as missionaries. "See," said Napoleon to a general, "you had no suspicion that we were Apostles; but here it is proved we are coming with damnation for the Russians. These poor Cossacks are going to become idolaters.—But here is another of a different kind: here, read, it is pure Russian. Poor Platoff! all are of equal strength in these dreary climates." This was a long rhapsody with which the patriarch seasoned a relic of St. Sergius that he offered to the Emperor Alexander. He ended it with this paragraph:—"The city of Moscow, the first capital of the empire, the new Jeru-

salem, receives its Christ as a mother, in the arms of her zealous sons, and through the mist which is rising; foreseeing the brilliant glory of his power, it sings its transports, Hosanna, blessed be he who cometh! Let the arrogant, the brazen Goliah, carry from the borders of France mortal terror to the confines of Russia: pacific religion, this sling of the Russian David, shall suddenly bow the head of his sanguinary pride. This image of St. Sergius, the ancient defender of the happiness of our country, is offered to your Imperial Majesty."

In consequence of the wretched state of want to which the country was reduced by the war, the different corps of the French were allowed to make excursions, to provide for themselves from what they could obtain from the inhabitants. Napoleon's object in allowing the army some days' rest, was also contrived to give him time to complete the administrative organization in the countries abandoned by the Russians, and to prevent the anarchy that might ensue in consequence of the absence of the civil authorities, who had been compelled to follow the enemy's troops in their precipitate retreat.

The whole army soon after received an order to furnish themselves with provisions for fifteen days. In executing this, it was impossible to avoid great abuses and enormous dilapidations; the Emperor's orders were only executed upon paper, and from that which the military commissioners laid before him, he was made to believe that the army was amply provided with subsistence till the 25th of August, and the march to Smolensk was determined upon. However, at this epoch the French army was already reduced to two-thirds of the effective force that passed the river Niemen. The want of bread had compelled the troops to make an immoderate use of whatever they could procure with the most facility. The water obtained from the marshes, had given double force to the dysentery, which few individuals escaped, not

even the generals themselves. The hospitals were encumbered with sick who received little or no succour. The same causes that prevented the arrival of large convoys, had prevented the *caissons d'ambulance* and the medicine chests from being received. Another kind of loss arose from the number of soldiers taken or killed whilst *marauding* upon the flanks of the army. The officers having no means of providing for their men, shut their eyes upon disorders they could not prevent; and thus even discipline, so necessary to the organizing of all bodies, was sacrificed to necessity.

The army was put in motion on the 10th of August. General Grouchy marching upon Liady, chased two regiments of Cossacks which formed the advanced guard of General Newerowski, and formed a junction with the cavalry under General Nansouty. On the same day the King of Naples, supported by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, arrived at Krasnoi. The first corps followed closely after; the fourth and the Imperial guard, which then passed the Dnieper, arrived at Liady on the 15th; about three in the afternoon, one of the divisions of the third corps, having the 24th light at their head, fell in with a regiment of Newerowski's division before Krasnoi, which was immediately attacked with the bayonet, and driven through the town. The French division then met with Newerowski's whole division, consisting of six thousand infantry, twelve hundred cavalry, and ten pieces of cannon; they were in position before Szinka, and inclined to accept battle; but the first *echelons* being overturned, Newerowski formed his division in two close columns, and commenced his retreat. Being successfully charged by the King of Naples, the Russian general then formed his troops into a square, and continued his retreat towards Smolensk; but not without being closely pressed by the French light cavalry. The loss of the Russians amounted to two thousand men; that of the French was

trifling. On the 15th Napoleon had his head-quarters at Korytnia, and the rest of the army entered into that town and into Lubna, which was occupied by Marshal Ney. On the 16th the marshal appeared before Smolensk, and was soon followed by the other corps.

Smolensk is one of the most important places in Russia, and has been considered as a bulwark of Moscow. It presented to the eyes of the assailants an enclosure of walls ten feet thick and twenty-five in height, strengthened by towers, many of which were provided with heavy guns. The Russians occupied Smolensk to the number of thirty thousand men, the rest were on the other side of the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, with which they had a communication by three bridges above the town. On receiving information of the check the Russians had received at Krasnoi, General Barklay de Tolly had ordered the scattered remains of the beaten corps to retire into the fortified lines before Smolensk, whilst Prince Bagrathion was stationed on the high road that passes through Dorogobuj, and leads to Moscow. Every thing was thus disposed to repel the expected attack, and the Emperor Alexander had given positive orders to the Russian general to give the French battle, and if possible to save Smolensk.

Napoleon having reconnoitred the place, and disposed of his troops, they very soon saw the different corps of General Barklay de Tolly returning from their position at Kasplia, through Sitnika and Schennai Dwor. The third corps arriving at the suburbs, met an enemy's corps of cavalry, composed of dragoons and numerous pulks of Cossacks, who defended the approaches to the town till repulsed by a French battalion of the line. Marshal Ney, in his report, cited this victorious attack made by one single battalion upon four thousand men, protected by artillery and intrenchments, as one of the finest traits he had witnessed during the war, and as being well cal-

culated to give the Russians a just idea of the courage of their adversaries. Still the intrenchments were filled with troops, who were attacked with equal bravery and success by the 56th, and the Russian infantry lodged in the covered way was soon driven into the town. At this moment a reinforcement of troops arrived from the citadel to sustain the advanced posts, when the French battalion was compelled to fall back upon its division. During the rest of the 16th, a fire from the tiralleurs all along the line was sustained with firmness, and some cannon shots were fired from the citadel upon some of troops debouching from the route of Krasnoi.

On the 17th, at two in the afternoon, seeing that the enemy obstinately refused to give battle before the town, and that in opposition to the orders of their sovereign, Barklay's intention was to defend himself within the walls, Napoleon determined upon an attack. He would not lose his time in waiting for a battle, nor weary the patience of his soldiers, whose ardour was extreme, and who by their usual cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, demanded the signal for battle. Consequently moving to the right, he ordered Prince Poniatowsky to change his front, the right in advance, to place his right to the Dnieper, and to occupy the suburb of Sloboda Raczenka, by posts and batteries to destroy and intercept the communication of the town with the right bank. The cavalry of the King of Naples followed this movement to the suburb, and Bruyere's division drove away a large body of Cossacks and other cavalry, and occupied their position at some distance from the bridge highest up the river. A battery of sixty pieces of artillery was placed on this ground, and opening a fire of grape upon the enemy's masses of infantry, soon obliged them to quit their position.

The Prince of Echmuhl having received orders to attack, he caused General Dessaix's division to advance upon the citadel, whilst that of General Compans marched in

the rear of Czenizy, within two hundred fathoms of two other suburbs, in each of which the enemy had six thousand men intrenched, and provided with cannon of a large calibre. General Friant's division at the same time moved towards a third suburb almost in front of the other two. At three o'clock the cannonade commenced all along the line: at half past four this was followed by a brisk fire of musketry, and at five all the suburbs were carried with the utmost coolness and intrepidity, and the Russian troops forced into the covered way. On the left, Marshal Ney attacked the position which the enemy had taken out of the town, seized it, and pursued the fugitives to the glacis.

The English historian, Sir Robert Ker Porter, who cannot be accused of partiality with respect to the French, has thus explained himself in the account he has given of the taking of Smolensk: "The attack of the French was never less vigorous nor less formidable. Their numerous artillery answered the Russian batteries in a sanguinary manner; and whilst their forces, which were considerable, were concentrating themselves, they rushed upon their adversaries with an energy which it appeared nothing could resist. The battle then became horrible. Notwithstanding the redoubtable fire of the Russians, the French advanced into the intrenched suburbs, and attacked the Muscovite troops with the bayonet. The loss on both sides was prodigious."

Barklay de Tolly seeing the suburbs taken, resolved to make his last efforts for maintaining the place till night, in order to give time to Bagrathion's corps, then on his way from Moscow, to arrive at Dorogobuj, and two of the batteries in the suburbs were silenced, one of which arrested the progress of the French through the suburb which extends to the bridge, called that of St. Petersburgh.

At six o'clock the communication of the town with

the right bank became difficult, and could only be accomplished by isolated men; however, the attack upon the covered ways by the first corps was vigorously pushed. Three breaching batteries of twelve pounders were placed against the walls; and the enemy was driven from all the towers by howitzers which played upon them. The battle continued the whole night: two companies of miners were attached to the ramparts. The Russian general seeing the impossibility of holding out longer, and not willing to expose six divisions of his army to the danger of an assault, took the resolution of evacuating the place. At seven o'clock this movement commenced, and one hour after midnight all the Russian divisions were upon the other side of the Dnieper. At two o'clock the grenadiers who first mounted the walls, no longer found resistance. The place was evacuated; the victors found there two hundred pieces of cannon. General Korff, who commanded the Russian rear-guard, set fire to several parts of the town, and when he thought the flames had made sufficient progress, he destroyed the last remaining bridge, and took a position in the suburbs.

The battle of Smolensk cost the Russians upwards of four thousand killed and seven thousand wounded; two thousand of the latter, left in Smolensk, were made prisoners. The French had twelve hundred killed and nearly three thousand wounded. Grabouski, general of brigade, was killed, and the Generals Zayoncpek, Grandeau, and Dalton, wounded. The Russians lost two generals.

"The battle of Smolensk," General Rapp observes, "was obstinate, the cannonade violent. The Russians, taken in flank and enfiladed, could not defend those walls which had so many times witnessed their ancient victories. They evacuated the place; but the bridges and public buildings were a prey to the flames; and the churches poured out torrents of smoke. When the French entered the town it was half consumed, and encumbered

with the bodies of the dead and wounded. Obliged to turn their views from these scenes of slaughter, their cavalry pursuing the Russian rear-guard, on the 18th of August came up with them. General Korff attempted to make a stand, but was soon overwhelmed."

Towards the evening of this day, the French began to establish the bridges. Still the upper town continued burning; and at two in the morning of the 19th, Korff set fire to the four corners of the lower town, which being built of wood, was entirely consumed. After this the Russian general retired with his rear-guard.

The battle of Valutina—The bridges being completed, the Duke of Elchingen crossed the Dnieper, and at one o'clock came up with the last *echelon* of the enemy, consisting of five thousand men, marching in two columns upon the heights that lined the high road. General Korff perceiving the French, ordered one of his columns to halt upon the ground where it was, whilst the other took a position upon the heights commanding Valutina Gora. Before this could be executed, the 14th and 77th regiments attacked the column on the right, and overthrew it after two hours fighting. The rest of the third corps continued their march in column upon the high road. Korff lost four hundred men before he could arrive at the point intended. In the meanwhile Barklay de Tolly effected his retreat by a movement almost semicircular; but hearing of Korff's critical situation, he caused Prince Eugene of Wirtemburg, who had a command in the Russian army, to retrograde with a strong division of infantry and artillery, who having formed a junction with Korff before Valutina, they both took a position upon the heights near Kolodnia, and, with other divisions sent by Barklay, formed a body of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. At this moment the Duke of Abrantes should have debouched upon Koniuszewo; but divers obstacles retarded his march, and he could not take part in the affair. The in-

fallible result of this movement would have been the defeat of the enemy's five divisions, and the capture of the convoys of the wounded, &c. Wearied with waiting for him, Murat ran to him—"What are you about? why don't you come on?"—"My Westphalians," said he, "are wavering."—"I will give them an impetus." Then putting himself at the head of a few squadrons, Murat charged and overthrew every thing that opposed him. "There is thy marshal's staff half gained; complete the work; the Russians are lost." Whether from fatigue or distrust, does not appear; the brave Junot slumbered amidst the sound of the cannon, and the enemy who were coming up to support their rear, again fell back on their line. The engagement became terrible; the brave Gudin lost his life, and the Russian army escaped. Napoleon visited the places where the battle had been fought —"What," said he, "was Junot doing?" Murat endeavoured to extenuate his fault. Berthier interested himself for him: Caulincourt did the same. Every one pleaded to the utmost in favour of a brave man, who could only be reproached with forgetfulness or an error in judgment. Napoleon sent for General Rapp—"Junot," said he, "has for ever lost his marshal's staff: I give you the command of the Westphalian corps: you speak their language, you will shew them an example that will make them fight." General Rapp, though flattered, wished to decline the honour offered him, and by the intercession of Caulincourt and the other marshals, Junot kept his post, though it was acknowledged that he had caused the failure of one of the finest operations of the campaign, and prevented the Russian army from laying down its arms. Lassitude had succeeded the impetuosity of his youth, and at the battle of the Moskowa, he did not show that elasticity and energy of which he had so many times given an example. But to return: at four in the afternoon the Duke of Elchingen's corps was still in po-

sition, and the Russians resolved again to act on the offensive; but they were constantly repulsed. At five the head of the first column having arrived on the field of battle, General Gudin's division joined the third corps. Marshal Ney then made his dispositions; the divisions of Gudin and Razout were formed into columns to attack the centre and the left of the Russians: the divisions of Ledru and Marchant marched in reserve; and some cavalry were placed on the left, to oppose that of the Russians; but nothing serious took place in this quarter. At six Gudin's division attacked the enemy's centre, and overthrew every thing that came before it. Other divisions fought with such valour, that the Russians thought they were combating with the Imperial guard. In one of the first discharges of cannon, General Gudin was struck by a bullet, and died gloriously. He found a worthy successor in General Gerard, who took the command of his division. Karpow and Korff were repulsed on the right, but being joined by a reinforcement of cavalry, their resistance was prolonged, by which other divisions gained time to get into the high road to Moscow. The Russians left the field of battle covered with the dead and dying: they had eight thousand men killed and wounded, including several generals, and one thousand prisoners. The French did not reckon above three thousand men killed and wounded.

It is said that Napoleon on the 20th, whilst reviewing those intrepid soldiers who had covered themselves with such glory at Valutina Gora, exclaimed, "Let us pursue our successes; with such troops as these we might go to the end of the world."

In consequence of a religious tradition, the Russians, who looked upon the position of Valutina as inexpugnable, and felt themselves assured of victory, called this spot "the sacred field." On the same day the French completed the passage of the Dnieper; the guard alone

remained at Smolensk, where the Emperor had fixed his head-quarters. The 127th, a regiment newly formed, received an eagle, as the reward of their gallantry on the evening preceding the review.

Whilst the Russians retreated upon Borodino, the French continued to advance. Napoleon having organized at Smolensk the second grand depôt, directed his army to Dorogobuj, where he arrived with his guard on the 25th. Two engagements of little consequence occurred on the 26th and 27th: the Russians were beaten. Barklay then fell back upon Viazma; but not judging his position sufficiently strong, he determined upon taking another near Tzarewow Zalomicth. Here Kutusow took the command of the two armies of the west: his address and his intrigues had rendered him the idol of a fanatical multitude; and the fatal effects of the winter of 1812, obtained him a military reputation very far from being justified by his operations.

Kutusow put his army in motion on the 30th of August, and traversing Gjat, he was there joined by General Miloradowitch at the head of thirty thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and eighty pieces of cannon: being mostly recruits, these troops were distributed among the divisions that had suffered most. From Gjat the Russian general moved to Borodino on the 1st of September, where, as usual, the Russians began intrenchments, which they generally left incomplete. The Emperor Napoleon arrived at Gjat on the same day Kutusow left it, and knowing the designs of the Russians, he immediately prepared for battle.

The operations of the sixth and tenth corps of the French army under the Duke of Reggio, consisted of the combat of Swolna, the battle of Polotsk, the affairs of Grafenthal, Olai, &c. At Swolna the Russians obtained an advantage on the 10th of August; but this did

not prevent the duke from remaining in position till the 13th, when learning that Wittgenstein had received reinforcements, he fell back upon Polotsk, and was joined by the sixth corps under Gouvion St. Cyr. On the 17th the Russians deployed in the plain, and made several vigorous attacks upon the French; but were each time repulsed. The Duke of Reggio, badly wounded by a small cannon shot in the shoulder, gave up the command to St. Cyr, who immediately resolved on resuming the offensive. But though taken unawares, the Russian general confiding in his immense artillery, having batteries furnished with 120 pieces, received the shock with calmness, whilst his troops formed in face of the French in the order of their encampment. The battle raged with the greatest fury in the centre and on the left; at length the Bavarians forced the enemy to retire upon the wood of Gromewow, and the divisions of Verdier and Legrand, after having carried the farm of Prismenitza, held the enemy completely in check, whilst General Merle attacked the bridge which the Russians had thrown over the Polota, and drove away the detachment that guarded it. Before night Wittgenstein, forced at all points, began his retreat upon Bielaia. The Duke of Reggio, the Generals Verdier, Raglowich, Deroy, and Sierbein, were wounded, and the two last died in a few days. This victory at Polotsk procured for General Gouvion St. Cyr a marshal's staff.

The Marshal Duke of Tarentum having raised the fortifications at Dunabourg, abandoned that place, and approached with his right wing to Jakobstadt, whilst a Prussian corps occupying Mittau observed Riga. On the 26th of August General Lewis was beaten near Grafenthal by the Prussian troops, and on the following day was forced to swim over the Dwina. The Russians were not less unfortunate at Sclock; and the Prussian troops

entered into the positions which they occupied before these useless attempts had been made by General Essen, the governor of Riga.

It may now be necessary to take some notice of the movements of the Austrian corps under the orders of Prince Schwartzenberg. The cautious tactics of this prince, the slowness of his operations, and the doubtful nature of his movements at this epoch, ought without doubt to have opened the eyes of Napoleon; but the extreme confidence which he reposed in the disposition of his father-in-law, and the ascendancy which he flattered himself he had gained over him, led Napoleon to hope that the co-operation on the part of the Austrian general would be as sincere as it had been on the part of the Prussians. This false security hindered him from perceiving the danger he incurred, by leaving upon his wings auxiliary corps over whom it was necessary for him to exercise the strictest vigilance, and whose secret intentions were already known to the enemy, whilst these auxiliaries were only waiting for a reverse, for the purpose of abandoning their imprudent ally, and then to range themselves on the side of the conqueror. The events that followed proved the value of the remarks, and the suspicion expressed by some of the generals in a council of war after the affair of Valutina Gora. The equivocal conduct of Prince Schwartzenberg was then subjected to a severe examination; but the Emperor was the first to exculpate the Austrian general, and even endeavoured to persuade his lieutenants, justly prejudiced against him, that the victory of Gorodetchna was owing entirely to him whom they had accused of duplicity and bad faith. General Reynier, already rich in laurels, might easily concede to Prince Schwartzenberg that portion of the fame that was due to him, without diminishing his own reputation, established upon so many other circumstances.

General Rapp was often called upon for reports respecting the affairs of Russia and the army, and especially as to what course France or Germany would adopt in case of the failure of an expedition to the other side of the Niemen; when this general candidly assured Napoleon, that if he should experience reverses, he might be assured the Prussians and Germans would all rise in a mass to throw off the French yoke. A crusade against France would be set on foot. "All your allies," said he, "will abandon you: even the King of Bavaria, on whom you place so much reliance, would join the coalition. I make an exception only in favour of the King of Saxony; he perhaps would remain faithful to you; but his subjects would compel him to make common cause with your enemies."

Napoleon, so far from appreciating the value of these honest sentiments, submitted them to Marshal Davoust, who was instructed to inform General Rapp, that the Emperor was greatly astonished that one of his *aides-de camp* could have presumed to address such a letter to him; saying, that Rapp's reports were like the pamphlets published on the other side of the Rhine, which he appeared to take pleasure in reading. After this General Rapp remained a long time out of favour.

But even from his nearest relatives, Napoleon had received admonitions of a similar kind. His brother Lucien was the most determined opposer of all his ambitious views and plans. One day while they were warmly disputing, Lucien drew out his watch, and dashing it violently on the ground, he addressed to his brother Napoleon these remarkable words: "You will destroy yourself, as I have destroyed that watch; and the time will come, when your family and friends will not know where to shelter their heads." Lucien married a few days after, without obtaining his brother's consent, or even speaking to him on the subject. This, however, did not prevent

Napoleon from receiving him in 1815, though it was not without being urged so to do, after Lucien had waited at the outposts some time.

CHAP. XXVI.

Military Movements continued—Russian Proclamation—Different condition of the Russian and French Armies—Battle of Moskwa, or Borodino—Prince Poniatowsky—The French enter Moscow—Napoleon's Account of the Burning of that City—Napoleon solicits Peace, and is rejected—Operations of Marshal Macdonald—Affair of Winkowo—Battles of Malo Jaroslawitz and Viazma—Setting in of the cold Weather—Retreat of the French Army—Arrival upon the Banks of the Berezina—Battle—Dreadful Passage and Burning of the Bridge—Napoleon's Departure for France—Arrival of the French at Wilna and Warsaw—Napoleon at Warsaw—His extravagant Reflections upon his Reverses—His Arrival at Paris—His Answer to the Address of the Senate.

THE French army recommenced its march on the 4th of September, and encamped on the same day at the village of Gridnowo. On the following day, at two in the afternoon, they arrived within sight of the enemy. The ground chosen by Kutusow was extremely unequal, and in some places woody. His right, under Barklay de Tolly, was covered by a large intrenchment in the front of a wood encircled by an abattis, which fronted Moskwa and the village of Maslowa. The right wing, thus placed in the rear of the village of Borodino, was naturally protected by the course of the river Kologha running through a ravine that empties itself into the Moskwa at some

distance from the high road to Moscow. The enemy's left, commanded by Prince Bagrathion, was supported by the wood of Passarewow, and covered by three redoubts, two in the front of the line, and a third before the village of Seminskoe, which having been destroyed, was converted into a kind of abattis. The Russian centre was under the orders of General Bennigsen, and here was also General Kutusow in person, whose head-quarters were near Gorka. Upon the point which formed, as it were, the pivot of the Russian operations, were two strong batteries. To cover his left, which Kutusow conceived to be the weakest part of his position, he had constructed a redoubt of twelve hundred toises length, in front of the village of Chewarino, and this redoubt was occupied by the rear-guard. On the other hand, that the French might not turn them by the old road from Smolensk, a stroug battery had been placed upon a rising ground that commanded the road. Here a part of the reserve was placed under General Tutchkow; but not supposing they would be attacked on that side, this reserve was destined to turn the right of the French, through the wood of Passarewow, whilst they attacked the Russian redoubts.

On the 4th in the evening the advanced guard of the King of Naples arriving at Gridnowo, drove the Russian rear-guard out of the village: the latter had occupied a position behind the ravine. On the 5th, the Emperor having reconnoitred the enemy's position, immediately ordered the attack. General Compans advanced with his division upon Alexino, which was carried at two in the afternoon. At the same time, but more upon the right, Prince Poniatowsky chased the Russians from the wood of Jelnai, and General Compans having forced their rear-guard to evacuate another wood on the right of Alexino, the French cavalry was able to advance by the defile that separated this wood from the former. Kutu-

sow then sent a reinforcement to the redoubt of Chewarino, as well as to his rear-guard, and Konownitzin took a position in the wood of Passarewow. During this time the batteries of the redoubt kept up a murderous fire upon the French masses. The Emperor then felt the necessity of carrying this redoubt, and the honour of this exploit was confided to the division that had just seized Alexino.

General Compans having the sixty-first regiment in columns behind the heights, garnished with artillery, cannonaded this redoubt for a short time, and then advanced with great resolution: the battle became obstinate; the redoubt was taken and retaken three times; but at length remained with the French, who purchased this success with the loss of 1000 men. A short time after, Napoleon reviewing this regiment, asked the colonel what he had done with one of his battalions, who drily answered, "Sire, it is in the redoubt."—General Compans afterwards threw another Russian division into disorder, and the combat was over about nine at night. The Russians lost some prisoners and seven piecess of cannon.

The Russian reserve under Tutchkow had not been idle whilst the fifth French corps advanced through the wood of Passarewow; the troops they had sent against Poniatowsky had executed several successful charges against the Poles under this general, and compelled them to retreat with the loss of three pieces of cannon and one hundred and fifty prisoners.

On the 6th, at two in the morning, Napoleon reconnoitred the Russian advanced posts, then on the other side of the ravine in front of Seminskoe, which were generally protected by the batteries that had garnished the front of their line. The enemy's position was extremely close; still his left, weakened by the loss of the redoubt at Chewarino, was the most vulnerable point in his line; upon this Napoleon was determined to make his first attack, and consequently to refuse his left wing, which

was separated from the Russians by the Kologha. Another proposal made to him by Marshal Davoust, Napoleon rejected: he knew that Kutusow had raised the hopes of the Russians by the promises he had made them of covering Moscow, and destroying the French to the last man. Under such circumstances, he thought a victory gained in the open field would dispirit and discourage the enemy, and operate as the surest means of obtaining a glorious peace.

The whole of the 6th passed in reconnoitring, and in making preparations on one side and the other. The French army occupied those positions which they could only quit to attack the enemy. That of the Prince of Echmuhl was between Chewarino and the wood of Passarewow; the third corps was formed in order of battle upon the heights between Alexino and Chewarino, having the second line of the eighth corps in their rear, under the Duke of Elchingen. The Viceroy of Naples remained in the position he occupied on the right of Borodino.

Kutusow, on his side, had recourse to those extraordinary means which he judged the best calculated to inflame the courage of his troops; in fact, nothing was neglected that could operate upon their ignorance and their gross superstition. The image of St. Sergius, a Moscovite Bishop, he informed them, had been miraculously snatched from the hands of the French at Smolensk; this he caused to be carried by the priests in great pomp along the front of his whole line, then under arms.

A proclamation, written in a style appropriate to the circumstance, was read at the head of each company:

"BROTHERS AND COMRADES,

"You see before you, in this sacred image of the holy object of your adoration, an appeal that loudly calls upon every one of you to rise with firmness against the tyran-

nical disturber of the world. Not contented with destroying the image of God in the persons of millions of his creatures, this universal tyrant, this arch-rebel against all laws human and divine, has entered your sanctuaries by main force, defiled them with blood, overturned your altars, trampled upon your rites, and exposed the true ark of the Lord (consecrated in this holy ensign of our church) to the profanation of accidents, to the elements, and to sacrilegious hands. Fear not then, but that this God, whose altars have been insulted by the very worm whose almighty power has drawn him from the dust—fear not that he will be with you, and that he will not place his buckler before your ranks, and combat his own enemy with the sword of the Archangel Michael.

"It is in this faith that I am going to fight and to overcome, certain that my expiring eyes shall behold victory. Soldiers, do your part; I say to you, think of the sacrifice of your cities, consumed by the flames; think of your wives and children, that call upon you for your protection, and place their chief reliance upon you; think of your Emperor; of your lords, regarding you as the sinews of their strength, and to-morrow, before the setting of the sun, trace upon the soil of your country, the characters of your faith and fidelity with the blood of the aggressor and his warriors."

The continual marches, the want of subsistence, the distance of the French om their reserves, had reduced the effective number of Napoleon's army equally low as that of the Russians: both might be estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand each. But though their numerical force might be nearly equal, there was an enormous difference in their moral dispositions. The Russians, for instance, were within twenty-six leagues of their ancient capital, fighting on their own ground; they were abundantly supplied with provisions, and in case of reverse, a certain retreat was open; new suc-

cours awaited them; they had taken up arms to resist the most odious aggression, and they were going to shed their blood for their country, and all that was dear to them. What motives could be more powerful? The French, on the other hand, transported five hundred leagues from their country, to accomplish the designs of a single individual, had been for a long time a prey to the most cruel privations. Even if conquerors, the forces they had before them were not the only ones they had to encounter. Surrounded on all sides by the most cruel enemies, or by allies of a doubtful character, their success after all could only lead to a disastrous retreat; but conquered, what prospect remained for them but to die in a foreign land, under the torments of famine or in the anguish of a long slavery: however, they prepared for the combat without either calculating upon the chances of a defeat or the results of victory.

On the 7th at three o'clock in the morning, the Emperor was surrounded by the marshals in the position taken on the preceding evening. At half past five the sun rose without clouds; it had rained the preceding evening. "This is the sun of Austerlitz!" said the Emperor. The army accepted the augury; the drum beat, and the following illusory order of the day was read:

"Soldiers, Behold the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you; it is necessary to us; it will give us plenty; good winter quarters, and a speedy return. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witespk and Smolensk, that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride, and may say of each of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.'"

The army answered with the repeated acclamations of *Vive l'Empereur!* At six in the morning a cannon-shot from a battery on the right, gave the signal for battle, and the action commenced with the discharge of 120

pieces of cannon from the position at the extremity of the French right. But whilst Prince Poniatowsky put himself in motion, to turn the forest on which the enemy rested his left, the Prince of Echmuhl, having left General Friant's division in reserve before Chewarino, marched with the divisions of Compans and Dessaix upon the front of the redoubt on the left of the Russians; General Pernetti took the head of the division of Compans, and advanced along the side of the wood, and turned the head of the enemy's position. At the same time Prince Eugene ordered Delzon's division to attack Borodino, whilst those of Morand, Gerard, Broussier, and the royal Italian guard, passed the Kologha upon bridges. The King of Naples put his cavalry in motion. General Nansouty followed the movements of the Prince of Echmuhl, and General Montbrun advanced to the brink of the stream in the front of Seminskoe, to occupy the space between Kologha and the eighth corps. General Grouchy marched in the suite of the viceroy, and the fourth corps made dispositions to support the Duke of Elchingen, who at seven o'clock debouched by Chewarino with three divisions in columns of attack; the eighth corps deployed a little upon the right, in two lines, under the protection of sixty pieces of cannon. The Emperor fixed his head-quarters in the redoubt from whence he had issued the order for battle in the morning: the elevation of the ground permitted him to see the greatest part of the Russian line and the various movements of the enemy. The young guard and the cavalry were before him, and the old guard in his rear.

The division of Compans continuing to advance on the right, at half past six o'clock found itself in front of the redoubt nearest the wood of Passarewow. This Charriere, the colonel of the 57th, was ordered to carry, when turning to his men, he only said, "to the redoubt!" The battalions then advanced at a charging pace with

fixed bayonets, and as good a fire as the rapidity of their march would allow. After a murderous conflict of one hour, the redoubt was carried, and the 34th entered it soon after the 57th. The Russians who attempted to retake it, filled the ditches with their dead. General Compans being wounded at the beginning of the action, the Emperor ordered General Dessaix to unite the division to his own: some time after Dessaix had his arm broken, and gave up the command of the divisions to General Rapp, who was also wounded. In this assault, and during the rest of the day, the 57th regiment had more than 1500 men killed and wounded.

General Gerard's division seized a redoubt more to the left, but was charged by two Russian regiments, and obliged to evacuate it; the redoubt, however, was recovered and retained by the cavalry of General Bruyere. The more formidable redoubt before Seminskoe shared the same fate; and the heights of Chewarino were soon after in the possession of the eighth corps, under Marshal Ney, who afterwards moved to the right, to form a junction with the fifth corps, whose march had not been so rapid or so successful as his own.

Borodino was attacked by the 116th regiment, under General Plauzonne: the Russians in the place, who had set fire to several of the houses, were overthrown; but the general, who had passed the Kologha, was killed by a musket-ball before Gorka. General Morand being ordered to attack the enemy's grand battery, a little to the right of Borodino, marched out of the ravine, and having formed under the fire of eighty pieces of cannon, proceeded, and soon obtained an entrance; but being surrounded on all sides by the Russians, the brave 30th regiment were obliged to fight their way through the enemy, and abandon General Bonnomy, grievously wounded. General Morand, who remained in front of the battery, completely occupied in repelling the continual efforts of

the Russians, could not afford the least assistance to the 30th.

General Gerard and the royal guard being ordered to place themselves in the rear of General Morand, to support him, the combat was renewed with the greatest fury, and one thousand pieces of cannon vomited death with a dreadful *fracas*, the greatest ever heard, unless it was that at Leipsig in 1813. After much fighting, with various success, Prince Eugene was determined to make a last effort against the Russians' grand battery. The King of Naples, wishing to avail himself of the disorder that General Friant had occasioned in the 26th division of the Russian infantry and the grenadiers, General Montbrun being killed by a cannon-ball, ordered General Augustus Caulincourt to attack the Russian division that occupied the grand battery in flank, and to penetrate it. General Caulincourt, at the head of General Wathier's cuirassiers, overthrew all that came before him; but finding that he had passed the grand battery, he turned to the left, and entered it by the gorge, followed by his cuirassiers, when the Russian infantry placed above the ravine that separated the two redoubts, made such a terrible discharge, that the French regiment was obliged to evacuate it. Struck by a bullet, General Caulincourt terminated his destiny. However, the French infantry who pressed on the battery, penetrated it in front and flank at the moment the cuirassiers were repulsed, when all whom the sabre had spared, fell under the bayonet; the general that commanded was taken, and the Russian artillerymen killed upon their guns, which were turned upon their countrymen. At this time most of the enemy's positions were forced, his redoubts carried, and the French artillery crowned the heights. All the advantages that the Russian artillery had possessed were now transferred to the French. The enemy saw the battle lost

when he supposed it had scarcely commenced. Part of his artillery was taken, and the rest left in the lines in his rear; still, in this extremity, he endeavoured to renew the combat, and with the whole of his masses to recover the strong positions he had not been able to preserve. Three hundred pieces of French cannon placed upon the heights, thundered upon his columns, and his soldiers came to die at the feet of the same parapets which they had raised with so much labour a few days before.

Kutusow then brought from the right a part of Bagavout's infantry, many regiments of hussars and hulans, and a division of the Russian guard, with orders to support Prince Bagrathion, but who was met by General Friant with eighty pieces of cannon: the enemy maintained their ground two hours, exposed to grape-shot, without being able to arrive at Seminskoe. At the expiration of this time, fearing to be entirely overwhelmed by the Duke of Elchingen, who continued to advance on the right of the village, the Russians began to retire; the French cavalry then penetrating their masses, made great slaughter. The King of Naples at the same time ordered a charge to be made along the whole line, when the enemy, entirely defeated, fell into disorder, and took refuge in the woods.

Prince Poniatowsky had fought with varied success at the extreme right of the French. Towards noon he succeeded in seizing a height that had been occupied by the reserve under Tutchkow, but his troops, attacked in front and flank by the militia of Moscow, were driven back upon the fifth corps. At two o'clock Poniatowsky, seeing that the French centre had made great progress, determined to renew his attack upon the enemy's position: whilst the infantry charged it in front, the cavalry of the fifth corps took them in the rear. This movement was decisive, the height was taken, and the fifth corps

maintained themselves upon it against all the endeavours of Tutchkow to dislodge them. At night the Russians were in full route.

Such was the issue of the battle to which Napoleon gave the name of Moskwa, or Mojaisk, and the Russians that of Borodino, as this village was the centre of their position. The obstinacy both of the attack and the defence in this conflict, rendered it one of the most sanguinary description. More than sixty thousand cannon-shots had been discharged on each side. The Russians lost sixty pieces of artillery, and upwards of thirty thousand men killed or wounded, including thirty-five generals: two generals were taken, with five thousand prisoners.

On the part of the French, the loss was not less than twenty thousand men killed and wounded. The Generals of division Montbrun and Caulincourt, the Generals of brigade Plauzonne, Huard, Compere, Marion, and Lepel, were killed; and among the wounded generals were Nansouty, Grouchy, Rapp, Compans, Dessaix, Morand, Lahoussaye, and others.

Kutusow, in the night following the battle, made a precipitate retreat towards Moscow, preceded by a convoy of twenty thousand wounded, and arrived under the walls of that city on the 13th, which he entered on the 14th, and passed through, taking the route to Kolumna. He was followed by Rostopchin and the authorities of the place. The determination to sacrifice Moscow had evidently been adopted a considerable time, though carefully concealed from the greatest number of its unhappy inhabitants. The departure of Kutusow and his army, was the signal for the burning of the ancient capital of the Czars.

The small number of prisoners taken in the battle of Borodino, the circumstance of the Russians being able to carry away their wounded, and many other considera-

tions, amply prove that such another victory would have ruined Napoleon. However, the Russians ordered *Te Deum* to be chanted at Moscow; and Napoleon sent similar instructions to his bishops in France.

On the morning of the 8th the advanced-guard, under the King of Naples, set out in pursuit of the Russians, who had entirely evacuated the field of battle. Soon after Napoleon put the rest of the army in motion, formed in three columns. Skirmishes occurred all the way, between the French advanced-guard and the Russian rear-guard under General Miloradowitch. Only one serious affair took place: this was at Mojaisk, which the Russians set on fire, and then retired.

On the 14th, about noon, the King of Naples entered Moscow: arrived near the Kremlin, the French troops were received with a warm fire of musketry from the ramparts: this was a handful of the wretched inhabitants, who in their despair imagined they could arrest the progress of the French army. The gates of the Kremlin were soon forced, and the feeble defenders of the palace dispersed. Then the King of Naples traversed the city, and passed out of the barrier of Kolumna. The Emperor entered on the same day, and was lodged at the Kremlin, around which the Imperial guard established itself. The other corps occupied those quarters of the city that were assigned to them, or bivouacked under the walls.

Of the burning of Moscow, Napoleon gave the following account: "We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter-quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring. Two days after our arrival a fire was discovered, which created very little alarm, as it was supposed to have been caused by the soldiers making their fires too near the houses." This increased the next day, and on the third day Napoleon went in person to give orders as to the means of stopping its progress. On the fourth day in the morning, a violent wind caused the

flames to spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundreds of Russians had disposed themselves in different parts of Moscow, and concealing matches under their cloaks, set fire to as many wooden houses to windward as they could. Every effort to extinguish the fire was now ineffectual. Napoleon, intending to shew an example, ventured into the midst of the flames, but had his hair and eye-brows singed, his clothes burnt off his back, and narrowly escaped with his life. He said he was prepared for every thing but this terrible conflagration, which ruined all. Several of the inhabitants perished in their endeavours to stop this calamity, and brought numbers of the incendiaries with their matches before the French, who had about two hundred of them shot. Napoleon owned that he was five days too late in quitting Moscow, and that several of his generals were burnt out of their beds. He himself remained in the Kremlin till it was surrounded by flames. He then retired to a country-house of Alexander's, about a league from Moscow, where the heat was so intense, that persons could scarcely bear their hands upon the walls and windows on the side next Moscow. It was, he said, the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!!

To the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow, Napoleon attributed his failure in Russia.

The season in the beginning of October being too far advanced to admit of the prosecution of military operations, Napoleon indulged the hope that Russia, discouraged by the loss of its ancient capital, and the successive defeats she had sustained, would not now refuse to enter into negotiations to establish the bases of a solid

and durable peace. He supposed, with some kind of reason, that propositions of accommodation could not be otherwise than agreeable to a government so enfeebled by the enormous sacrifices already made. The Emperor made choice of General Lauriston, his late ambassador to the court of Petersburgh, to be the bearer of such as he deemed moderate propositions, considering the critical circumstances in which Russia was placed. General Lauriston arrived at Kutusow's head-quarters. A suspension of arms was agreed to, which would require three hours notice previous to the recommencement of hostilities.

Napoleon's first intention was to open an immediate correspondence with the Emperor of Russia. Alexander's known generosity and humanity would probably have at once decided upon putting a stop to the effusion of blood; but he yielded to the predominant sense of his own people and the counsels of his allies, though messages to and from the head-quarters were frequently exchanged, and both armies probably imagined that a cessation of hostilities was not far distant.

Here we must necessarily pass over the operations under Marshal Macdonald in Eastern Prussia, and those of other corps in Lithuania, upon the Bug; those of the Prince of Schwartzenberg, &c. in which Napoleon was not personally concerned.

The suspension of arms before mentioned continued till the 17th of October, when at seven in the evening several corps of the Russian army approached the advanced posts of the King of Naples, and took a position on the banks of the Nara. Bennigsen, who commanded them, passed the river at midnight, and advanced in three columns upon the high road to Moscow. In the battle of Winkowo, that followed, both sides fought with the greatest fury: the French lost more than two thousand men, and the Generals Dery and Fisher were among

the killed. The Russian Generals Bagavout and Muller were killed, and Bennigsen the commander in chief was wounded.

This affair at Winkowo left no doubt in the mind of Napoleon as to the real sentiments of the Russian government. General Miloradowitch, in a conversation with the King of Naples a few days before, gave way to his natural frankness: Murat looked upon peace as indispensible to Russia, and was enlarging upon the continued successes of the French, having opened to them the gates of Moscow. "Yes, general," replied Miloradowitch briskly, "the campaign is over with the French, and it is time now that it should begin with the Russians." Some persons worthy of credit, who were at Napoleon's head-quarters, have asserted that Murat was one of the first dupes to the pretences of Kutusow, and likewise one of those whose imprudent suggestions determined Napoleon to prolong his stay at Moscow.

The French army, now reduced to less than half of its original number, did not reckon more than an hundred thousand men in its ranks, who were diminishing every day through sickness and want. The most numerous regiments of cavalry had not more than a hundred horses, and the audacity of the Cossacks hourly increased. On the 30th of September they attacked the dragoons of the Imperial guard in a village in the environs of Moscow, when their major, Marthod, and fifty of his men fell into their hands. This officer died of his wounds in the course of a few days. The Cossacks afterwards seized upon a convoy of artillery coming from Viazma. These united causes induced Napoleon to quit Moscow, for the purpose of seeking a more advantageous position in a country from whence some resources might probably be drawn.

The battle of Malo Jaroslawitz was fought on the 24th and 25th of October, and was ranked among the most

brilliant exploits of the campaign. The fourth corps of the French that day engaged, did not exceed seventeen thousand men: the Russians had between eight and ten thousand men killed and wounded, and the French lost four thousand. M. Labaume reports, in his Account of the Russian Campaigns, that he heard Sir Robert Wilson, the English Commissary with Kutusow's army, and an ocular witness in this battle, say that Prince Eugene, with twenty thousand men, had on that day sustained the shock of nine Russian divisions of ten thousand men each. The Emperor reviewing the field of battle next day, was astonished at the fury with which the battle had been fought. After bestowing just eulogiums upon each corps, he said to the viceroy, "the honour of this famous day belongs entirely to you." In the battle of Viazma, that followed soon after, the French lost four thousand men. At Jelnia a battalion under Barraguay d'Hilliers surrendered prisoners of war to the Russians.

When the French army had reached Dorogubuj, the cold began to set in; the ground was covered with a deep snow; ditches, roads, and fields soon disappeared, and the soldier had no other track to follow than the heaps formed in the snow, of the innumerable bodies of those who had preceded him. The immense number of stragglers now began to increase; those who had thrown away the arms which their frozen members would not permit them to carry, wandered they knew not whither; driven away from the bivouacks and the fires when they brought nothing with them for fuel, they frequently expired with cold and misery in sight of their comrades, who never approached them but to seize upon any thing they had about them; and this sometimes before their last breath had escaped. Others who took refuge in houses, and lighted fires, perished in the flames they wanted strength to subdue. The fate of those who had retained their arms was not less severe: they were compelled to be

continually on the alert to repulse the clouds of Cossacks that hovered about them, and who, though dispersed by the firing of a few muskets, would return the moment after. Whole nights were spent in endeavouring to burn green wood, or in avoiding the cold by forced and continual exercise. Every bivouack, every burnt house, was generally left with a circle of dead bodies half burnt, or covered with snow. The fate of those who fell into the hands of the peasants or the Cossacks was not more favourable: stripped of their clothing, they were forced by blows to march till they fell under the weight of hunger and ill-treatment. Thus in a few days almost the whole of the cavalry disappeared. Artillery and baggage were every day abandoned on the route; the cavalry marched on foot, or mixed with the stragglers, incapable of any service. In fact, a number of regiments disbanded themselves; discipline and subordination were entirely at an end.

Napoleon acknowledged, that on his retreat from Moscow, the thermometer fell eighteen degrees. In one night the French lost thirty thousand horses; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried, and the artillery, amounting to about five hundred pieces, was nearly abandoned. The soldiers, he said, lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. Four or five Russians were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Parties sent out on duty in advance, instead of keeping together, wandered about in search of fire, or got into the houses to warm themselves, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep; a little blood came from their nostrils, and they died. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery; but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations, were no longer the same men.

Napoleon took little or no part in the few conflicts that ensued between the wrecks of his wretched armies and

their increasing enemies, after the first and second affairs of Krasnoi and the passage of the Berezina. During this retreat the cavalry being, as before observed, quite dismounted, all the horses which the officers had been able to preserve, were collected, and four companies of fifty men each, were formed into an escort for the person of Napoleon. This *sacred squadron*, as it was called, was commanded by General Grouchy under the King of Naples.

But notwithstanding the unheard-of distresses that continually weighed upon the French army, they still continued to consider Napoleon as the *palladium* that was to save them. His presence frequently electrified the most dejected; the sight of their sovereign marching with them on foot, and cheerfully partaking of all their privations, seldom failed to excite a momentary enthusiasm similar to that of the days of victory.

The retreat of the French army may be said to have been begun on the 19th, for on the 23d Napoleon himself was at Borosk, by what he called a flank movement.

To follow Napoleon and the various divisions of his army, step by step throughout the whole of their manifold sufferings, would fill a volume; suffice it to state, that early in November the Viceroy Beauharnois with his division, was driven upon Smolensk, after some severe fighting, particularly on passing the Vop, where he was obliged to leave the most of his artillery behind him. Napoleon himself was severely censured for attempting to bring a numerous artillery with him from Moscow, as the delay occasioned by it, was one great cause of the destruction of so great a part of his army. About the 9th of November Napoleon himself arrived at Smolensk, where he fixed his head-quarters, but could not muster more than sixty thousand men, though he left Moscow with eighty thousand at least. From Smolensk he soon found it necessary to retire, at least as soon

as the other divisions had set off for Krasnoi. Napoleon marched at the head of the Imperial guards on the 13th of November. He had scarcely arrived at Krasnoi before he heard of the advances of the Russians under General Miloradowitch, and that of the grand Russian army under Kutusow: to secure his own retreat, he seized on some important positions near the village of Dobroe, and on the road to Orcha.

The rapidity of Napoleon's flight enabled him to reach Orcha in sufficient time to allow of his halting till the 20th, whilst some of the divisions of his army were concentrating upon his line of retreat. Davoust's corps had already been defeated with the loss of all their artillery, baggage, and their military chest. Several thousands laid down their arms, and were made prisoners; and now a worse fate was preparing for their survivors, who were advancing with as much haste as their situation would admit, towards the fatal bridge of the Berezina.

Upon the banks of this river, Napoleon arrived with his army in two distinct bodies, but found all the bridges broken down. Whilst the French were endeavouring to construct a temporary bridge for the occasion, the Russian General Wittgenstein had ordered Platoff to push forward towards Bernsoff, whilst he himself, about the 26th, advanced towards Vesselovo and Studentze, where Napoleon was erecting two bridges. Studentze was first attacked and carried, and the whole of the French troops made prisoners. When it was ascertained that Napoleon was not there, Platoff was sent across the river to join Tchitchagoff, whilst Wittgenstein proceeded towards Vesselovo. But the moment that Napoleon's bridge in this quarter was passable, he ordered over a sufficient number of his guards to ensure his safety, and then passing it with his principal officers, he was followed by a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, who succeeded in such numbers, that the way was soon choaked up so

completely as to preclude all order or progress. In this situation, the Russians arrived; when hundreds of the French threw themselves into the river, and the whole scene became that of the most tumultuous horror. Besides, as orders were given to set fire to the bridge, great numbers fell a sacrifice to this dreadful manœuvre. It undoubtedly insured Napoleon's personal escape, but it threw the whole of the army on the other side into the hands of the Russians.

After the passage of the Berezina, most of the corps who till then had preserved some shew of organization, disbanded themselves completely. Nearly thirty thousand men no longer marched, but rather herding together like timid animals, were made prisoners before they arrived at Wilna, which was more than the enemy could have expected in any general engagement on the other side of the Berezina. In a short time, the French army lost the few defenders that were left; they could no longer distinguish the corps that had acted upon the Dwina, from those that had retreated from Moscow. Even the Imperial guard saw its ranks reduced to little more than three hundred men carrying arms, and preserving something like order for the preservation of their eagles. On the 5th of December the head-quarters were at Smorgoni: in this village, after the Emperor had called a council, consisting of the King of Naples, the viceroy, and the principal generals, he determined to return to France to create new resources. The King of Naples, nominated his lieutenant-general, took the command of the army. All the generals agreed in the propriety of the Emperor's immediate return to France.

In the fighting of a few days that preceded and followed the passage of the Berezina, the French had upwards of six thousand killed and wounded; and fifteen thousand at least remained in the hands of the enemy. During this period the Russians recovered all the trophies and riches

that had been carried off from Moscow; and an immense quantity of baggage and artillery fell into their hands.

As every one pushed for the bridge over the Berezina, the least obstacle threw them into rage and desperation; they forced a way with the sabre or the bayonet, and overturned every thing they met. Carriages, artillery, &c. running against each other, were frequently overturned and crushed in pieces, the unhappy men or horses having been previously thrown to the ground. Many of the soldiers voluntarily threw themselves into the river, and few gained the opposite shore. In the meanwhile the horror of the scene was redoubled by the enemy's artillery; when the whistling of the balls added to the cries and groans of men and horses, and the dreadful effects of grape-shot upon a closely compacted multitude, were sufficient to chill the stoutest bosom.

The Russians, every moment reinforced by fresh troops, soon forced the remains of the ninth corps, who continued the longest on the other side, to cross the river. The Polish division under General Gerard, fought its way through the Russian masses, and climbed the mountain of dead bodies that seemed to obstruct its retreat. It gained the other side, and would most undoubtedly have been followed by the Russians, if the bridge had not been set on fire that instant. However, the fugitives continued to press through the flames, till the principal supporters being consumed, the whole gave way with a dreadful crash, and disappeared in the gulph of waters beneath them.

"We left," says General Rapp, "the dreary banks of the Berezina, where we had experienced so many misfortunes. We marched on towards Wilna: we discoursed of nothing; we were occupied with nothing but the arrival of the Austrians; the lowest soldier dreamed of nothing but Schwartzenberg—Where is he? What is he doing?

Why does not he appear? This formed the general subject of conversation."

All these misfortunes were followed by the known retreat of the Austrian Prince Schwartzenberg, the treason of the Prussian General D'Yorck, and the defection of General Meissenbach, whilst the Duke of Tarentum, with the wretched remains of one of the French corps in a most distressed condition, shut themselves up in Dantzick, which was soon after strictly blockaded by the Russians. The arrival of the fugitives at Wilna, where they hoped for more effectual succour than they had yet received, did not in the least tend to raise their spirits, or to increase the interest of the Poles in their behalf.

Even the arrival of the French at Wilna was one of the most disastrous events that occurred during the fatal campaign of 1812, without even excepting the passage of the Berezina. At Wilna they had flattered their imagination with finding numerous magazines, and that abundance which would make them amends for their long suffering. At Wilna they had fondly hoped they should be able again to use those arms their frozen fingers would not permit them to raise in their own defence, and to check the insolent triumph of an enemy always beaten upon the field of battle, and before whom they had been compelled to retreat solely through the extreme rigour of the climate. But these hopes were deceived: they had made their last efforts, and they sunk under them. Numbers not being able to obtain an asylum in the houses encumbered by their countrymen, were compelled to remain in the streets, and there found an end to their calamities. But those who got under a roof which they supposed was hospitable, were not less unfortunate, particularly if they were alone or unarmed. Others fell victims even to the nourishment which was given them, owing to the exhaustion they had previously undergone.

The limbs of others were seized with a rapid mortification, which soon extinguished the principle of existence. Many were totally unable to move from the spot upon which they had first thrown themselves to implore the aid or the pity of the surrounding spectators. It was here that fanaticism, barbarity, cupidity and treason came under the cloak of proclamations addressed to the Russians, and brought death to the French under a thousand shapes. The most merciful amongst these executioners contented themselves with throwing these helpless men into the streets, where the cold soon put an end to their sufferings; but the greatest number were previously stripped and murdered. The Jews in particular signalised themselves by that base cruelty of which so many examples are found in their annals. On the following day thousands of dead bodies, naked and clothed, found in the streets of Wilna, attested in the face of Heaven, that there is no excess to which a savage people may not be excited. Whoever was witness to the scenes that then passed at Wilna, has lost the right to accuse any author of exaggeration, who has stained the leaves of history by the recital of any enormities committed by humankind.

In justice to the brave Polish patriots, though they were frequently threatened, and often became victims to the liking which the populace of Wilna entertain for the Russians, afraid to shew the least commiseration, they could not prevent assassinations in the streets of Wilna; yet in the houses, and out of the sight of the Russians, they rendered the French every kind of assistance in their power.

The French Generals Lahoussaie, Guillaume, Lefebvre, Zayonsheck, &c. were obliged to remain at Wilna. Marshal Kutusow, in his report to the Emperor Alexander, stated the number of French prisoners made at Wilna, as seven generals, two hundred and forty-two

officers, nine thousand five hundred and seventeen subalterns and privates, and five thousand five hundred sick in the hospitals. But the real fact was, that this number ought to have been reduced to one total of fifteen thousand sick: for it is certain that nineteen-twentieths of the French military that stopped at Wilna, had some of their limbs frozen, and could proceed no further.

This French army had not been collected at Wilna twelve hours before the enemy's cannon was heard. The corps of Seslawa attacked General Loison at the moment he had given orders to evacuate the place, when a large crowd threw themselves upon the road to Kowno. As soon as the Russian corps had formed they attacked General Loison's corps, who notwithstanding succeeded in covering the march of a column of the fifth corps, consisting of Poles, unarmed men, and stragglers, though it thus completed the act of its own destruction. About three in the morning the last of the French that could move, left Wilna. At five, after a most painful march, they reached the mountain of Vaka, scarcely a league from Wilna, which being covered with ice, rendered it impossible for the carriages to pass, by preventing the horses from obtaining any foot-hold. As this eminence could not be turned, it was found necessary to abandon the baggage and the Imperial treasure, containing upwards of five millions in gold and silver. Thus all that the Russians had not been able to seize, or that the waves of the Berezina had spared, fell into the hands of a few hundreds of Cossacks, whom chance seemed to have brought to the spot.

As a part of Platoff's corps entered Wilna after the French had left it, their hussars and Cossacks scoured the streets, robbing and massacring all the wounded French that the inhabitants had turned out of their houses, or that the avidity of the Jews had spared. During this time a piquet of thirty French, that had been placed upon

one of the bridges and left there, suddenly made their appearance: they were soon surrounded, but their commandant, not in the least disconcerted, formed them in a circle, and ordered the *generale* to be beat. At the first fire their opponents fled, when the French officer availing himself of the stupor of his enemies, overtook and rejoined the French rear-guard at the bridge of Ponary.

However afflicting the following details may be, we cannot consistently dispense with retracing the picture at this time presented by the greatest part of the French army before and after its arrival upon the Berezina. Generals, officers and soldiers, were all in the same condition, confounded one with another. All distinction of rank was done away with in their excessive sufferings. Cavalry, infantry and artillery, mixed together, and got on as well as they could. Most of them carried on their shoulders a bag of meal, whilst a pot hung from their sides, attached to a cord. Others proceeded, holding the bridles of their starved horses, carrying their kitchen materials, and sometimes the remains of their wretched provision. The horses themselves were the best provisions this army had; for when they fell down quite exhausted, they became food for their masters, who seldom suffered the breath to go out of the body before they tore the flesh from them with the utmost greediness. As almost every corps in the army was in a state of dissolution, a number of little bodies were formed out of the wrecks of the regiments, consisting of eight or ten individuals, who agreed to march together, and amongst whom what they had was shared in common. Some of these had a horse among them to carry their baggage or cooking utensils, besides which every member had his wallet. The little communities entirely separated from the mass, were unanimous in repulsing any unhappy individual who might wish to join them. Each of these companies marched as closely as possible, and they took the great-

est care not to be separated from each other. Woe to any one who had lost his party. No one would take the least interest in his case, or shew him any favour; on the contrary, such persons were ill-treated, or driven away even from the fires lighted on the route, or any other place of refuge; and in fact, never ceased to be objects of persecution till they found their own party, or perished for want. Let the reader, if possible, figure to himself sixty thousand of these unfortunate beings, each with his wallet on his shoulders, walking with sticks to support them; their bodies covered with rags of all colours, swarming with vermin, and delivered up to all the horrors of famine. To these distressing appearances their countenances bore the most dreadful marks of hunger and desperation. Let us figure to ourselves these pale beings, or rather spectres covered with dirt, and blackened by the smoke of the *bivouacks* or night fires, with long beards, hollow eyes and dishevelled hair, and after all, we shall have only a faint picture of this wretched army. Thus abandoned to themselves in the midst of snows, it was with the utmost difficulty that they proceeded along roads scarcely distinguishable across the deserts, and through immense forests of fir.

Here were some, quite undermined by the long duration of their diseases and by famine, sunk under the weight of their misfortunes; there were others attacking a miserable straggler who was supposed to have some provision about him, in spite of his resistance or horrid imprecations. On one side might be heard the noise made by the horses and carriages crushing the bones of bodies whose flesh had been stripped before: on the other, the cries and groans of those victims, whose strength having quite failed, they had lain down and given themselves up to death. Further on, groups might be seen collected round a dead horse, and fighting for the remnants into which it had been cut; whilst others, thrusting their hands into the

carcass, tore out the heart and entrails. Even night fall only brought with it a temporary and precarious interval of sleep, from which it was the fortune of many never more to awaken.

At night it was the duty of every one, however exhausted, to find some kind of lodging, at least a shelter from the weather, and the keen biting of the north-east wind. Of course houses, barns, sheds, &c. &c. were soon filled in such a manner that it was with difficulty that any one could enter in or out. Such as could gain no admittance into these places took up their abode behind walls, or any sort of shelter. The first duty was to procure wood and straw for their bivouacks; for this purpose they scaled the houses, carrying away the roofs, and if these were not sufficient, the joists and the girders, the partitions, or the house altogether, in spite of those who might attempt to resist this violence; and if the first possessor maintained his ground, it was at the hazard of being burnt to death. Very often, when the soldiers found they could not enter houses, they would set them on fire, especially when they happened to be occupied by the superior officers, who had seized them after expelling the first occupants. When it was necessary to light fires for the bivouacks, it was the duty of every member of the small parties before mentioned to take a share in this, and also in preparing the food for their repast. Thus, whilst one was kneading their dough to be baked on the fire, another prepared the *bouillé*, and each one would draw from his wallet the slices of horse-flesh that he had preserved for roasting, to the best of their ability.

Bouillé was generally preferred by the soldiers; but as it was impossible to get water, as both ponds and marshes were continually frozen, they used to melt a sufficient quantity of snow in a pot, and diluted it as well as they could; but after all, it was black and muddy.

When it was thickened with such meal as they had, as salt could not be obtained, in the room of this they threw in two or three cartridges, which at least gave the mess some kind of taste, though it increased the colour to a deep black. The repast upon this and the broiled slices of horse-flesh being finished, each guest placed himself round the fire, till overcome by fatigue and sleep, he arose to renew on the following day the same wretched kind of life. No military music was wanting for the signal of departure on these occasions: the survivors arose spontaneously, and hastened on to escape death from their relentless pursuers.

When the wrecks of the army arrived at Warsaw, the highest order of the inhabitants disappeared. General Dutaillis, the military commander of the place, to raise the courage of the Poles, published the following proclamation:

" Poles, The enemy is at your gates; the Tartars are inundating the right bank of the Vistula. You must arm yourselves, and I see nothing but *packing up*. The great Napoleon looks down on you from the summits of the towers of Moscow (which were burned a month before): to arms, and deserve to be addressed by him in these words: 'Poles, I am satisfied with you'."—But this language was used by the same man, who, on being informed of the passage of the Berezina, styled it a glorious victory, and added, that the star of Napoleon had never before shone with such brilliant lustre. To such a degree had many of the sycophants about Napoleon learned to substitute servile forms and revolutionary phrases, in place of ideas with which they seemed utterly unprovided.

When Napoleon arrived at Warsaw on the 10th of December, instead of proceeding to the palace, he put up at the hotel D'Angleterre, from whence M. Caulincourt was dispatched to summon the appearance of the

Abbé de Pradt, the ambassador to Poland. Arrived at the house, the first question was, "Where is the Emperor?"—"At the hotel D'Angleterre: he expects you!"—"Where are you going?"—"To Paris!"—"And where is the army?"—"It is gone," said he, turning up his eyes to Heaven.—"But what of the victory of the Berezina, and the six thousand prisoners we made?"—"That is all gone by * * *—Some hundreds of men had escaped. We had something else to do than to guard them." Then taking him by the arm, I said, "it is time that all the faithful servants of the Emperor should unite in telling him the truth."—"Ah, what a failure," said he; "but I have not to reproach myself with not having foretold it."

"I hurried out, and arrived at the hotel about half past one o'clock. A few Polish *gens d'armes* guarded the gate; the master of the hotel examined me; hesitated a little, and then allowed me to pass. I saw a small carriage body placed on a sledge made of four pieces of fir; it had stood some crashes, and was much damaged. Two open sledges there had served for the conveyance of General Lefebvre Desnouettes, another officer, the Mameluke Roustan, and a valet. This was all that remained of so much grandeur and magnificence. I thought I beheld the winding-sheet carried before the great Saladin. The door of a room on the ground-floor was mysteriously opened. A short parley took place: the Duke of Vicenza came, introduced me to the Emperor, and left me with him. He was in a cold small lower apartment, and had the window-shutters half closed, the better to conceal his *incognito*. An awkward Polish servant continued blowing a fire of green wood, which resisting her efforts, diffused far more water over the stove than heat in the apartment. The Emperor, according to his custom, was walking about, wrapped up in a superb pelisse lined with green, and with magnificent gold brandenburghs. He had on a kind of fur-cap, and his boots

were also surrounded with fur. "Ah, Monsieur the ambassador," said he, smiling—I approached, and addressed him thus: "You look well: you have made me very uneasy; but at length you are here: I am happy to see you."—"How are you off in this country?" said he. I described to him the actual state of the Duchy. I urged on the ground of prudence, the dignity of the Emperor and the Confederation, the quiet removal of the embassy and the council before the arrival of the enemy; spoke to him of the distress of the Duchy and the Poles. He asked with vivacity, "Who has ruined them?" I replied, "What has been doing for these six years: the scarcity of last year, and the continental system deprive them of all commerce." At these words his eyes were lighted up. He proceeded, "Where are the Russians?" I told him—"And the Austrians?"—"I have not heard of them for a fortnight."—"General Reynier?"—"Nor of him neither."—I spoke to him of the Polish army. "I have seen none of them," said he, "during the campaign."—I explained the reason of that, and why the dispersion of the Polish forces had at last rendered an army of eighty-two thousand men invisible. "What do the Poles want?"—"To be Prussians, if they cannot be Poles."—And why not Russians?" replied he, with an air of irritation. He said, "we must raise ten thousand Cossacks: a lance and a horse are sufficient for them—with that force the Russians may be stopped."

"Soon after he dismissed me, recommending to bring after dinner Count Stanislaus Potocki and the minister of finance, two members possessing most credit in the council. This interview lasted about a quarter of an hour, during which, as usual, he walked about with much agitation, and sometimes fell into a profound reverie. We met again at the hotel D'Angleterre at three o'clock; he had just risen from table.—"How long have I been in Warsaw?—Eight days—No, only two hours;" said he,

smiling, without any preamble or preparation, "*from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step.*"—"How do you do, Mr. Stanislaus, and you, Mr. Minister of the Finances?"—On these gentlemen repeatedly expressing their satisfaction on seeing him well after so many dangers, he replied, "Dangers! Not the least—Agitation is life to me: the more trouble I have the better I am. None but sluggard kings fatten in their palaces. Horseback and camps for me." From the sublime to the ridiculous there is only a step. It was plain then that he considered himself an object for the derision of all Europe, and this idea was to him the greatest of all punishments. He said, "You are very much alarmed here."—"It is because we only know what public rumour informs us."—"Bah! the army is superb. I have 120,000 men: I always beat the Russians. They are no longer the soldiers of Friedland and Eylau. I am going to raise three hundred thousand men. Success will render the Russians rash. I shall give them three or four battles in the Oder, and in six months I shall be again on the Niemen. I am more wanting on the throne than in my army. I leave it with regret. All that has happened is nothing; it is a misfortune; it is the effect of climate. The enemy is good for nothing: I beat him every where. They wished to cut me off at the Berezina—I laughed at that fool of an Admiral Tchitzchagoff."

"He added a good deal on *strong* and *feeble* minds, and mostly all that was inserted in the 29th bulletin. He then proceeded—"It used to be otherwise. At Marengo I was beaten till six in the evening: at Essling I was master of Austria: that archduke thought to stop me; but I could not prevent the Danube from rising sixteen feet in one night. Ah! if it had not been for that, the Austrian monarchy was ended; but it was written in heaven, that I should marry an Archduchess.—[This was said with an air of great gaiety]—It has been the same

with Russia: I could not prevent the frost: I was told every morning that I had lost ten thousand horses during the night. Well! *bon voyage.* This was repeated five or six times. Our Norman horses are not so hardy as the Russian horses. It is the same with the men. Perhaps it will be said, I stopped too long at Moscow; but it may be so: the weather was good. I expected peace. I sent Lauriston with an overture. I thought of going to Petersburgh. We will maintain ourselves at Wilna. I have left the King of Naples there; ah! ah! what a grand political scheme. He who risks nothing gains nothing. *From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but one step.*"— He then got into a rambling discourse, which continued for three hours; the fire had gone out, and every one but the Emperor felt the effects of the cold: he seemed to keep himself warm by his vehement utterance. At length, when the ministers joined with the ambassador in addressing to him the most respectful and affectionate wishes for the preservation of his health and the prosperity of his journey, he replied, "I never was better; if I carried the devil with me I should be all the better for that." These were his last words uttered at Warsaw: he then mounted the humble sledge which bore Cæsar and his fortune, and disappeared. A violent shock which the vehicle received in passing out at the gate, had nearly overturned it.

"Such," says this relator, "was the famous conversation, in which Napoleon fully disclosed his bold and incoherent genius; his cold insensibility, and the fluctuation of his ideas, among various diverging projects, his past schemes, and his approaching dangers."

From Warsaw he took his route to Dresden, and then travelling rapidly by way of Leipsig and Mentz, arrived at Paris about the 18th of December, which city he chose to enter about midnight.

On the 20th, being seated on his throne, he received

an address from the senate, equally as adulatory as if he had terminated a successful campaign. His answer seemed to allude to a plan which had taken place at Paris in the month of October, the object of which was to bring about a revolution, but failed through the folly or treachery of those concerned. He was well acquainted with the discontent that prevailed: however, he ventured to close the memorable year of 1812 with public declarations to France and to the world, that he was determined to persist in his plans for the completion of the continental system, and that his hopes and presages of the ensuing year, were founded upon principles as unshaken as his own dynasty. However, what had been foreseen by almost every person of discernment except Napoleon, soon followed, viz. an alliance against France between Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Thus a new political vortex was created, into which all the lesser princes on the Continent were inevitably drawn, with the exception of the King of Saxony, who ultimately paid dearly for his unfortunate attachment to the fallen hero of the age.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Defection of the Prussian Army—Proposals made to Great Britain by Napoleon—Plan for seizing the Empress and the King of Rome—Proclamation of Louis XVIII.—Assembly of the French Legislature—The Tugenbund, *or German League of Virtue—Marie Louise constituted Regent of France—Departure of Napoleon for the Army—Opening of the Campaign in Saxony—Death of Marshal Bessieres—Battles of Lutzen, Wurtchen, Bautzen, Reichenbach—Death of Marshal Duroc, &c.—Armistice—*

Desertion of the French General Jomini—Battle of Dresden—Death of General Moreau—Defeat of General Vandamme—Policy of the Allies—A Prediction fulfilled —Battle of Leipsig—Defection of the Bavarians, Saxons, &c.—Recommencement of Hostilities—Affair of the Katzbach; of Waschau—Blowing up of the Bridge over the Elster—Retreat of the French—Battle of Hanau—The French repass the Rhine—The Allies enter France—Release of Ferdinand King of Spain—Language of Napoleon in the Senate—Lord Castlereagh's Departure to France.

THE commencement of this year was marked by the complete defection of the whole Prussian army under General D'Yorck, which was soon after followed by another corps under General Meissenbach. This business was settled by a convention, which stipulated that even its *non*-ratification by the Prussian monarch should not be followed by hostilities on the part of the Russians for two months.

Napoleon also wishing to avail himself of an opportunity for negotiating with England, offered terms of peace; but unfortunately they were the same in substance as had been made and rejected previously to his ill-fated Russian campaign: consequently he informed the French people, that it was to England that they should attribute the campaign in Russia, the convention with the Prussian troops, and every other evil, excepting the "premature frost." About this time he was indefatigable in endeavouring to unravel the plot which took place in October, whilst he was in Russia; as it is supposed, he remembered the expressions of Generals Malet and Laboice at the place of execution, viz. "that they (their prosecutors) might cut off the head, but that the *tail* would still remain." He merely found out, however, that their plan was to secure the person of

the Empress, send her and the King of Rome to England; but other particulars, or agents, he could not discover.

Napoleon having good reason to apprehend that the friends of the exiled family entertained some hopes of their restoration, his fears were much increased by a proclamation of Louis XVIII., issued from his residence in England on the 1st of February, 1813. To guard against the effects of this proclamation, which had made a great impression, Napoleon ordered a grand assembly of the Legislature on the 14th of February, when he made a most pompous display of his Imperial greatness, and again told them that England was disturbing his conquests and the peace of the Continent. He assured them that England had no bounds, and that she had magnified his sufferings by the *hoar frost* to a great extent; to which he added, "the agents of England propagate amongst all our neighbours, the spirit of revolt against their sovereigns. England wishes to see the whole Continent become a prey to civil war, and all the furies of anarchy; but Providence has designed herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war." He then assured the Legislature, that he desired peace; but he no longer threatened to conquer peace at Petersburgh, only hinting that the Russians should be sent back to their own *frightful climate;* after which they were informed, that as long as the maritime war lasted, so long must his people make all kinds of sacrifices.

Affairs soon began to press upon Napoleon; all Germany, united by the *Tugenbund*, or League of Virtue, was now in motion; the people in general were roused from that state of apathy in which they had long remained, and were rising fast to support the thrones and families of their legitimate monarchs. The Crown Prince of Sweden was daily expected in Pomerania, where he was to act against the French; and Austria in arms, was ready

to adopt a decided part, which Napoleon had much reason to believe would not be in his favour, so that nothing remained for him but immediate action.

On the 15th of April he left Paris, having previously constituted Marie Louise Empress Regent of France. On the 16th he passed through Metz, where he remained organizing his forces till the evening of April 24th, and put himself upon the road for the armies on the Saale; he travelled with his usual rapidity, and on the 27th was at the head of his forces at Naumburg on that river.

Several affairs of minor importance preceded the celebrated battle of Lutzen; the former occurred at Wettin, Halle, Mersburg Weissenfels, and other places in the neighbourhood of the Elbe. In passing the defile of Poserna on the 1st of May, the action on both sides cost but a few men; but the French had to regret the loss of Marshal Bessieres, who reconnoitring the plain near the village of Rippach, had his wrist cut off by a bullet, which entering his breast, he fell dead.

In the battle of Lutzen, fought on the 2d of May, eighty-four thousand infantry beat one hundred and seven thousand Russians or Prussians, with more than twenty thousand cavalry. Alexander and the King of Prussia witnessed the conflict in person. The allies lost eighteen thousand men. The loss of the French was twelve thousand, and their want of cavalry prevented them from reaping the usual fruits of their conquests.

On the evening of the battle, Napoleon said to the generals that were about him, "During seventeen years that I have commanded the French armies, I have never witnessed more bravery or devotion." And yet the veterans of Austerlitz, of Jena, Friedland, Wagram, &c. had almost all disappeared from the ranks, and the honour of these eagles, so long victorious, had been committed to young conscripts, who had scarcely learned their exercise, and were by no means habituated to the fatigues of

war. Nevertheless, these raw soldiers, without cavalry, and with artillery scarcely sufficient, conducted by the genius and valour of their chief, triumphed in a pitched battle over an army superior in numbers, mostly composed of old warriors, assisted by cavalry and artillery of the most formidable description. For a while the enthusiasm of the French troops resumed its ascendancy, and the Emperor recovered the full influence of opinion. The allies retreated before him, without venturing the chances of another battle.

On the 9th Napoleon entered Dresden as a conqueror, conducting back to his capital the King of Saxony, who, from the consciousness of his own interests, as well as his wish to remain faithful to his engagements, had retired on the approach of the allies, whose proposals he had constantly rejected.

On the 21st and 22d, Napoleon again triumphed at Wurtchen and Bautzen. The allies had chosen that ground, which the brilliant campaigns of Frederick the Great had rendered classic. They had intrenched themselves, and they thought their position impregnable: but every thing yielded to the grand views and well-conducted plans of the French Emperor, who at the very commencement of the conflict, declared himself to be certain of the victory.

In the battle of Reichenbach, on the 22d of May, General Bruyeres, an officer of cavalry highly distinguished, had both his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. About the end of the action Marshal Duroc was also struck by a cannon-ball, which he did not survive more than twelve hours. During the march from Reichenbach to Gorlitz, Napoleon stopped at Makersdorf, and shewed the King of Naples where Duroc fell. He summoned to his presence the proprietor of the little farm on which the grand marshal died, and made over to him the sum of 20,000 francs; 4000 of which were for a monument in

honour of the deceased, and 16,000 for the proprietor of the house and his wife. The donation was consummated in the evening, in the presence of the rector and the judge of Makersdorf: the money was counted out before them, and they were charged to get the monument erected.

On the 4th of June, the armistice of Pleissvitz was entered into. This event had the most decisive influence in producing the subsequent misfortunes; it was the fatal knot to which were attached all the chances and destinies of the campaign.

Unfortunately, in spite of all the Emperor's calculations, this fatal armistice proved advantageous only to the allies: it was maintained for nearly three months, and it served only to bring about the triumph and the destruction of the French: Austria requiring delay, obtained it; the Russians, who were waiting for reinforcements, received them; the Prussians doubled their numbers; the English subsidies arrived, and the Swedish army joined the allies. The defection of the cabinets of the Rhenish Confederation, and the corruption of the allied officers, were successfully effected. Treason also began to creep into the superior ranks. General Jomini, the chief of the staff of one of the French corps, went over to the enemy with all the information he had been able to collect respecting the plans of the campaign.

The hostile powers again presented themselves on the field of battle. The French had now a force of 300,000 men, of which 40,000 men were cavalry, on the left bank of the Elbe; and the allies had 500,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry, which then threatened Dresden from three different directions, from Berlin, Silesia, and Bohemia. This prodigious disproportion had no effect on Napoleon; he concentrated his forces, and boldly assumed the offensive. Having fortified the line of the Elbe, which had now become his *point d'appui*, and protecting his extreme right by the mountains of Bohemia, he directed one

of his masses on Berlin, against Bernadotte, who commanded an army of Prussians and Swedes, while another marched upon Silesia, against Blucher, who commanded a corps composed of Prussians and Russians; and a third was stationed at Dresden, as the key of the position, to observe the great Austrian and Russian army in Bohemia. Finally, a fourth mass was placed, as a reserve, at Zittau, with the three-fold object—1st, To penetrate into Bohemia, in case of any advantages over Blucher;—2d, To keep the great body of the allied force confined in Bohemia, through the fear of being attacked on their rear, should they attempt to debouch by the banks of the Elbe;—3d, To assist, if necessary, in assailing Blucher, or in the defence of Dresden, should that city be attacked.

The Emperor, who had already made a rapid movement against Blucher, was suddenly called away for the defence of Dresden, where 65,000 French troops found themselves opposed to 180,000 of the allied forces. Prince Schwartzenberg, the general in chief, had on the 26th made a faint attack upon Dresden, being urged to take this step by the deserter Jomini, who so well understood the real state of things. Napoleon came up with his usual rapidity with 100,000 French troops. The affair was not long doubtful, and the enemy was overwhelmed: he lost 40,000 men, and was for some threatened with total destruction. The Emperor Alexander was present at the battle. Napoleon observing at the distance of about 500 yards a group of persons on horseback, and being resolved to disturb them, he ordered a captain of artillery to throw a dozen of bullets amongst them at once. One of these balls struck Moreau, who had then joined the Russians, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. A moment before, Alexander had been speaking to him. It was not a little singular, that in action a short time after, Napoleon ordered the

same artillery officer to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another royalist, a Frenchman, and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others. Moreau survived his misfortune but a few hours.

The happy chance so anxiously looked for by Napoleon, which was expected to re-establish his affairs, procure peace, and to save France, had at length arrived. Accordingly, on the ensuing day, Austria dispatched an agent to the Emperor, with amicable propositions. But such is the uncertainty of human destiny; from that moment, by an unexampled fatality, Napoleon had to encounter a chain of disasters. At every point, except that at which he was himself present, the French sustained reverses: their army in Silesia lost 25,000 men in opposing Blucher; the force which attacked Berlin, was defeated by the Prince of Sweden with great loss; and, finally, nearly the whole of Vandamme's corps, which, after the victory of Dresden, was sent into Bohemia, with the view of assailing the enemy's rear, and accomplishing its destruction, being abandoned to itself and the temerity of its chief, was cut to pieces by that part of the allied army which was precipitately falling back. This fatal disaster, and the safety of the Austrians, was occasioned by a sudden indisposition of Napoleon.

After the victory of Dresden, some one was complimenting Napoleon on his great success. "Oh! this is nothing," observed he, while his countenance beamed with satisfaction: "Vandamme is on their rear; it is there that we must look for the great result." The Emperor was proceeding in person to assist in accomplishing this decisive operation, when, unfortunately, after one of his meals, he was seized with so violent a retching, that he was supposed to have been poisoned, and it was found necessary to convey him back to Dresden.

His presence no longer excited the ardour of the different corps in maintaining the pursuit; indecision and dejection ensued; Vandamme's force was destroyed, and all the fruit of the splendid victory of Dresden was lost!

After these repeated checks the spell was broken; the spirit of the French troops became depressed, while that of the allies was the more highly excited. The hostile forces were now to be estimated only by their numerical value, and a catastrophe seemed to be at hand. Napoleon, in despair, used many vain efforts; he hastened to every threatened point, but was immediately called away by some new disaster. Wherever he appeared, the allies retreated before him; and they advanced again as soon as his back was turned. Meanwhile all the enemy's masses were constantly gaining ground; they had effected communications with each other, and they now formed a semicircle, which was gradually closing round the French, who were now driven back upon the Elbe. On the other hand, their rear, which was uncovered, was assailed by detached parties. The kingdom of Westphalia was in open insurrection; their convoys were intercepted, and they could no longer maintain free communications with France.

It was in this state of things that the negotiators of Prague submitted to the Emperor the result of their new conferences. In addition to numerous restitutions required from Napoleon and his allies, two propositions were made—1st, The surrender of all the influence and acquisitions of France in Italy;—2d, The resignation of the French influence and acquisitions in Germany. Napoleon was to take his choice of one of these two divisions of power; but the other was to be consigned to the allies, to be entirely at their disposal, without any interference on his part. Neither friends nor enemies entertained a doubt but that Napoleon would eagerly accept

these proposals: he however rejected them, and persisted in following up his own ideas.

" Certainly," said he, " such proposals in themselves, and in the natural course of things, are most acceptable; but where is the guarantee of their performance?" It appears plainly, that the allies were only endeavouring to lure him into the snare. They did not conceive themselves bound by any law or rule in their conduct towards him. In opposition to the suggestions of his counsellors, Napoleon said, " If I relinquish Germany, Austria will but contend the more perseveringly until she obtain Italy. If, on the other hand, I surrender Italy to her, she will, in order to secure the possession of it, endeavour to expel me from Germany. Thus, one concession granted, will only serve as an inducement for asking others. The first stone of the edifice being removed, the downfall of the whole will inevitably ensue. I shall be urged on from one concession to another, until I am driven back to the castle of the Tuileries, whence the French people, enraged at my weakness, and blaming me for their disasters, will doubtless banish me, and perhaps justly; though they may themselves immediately become the prey of foreigners."

This was indeed the literal prediction of the events which succeeded the insidious declaration of Frankfort, the propositions of Chatillon, &c.

About this time, the King of Bavaria wrote to the Emperor, assuring him confidentially, that he would continue his alliance six weeks longer. Napoleon determined immediately to attempt a great movement, which he had long contemplated, and which plainly indicates the resources of his enterprising mind. Pressed upon the Elbe, the right bank of which was already lined by the great mass of the allied force, and nearly turned upon his rear, he conceived the bold idea of changing positions with the

enemy, place for place. He determined to penetrate the enemy's line, forming himself in his rear, and compelling him, in his turn, to transfer his whole force to the left bank of the river. If in this situation he abandoned his communications with France, he would have in his rear the enemy's territory, a tract of country not yet ravaged by war, and which was capable of maintaining his troops. He would recover the cities of Berlin, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg, with the immense French garrisons, the leaving of which was so great a fault after such a reverse of fortune. Napoleon flattered himself that six weeks would be sufficient to change the state of affairs; but unfortunately for him, military intrigues proved more powerful than the wishes of the King of Bavaria. Napoleon was forced to suspend his intended movement, and to fight the battle of Leipsig under great disadvantages.

Napoleon, on making his arrangements for the battles of Leipsig, had relied on a diversion by those corps of the army which he had left in Dresden. Their co-operation might have rendered the victory decisive, and have given a new turn to affairs. But, unfortunately, the allied force was so numerous, and the French were so completely surrounded, that the Emperor's orders could not be transmitted to Dresden.

After the two terrible engagements of Leipsig the French were effecting their retreat across the Elster by a single bridge. An officer who was stationed to guard it, was ordered to blow it up if the enemy should present himself in pursuit of the French rear-guard. Unluckily this officer was by some mistake or other informed that the Emperor wanted him. He immediately obeyed the summons, and in his absence a corporal of sappers, at the first sight of some detached Russian corps, fired the train, and blew up the bridge. The whole of the rear-guard and baggage, two hundred pieces of artillery, and 30,000

prisoners, (stragglers, wounded, and sick) fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the publication of the bulletins containing this intelligence, numerous reports were raised by the discontented party at Paris. It was asserted that the whole was a fabrication, and that the Emperor himself had ordered the blowing up of the bridge, with the view of ensuring his own safety at the expence of the rest of the army.

The conduct of Napoleon during this period, when he was described as a monster of deception and bad faith, presents, on the contrary, an example of singular magnanimity. He had added a corps of Saxons to his Imperial guard; but, on the desertion of their countrymen, he released their sovereign, whom he left at Leipsig, from all his engagements. There were also some Bavarians in his army, and he wrote to their chief, informing him that Bavaria having disloyally declared war against him, this circumstance would authorise him in disarming and detaining all Bavarians in his service; but he ordered them to be supplied with provisions and dismissed.

A retrospective view of this important campaign, will shew that many unfair advantages had been taken by the allies. The armistice concluded on the 4th of June, and prolonged till the 10th of August, was on that day declared at an end by the ministers of the allied powers. At the same time the Emperor of Austria's declaration of war against Napoleon appeared. Hostilities were not, according to the convention, to have commenced till the 16th of August; but the allies, under the pretext of some improper conduct towards Lutzow, a chief of the partisans in the environs of Leipsig, did not wait for the expiration of this period. Their troops were put in motion on the 14th, and Breslau, the capital of Silesia, was occupied by General Sacken. On the following day

Blucher invaded the territory declared neuter, and established his head-quarters at Jauer. His design was to attack the French positions upon the Katzbach; but these were abandoned in the night between the 17th and 18th. On the evening of this day a regiment of Westphalian hussars went over to the enemy, and thus gave the signal to the rest of the German troops upon whom the *Tugenbund* had begun to exercise its influence. Three days fighting, viz. the 21st, 22d, and 23d of August, cost the enemy about seven thousand killed, wounded and prisoners; the French lost more than five thousand.

The battle of Katzbach took place on the 26th, in which Marshal Macdonald lost about 10,000 men killed and wounded, with 15,000 prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon. Blucher and his army passed the Katzbach on the 28th of August; on the first of September he traversed the Bober; and on the second he was at Lauban. The victory of Katzbach procured for this brave general the title of prince. The conduct of Marshal Macdonald, in hazarding a battle in the most unfavourable situation, a kind of *cul de sac*, was severely condemned. The battle of Dresden, that followed, and that of Kulm, in which Vandamme was totally defeated, strongly tended to hasten the catastrophe that awaited all Napoleon's plans. The affair of Kulm cost the French more than 10,000 men, besides a number of prisoners, including Vandamme, the Generals Haxo and Guyot, and thirty pieces of cannon.

In the neighbourhood of Berlin the same ill success attended the French as had taken place in Silesia and in Saxony: the affairs of Gross Beeren and Lubnitz, though to the disadvantage of the French, were not so sanguinary as some of the preceding.

The conduct of the Duke of Reggio, who had been sent against the Prince Royal of Sweden, having destroyed all Napoleon's hopes, he was removed, and the commnd giv en to the Prince of the Moskwa, who being

ordered to move forward immediately, arrived at his new post on the 4th of September. In the battle of Juterbok, that took place on the 6th, two Saxon divisions went over to the enemy. The loss of the French on this occasion was 10,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, with twenty pieces of cannon, and several caissons. On the 26th, another Saxon battalion, with its arms and baggage, deserted to the enemy near Rosslau, from which place, and at Acken, the Prince Royal of Sweden threw bridges over the Elbe. On the 14th of October, Napoleon learned that Bavaria had declared war against him; the Danes had also been compelled to join the allies.

Previous to the 16th of October, the French army assembled in the environs of Leipsig consisted of 134,000 infantry and 22,000 cavalry. The troops of the allies, divided into four armies, presented a total of 349,000 combatants, including 54,000 cavalry.

The battle of Wachau, fought on the 16th, was claimed by both parties. The allies pleaded, that they were outnumbered by the French; but the fact is, the French had no more than fifty thousand men engaged in the plain, whilst the allies had seventy-five thousand.

The battle of Leipsig took place on the 18th of October. This sanguinary and hard-fought conflict was distinguished by another desertion of the Saxon artillery over to the enemy, and by the introduction of the Congreve rockets, which were sent into the field by the Prince Royal of Sweden; but all the exertions of Napoleon and his faithful generals ended in a retreat, partly occasioned by a want of ammunition; as in the course of five days they had fired more than 250,000 shots, and had not sufficient to have continued the fire two hours longer. As the nearest reserves were at Magdeburg and at Erfurt, the Emperor determined to march for the latter. In the evening of the 18th the parks of artillery defiled through Lindenau towards Lutzen. At day-light the

the third and fifth corps, that of the Duke of Castiglione and the five corps of cavalry, had repassed the Elster; but the execution of this retreating movement was attended with great difficulties. The defile, two leagues in extent, from Leipsig to Lindenau, is traversed by five or six bridges. It had been proposed to Napoleon to place 6000 men and sixty pieces of cannon upon the ramparts of Leipsig, and to occupy this town as the head of the defile, and to burn the suburbs, for the purpose of preventing the enemy from receiving shelter, as well as to give a scope to the French artillery. But Napoleon would not consent to the destruction of one of the finest cities in Saxony, though it might have saved more than 15,000 of the French army, and a numerous artillery. On the 19th at day-break, the enemy's generals having learned that the French were retreating, put their masses in motion, aud the whole of the combined army marched towards Leipsig. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia having rejoined the army, a deputation was sent from the place, begging them to spare the inhabitants. This demand was rejected; and a flag of truce from the Duke of Tarentum did not succeed any better. Before the action commenced, Blucher made a ridiculous pro posal to the French army to lay down their arms. About eight o'clock the coalized columns were before the suburbs, and General Sacken attacked the front of that called Halle, which failing, the corps of Langeron advanced to support it, and was also repulsed. The regiment of Archangel was almost destroyed. At length, about ten o'clock, several of the suburbs having been forced, Napoleon mounted his horse, and went to take leave of the King of Saxony; but before he could get out of the place, was obliged to proceed along the boulevards on the west for a considerable time, before he could gain the heights of Lutzen. At this instant the gates of Halle and Grimma were forced, and that of St.

Peter delivered up to the Austrians by the troops of Baden; whilst from the ramparts and the tops of the houses, the Saxon troops in the town began to fire upon the French, who only yielded inch by inch. In the meanwhile the tiralleurs of the corps of Langeron having slipped along the Elster, as far as the bridge by which the French army was defiling, a corporal belonging to the engineers, thinking that the time was come for blowing up the bridge, immediately set a light to the train; by which act, the retreat of all the troops upon the boulevards and the fauxbourgs were cut off. Despair immediately seized those unfortunate warriors; the bravest only thought of selling their lives as dearly as possible, and burying themselves under the ruins of the place. Others endeavoured to swim across the Pleisse and the Elster. The Duke of Tarentum forded it. Marshal Prince Poniatowsky, already wounded, drowned himself in the latter, as did also General Dumoutier. Prince Poniatowsky had previously forded the Pleisse, leaving his horse behind him; but arriving upon the Elster, which was already lined by Saxon and Prussian riflemen, he plunged into the river, and instantly sunk, together with his horse. Several officers who threw themselves in after him, were drowned; others were taken on the bank, or in the water. The body of the prince was found on the fifth day, and taken up by a fisherman. He had on his gala uniform, the epaulets of which were studded with diamonds. On his fingers were several rings covered with brilliants, and his pockets contained snuff-boxes of great value, and other trinkets. Many of these were eagerly purchased by Polish officers who were made prisoners; so that the whole produced the fisherman a considerable sum.

Towards ten o'clock the battle was over at Leipsig. The loss of the French from the 16th to the 19th of October, amounted to twenty thousand killed and thirty

thousand prisoners, including about twenty-two thousand sick and wounded, incapable of being moved out of the hospitals of Leipsig. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and more than five hundred carriages, fell into the hands of the enemy. Among the prisoners, the allies included the King of Saxony.

"Four times," says an eye-witness of these scenes, "had the sun pursued his course over the immense field of battle, before the die of fate decided its issue. The whole horizon was enveloped in clouds of smoke and vapours; every moment fresh columns of fire shot up from the circumjacent villages; in all points were seen the incessant flashes of the guns, whose deep thunders, horribly intermingled with continual volleys of small arms, which frequently seemed quite close to the city, shook the very ground. Add to this, the importance of the question which was to be resolved in this murderous contest, and a faint conception may be formed of the anxiety, the wishes, the hopes—in a word, of the cruel suspense which pervaded every bosom in this city."

On the 20th, the remains of the French army had arrived at Weissenfels, on its way to Erfurt: during its march to this place, all the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine that were left, deserted. The French rear-guard had already lost two thousand men, being attacked by Blucher between Gotha and Eisenach. This was the last affair. The allies advanced very slowly, and after they had quitted the forest of Thuringia, the French rear was not molested. Notwithstanding, the Cossacks continued to harass their flanks, carrying off stragglers and the sick. Those who were unable to follow them were cruelly massacred.

At Schluchtern, where the French army arrived on the 28th, Napoleon first received positive intelligence of the movements of the Austro-Bavarian army under General Wrede, which led to the battle of Hanau.

The Bavarians and Austrians occupied the town of Hanau, and posted themselves in a long line without the town, across the Leipsig road. Their effective force was between thirty and forty thousand men. On the morning of the 30th of October, 1813, the Emperor Napoleon arrived within a league of the town, at the head of the whole Imperial guard, and large bodies of tiralleurs, amounting altogether, it is said, to a force of about sixty thousand men, twelve thousand being cavalry; although the bulletin of the grand army speaks of this important force as follows: "We have only had actually engaged 5000 tiralleurs, four battalions of the old guard, and about 80 squadrons of cavalry, with 120 pieces of cannon!"

Napoleon took up an admirable position in the skirts of the Lamboy forest, which covers the town to the north, and which served as a protection and a retiring point for his army. The battle commenced at ten in the morning, and raged with various success during the day—the tide of victory rolling backwards and forwards from the town to the forest, and from the forest to the town, as the French drove back the Germans into the very suburbs, and entered in pursuit of them, burning and laying waste the streets; or as the Germans again forced back their enemies into the shelter of the thick forest.

A mill on the river Kinzig, which runs without the town, was the scene of desperate struggles. The French drove back the Bavarians to the banks, and thrust hundreds into the deep stream. The miller, at the hazard of his life, coolly went out, amidst the shower of balls, and stopped the flood-gates, so as to leave a safe retreat to the Bavarians over the mill-dam.

The side of the town next the scene of battle was constantly taken and retaken by the contending armies. In the night of the 30th, the watch-word was changed not less than *seven* times, between the French *"Qui vive?"* and the German *"Wer ist da?"*

Napoleon bivouacked with his suite in the forest during the night of the 30th. Early in the morning of the 31st, he sent an aide-de-camp, at the head of an escort, to summon the prefect of Hanau before him. The prefect found his Imperial majesty seated in the forest on a red morocco stool, in front of two large tents with blue hangings; a watch-fire was blazing in the front. The Emperor was surrounded by Caulincourt his grand equerry, Berthier, Macdonald, the Duke of Bassano and others; while in an outer circle stood the officers of his personal guard, with their swords drawn.

When the prefect was ushered in, Napoleon addressed him rapidly: "You are prefect of Hanau?—This is the most pitiful town in all Germany. The citizens have received the Austrians and Bavarians with huzzas and *vivats*. I cannot *compel* you to love the French, but I should have thought it was your *policy* to hold more to France than to Russia.—By way of punishment, I saluted the town with a few grenades last night.—Has the fire done much mischief?"

The prefect described the devastation occasioned by the firing, and humbly represented the kind reception given to the French at Hanau for the last seven years, and the miseries suffered by the inhabitants—appealing to the generals present for the truth of his representation. Napoleon called loudly for Augereau, and the marshal appeared with profound obeisance.—"You have been governor of this district for a short time—what have you to say of the people?" Augereau spoke warmly in their favour, and in particular of the zeal of the magistrates; when Napoleon wound up the conversation in his usual unanswerable manner—"*C'est bon—je sais que les magistrats sont de braves gens—mais la bourgeoisie est de la canaille.*" "Very well—I know that the magistrates are honest men—but the mass of the people are degenerate—

Now I leave the town to the Cossacks—if it does not mend, I shall chastise it more severely another time."

The Emperor little apprehended that his own capital was soon to suffer the same fate at the hands of the Cossacks, which he left them to inflict on the town of Hanau.

On the 2d of November the Emperor Napoleon quitted Frankfort; and on the same day the whole of the French army repassed the Rhine.

The Austro-Bavarians were at Frankfort on the 4th, and Napoleon arrived at Paris on the 9th of November.

Whilst these movements took place, the grand army, combined with that of Silesia, continued to advance towards the Rhine. The Emperor Alexander entered Frankfort on the 5th of December, at the head of twenty thousand horse. On the same day Prince Schwartzenberg forced the passage of the Nidda, and arrived within two leagues of Mentz, and fixed his head-quarters at Hochst: Blucher's were at Giessen. Hocheim and Hom were taken on the 9th. Three hundred men cut off in Hocheim were made prisoners.

After this combat, the coalized sovereigns resolved to suspend their operations upon the Upper Rhine, in order to pursue their invasion of France. In the course of November, the allies were masters of all the Duchy of Berg; and the army of the north occupied Hanover, where the Prince Royal of Sweden had his head-quarters. Winzingerode occupied Oldenburg and East Friesland; and Bulow was proceeding to Holland, to organize the insurrection that soon followed, after both shores of the Elbe had been cleared of the enemy. Dresden was surrendered by General Gouvion St. Cyr in the course of November; and the capitulation of Stettin, Torgau, Zamosc, and Modlin, increased the courage of the enemy, and added to the depression of the French. Dantzick, so

bravely defended by General Rapp and his troops during a siege and blockade of many months, capitulated on the 4th of December, with the Duke of Wirtemburg. The French troops were to return to France; but the Emperor of Russia insisted that they should be sent to Russia till regularly exchanged. The officers preserved their arms; the subalterns and soldiers decorated with the eagle of the Legion of Honour, were allowed to keep their sabres. The Poles, Westphalians, and the Bavarians, were sent into their own countries; and not more than five thousand two hundred French reached the frozen climate of Russia.

Thus at the end of the campaign the French had not a single garrison beyond the Rhine, excepting at Hamburgh, Magdeburg, Custrin, Wittenberg, Glogau, and the citadels of Wurtzburg and Erfurt.

Whilst negotiations were going on this year with Spain and the coalized powers, public opinion accused the Duke of Bassano, minister of foreign affairs, with making Napoleon say, "That he would not yield an inch of ground if the enemy was upon the heights of Montmartre." This imputation, which had often made the Emperor smile, appeared to have been taken rather seriously at last, as the portfolio of foreign affairs was taken out of the hands of the Duke of Bassano, and given to the Duke of Vicenza, who was ordered to pursue the pending negotiations with ardour.

Napoleon wished to terminate the war in Spain, and at the same time to make Ferdinand purchase his liberty. With this view he wrote a letter in his own hand, and sent it by Count Laforet, ancient ambassador to the court of Madrid. The king, whose pride would not permit him to subscribe to conditions which it was not in his power to fulfil, till he was re-established upon his throne, and was also well aware that this concession on the part of Napoleon was evidently occasioned by

his distresses, returned for answer, that he could not sign any thing without the consent of the regency. However, on the 8th of December, 1813, the Duke of San Carlos and Count Laforet concluded a treaty of peace, which established the relations of the two states upon the same footing as in 1792. The whole business failed of its purpose. The Emperor, it will appear, sent Ferdinand home, without obtaining any thing from him, or from the regency.

Affairs in Spain and Italy this year, were equally as disastrous as they had been where Napoleon was present.

We cannot conclude this year, without noticing the language held by Napoleon, after the reading of the project for a *Senatus Consulte* for placing at the disposal of the minister of war 300,000 men, to be taken from the old conscriptions. The most profound silence pervaded the assembly. A member ventured to say, "Sire, the welfare of the empire;" another found fault with the expression, *frontiers invaded,* in the preamble to the *projet,* as likely to excite alarm. "Why?" replied the Emperor; "it is better in this case to tell the truth. Has not Wellington entered the south, the Russians on the north? Are not the Austrians and Bavarians threatening us on the east?—Wellington in France! What disgrace! and the people have not risen in a mass to drive him out!—The English will laugh at the good nature of our peasants. All my allies have abandoned me. The Bavarians have betrayed me—the cowards! They threw themselves into my rear; they thought to have cut off my retreat. I demand 300,000 men. I will form a camp of 100,000 at Bordeaux, another at Lyons, and another at Mentz. I shall have a million of men under arms: that will be enough for the present. Gentlemen, an effort must be made. Well, every body must march."—"It will not come to that."—"Well, if it should, Monsieur Caulin-

court, you shall march too; you shall be put at the head of a legion."

Another speech of Napoleon to the French legislative body, began with stating, that brilliant victories had crowned the French arms during this campaign; but defections without example had rendered these victories nugatory. Every thing, it was added, went against Bonaparte; and France, without energy and union, would be in imminent danger. Negotiations, he said, had commenced with the combined powers. He had agreed to the preliminary bases they had offered. He had hopes, that before the present assembly had met, a congress at Manheim would have been convened; but new delays, which were not attributable to France, had occurred. In another speech, made on the 30th of December, Napoleon endeavoured to awaken the compassion of the French towards the cries of their brethren invaded in Bearn, Alsace, Franche Compte, and Brabant; and in which he informed the legislative body, that the recovery of the conquests was no longer an object. In the mean time the results of Lord Wellington's victories were the driving of the whole French army, beaten and dispirited, within their intrenchments close under the guns of Bayonne.

On the 27th of December, Lord Castlereagh took his departure from London to join the allied sovereigns of Europe, and assist them in securing the peace of the Continent.

CHAP. XXIX.

Napoleon's Address to the National Guard—Departure for the Army—Strength and Condition of the Allied Forces—Different state, and numerical inferiority of the French—Battle of Brienne—Affairs of La Rothiere—Retreat of Napoleon to Troyes, Nogent, and Sezanne—Battle of Champ Aubert—Montmirail—Montereau—Affairs of Chateau-Thierry and Vauchamps—A Russian General, and Prisoners, exhibited at Paris—Burning of the Town of Mery—Unsuccessful Attacks on Laon—Capitulation of Soissons—National Guard sent home for want of Arms—Murat declares for the Allies—Liberation of French Garrisons in Spain, refused—Opening of the Congress at Chatillon—Anecdotes of Lord Castlereagh—Restoration of the Pope's Territory—Battle of Fere Champenoise—Diplomatic Correspondence—Approach of the Allies to Paris—Proclamation of King Joseph—Affair of Montmartre—Entrance of the Allies into Paris—Anecdotes—Abdication of Napoleon—His departure from Fontainebleau, and arrival at Frejus—Embarkation and Reception in the Isle of Elba—Anecdotes.

On the 23d of January the officers of the national guard at Paris, in number eight hundred, were presented to the Emperor in the saloon of marshals, on which occasion, when his Majesty passed on his way to mass, and on his return, he was saluted with the unanimous cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* The officers divided into legions, and formed a vast circle, in the midst of which the Emperor placed himself. Then appeared a scene the most affecting, the most sublime! the Emperor told them that a part of the French territory was invaded; that he was going to place himself at the head of his army, and that

he hoped, with the assistance of God and the valour of his troops, to repulse the enemy beyond the frontiers. At this moment his Majesty's looks were tenderly fixed upon the Empress and the King of Rome, whom his august mother carried in her arms; and his Majesty added in a tremulous voice, that he confided his wife and his son to the love of his faithful city of Paris; that he gave it the highest mark of his esteem, in leaving under its protection the objects of his dearest affections; that he hoped his capital would not be polluted by the presence of the enemy; that however, if, in the midst of the grand manœuvres which were preparing, some hordes of light troops dared to insult its barriers, he was sure that its brave inhabitants would not forget, that their sovereign had confided its defence to them. At that instant a thousand voices resounded, a thousand arms were raised, swearing to defend the precious trust confided to a faithful people.

In the meanwhile the columns of the allied armies continued their advance on all sides. The reinforcements which had joined the Russian guards were very fine, and never in greater force or in better condition at any period of the campaign. Some of the regiments had additional battalions. The reserve artillery on the march was quite fresh, and in the most complete order as to ordnance, carriages, men and horses. There were some batteries of horse artillery with twelve pounders. The Prussian reserve was also in very excellent condition.

Napoleon left Paris on the 25th of January, and arrived at Chalons on the following day. His army at this period, far from presenting a specimen of those numerous and formidable masses with which France had so often overawed the sovereigns of Europe, consisted of only five corps, almost disorganized; its ranks being thinned of all the old veterans, who had perished gloriously with arms in their hands, endeavouring to retain victory, fast

flying from them; others had been annihilated by want and the typhus fever, or were prisoners to the enemy. It was with these feeble remains of an army scarcely amounting to sixty thousand men, that the conqueror of Arcole, Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, undertook to struggle, often with success, and never without glory, against three armies, consisting of three hundred thousand fighting men.

The communication between the armies of Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg had not been yet completed. Napoleon wished to avail himself of this circumstance to combat them singly: he entered St. Dizier on the 27th of January, where General Duhesme had made some Prussians prisoners. A bridge over the Aube had been ordered to be broken down, but General Dufour had neither the time nor the means of executing it. A dispatch sent to the Duke of Trevisa to effect his junction with Napoleon, was taken by Blucher, by which he was timely warned of the danger he was exposed to. Previous to the battle of Brienne, fought on the 29th of January, the march of the French infantry had been retarded, and the men considerably fatigued by the bad weather and the heaviness of the roads. The sanguinary action that followed, fought almost from house to house, commenced about noon, and continued till half after eleven at night, when Blucher ordered the corps of General Sacken, together with the cavalry of General Pahlen, to retire in silence upon the route of Bar-sur-Aube, till wearied with fatigue, both parties ceased firing. The French remained in possession of the castle of Brienne, and the light troops retained the greatest part of the town. Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Perthes. It is remarkable, that both Blucher and Napoleon were nearly made prisoners during the battle of Brienne; the former when the French first obtained possession of the castle. About three o'clock on the same day, as Napoleon was

coming out of the wood of Valantigny with a very small escort, he was assailed by the Cossacks, one of whom aimed a thrust at him with his lance, but was prevented in his design by General Gorgaud, who killed the offender. The Emperor would nevertheless have been made prisoner, if Meuniers' division had not come to his assistance.

The loss of the first pitched battle upon the soil of the country, had a most discouraging effect upon the spirits of the French army, whilst the allies redoubled their ardour and their audacity. However, they were contented to reinforce their position at La Rothiere, and to sleep upon the field of battle abandoned by the French. Some villages, particularly La Chaise and Morvilliers, where the inhabitants had armed and assisted the Duke of Ragusa, were given up to military execution.

On the 30th and 31st the enemy's army was concentrated at Trannes. On the 1st of February in the morning, the French army occupied Dienville, La Rothiere, La Gibere, La Chaise, and Morvilliers. Blucher being informed of these movements, and calculating upon the timely arrival of his reinforcements, he fixed the period of his attack for noon on the 1st of February. The French at La Rothiere being attacked at three points, their right and left resisted nobly, but their centre was broken, whilst a secondary attack made by General Wrede upon the Duke of Ragusa, obliged him to retire with loss. The artillery also having been silenced, the Austro-Bavarian cavalry availed themselves of the opportunity to make a charge, in which they carried off seven pieces of cannon and one hundred prisoners. Napoleon looked upon the battle as lost, and to restrain the enemy during the retreat, he ordered General Drouet to set La Rothiere on fire. The French on this unfortunate day lost fifty-four pieces of cannon, and six thousand men, including two thousand four hundred prisoners.

After halting a very short time at Brienne, Napoleon continued his retreat upon Troyes, without being pursued in any direction.

The French army during its march to Troyes, not being received by those demonstrations that the presence of so many defenders of the country ought to inspire, and the silence that reigned in the streets traversed by Napoleon, were sufficient indications to him of the change of sentiments with respect to him. The terrified inhabitants had concealed their resources, and the magazines being nearly exhausted, the soldiers did not receive more than one ration of bread. Besides, six thousand young recruits, not being far from their homes, took occasion to desert in less than eight days. Added to this afflicting state of affairs, the news was received of the defection of Murat, the King of Naples.

Between the sixth and seventh of February Napoleon quitted Troyes, and continued his retreat to Nogent, having learned that Chalons was likely to fall into the hands of the Prussians. At Nogent, Napoleon began to adopt measures for defending the passage of the Seine at that place, Montereau and Auxerre. Chalons and Vitry were soon after evacuated by the French.

Napoleon having reunited his army at Sezanne on the 10th, this movement was soon followed by the battle of Champ Aubert; the result of which was the taking of twenty-one pieces of cannon, the Russian General Alsusiew, two generals under his orders, forty-seven officers, and eighteen hundred prisoners; twelve hundred Russians had been killed, and scarcely fifteen hundred escaped. Among the French killed was General Lagrange.

The Emperor slept that night at Champ Aubert, and the battle of Montmirail was fought the next day: the French were again victorious; they took six standards, twenty-six pieces of cannon, two hundred carriages, with baggage and ammunition, and upwards of seven hundred

prisoners. The army bivouacked upon the field of battle, whilst the allies were in full retreat to Chateau-Thierry, where, in the battle that followed, Napoleon did not lose above four hundred men. The enemy lost three pieces of cannon and three thousand men, including one thousand eight hundred prisoners, amongst whom was General Freudenrich. At midnight the allies evacuated Chateau-Thierry. In revenge for the barbarities committed at this place and in the adjacent country, the peasants killed more than two thousand of the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the woods. In the battle of Vauchamps on the 12th of February, Napoleon took fifteen pieces of cannon, ten standards, and two thousand prisoners; the enemy had besides seven thousand men killed and wounded. Great praise was bestowed upon Count Grouchy, colonel-general of chasseurs. On the 15th of February the allies determined upon the retreat of the army of Silesia, under Prince Blucher, beyond Chalons.

The French army, says a military writer, in contemplating their trophies, the happy fruits of the able conceptions of its chief, was far from thinking that these would lead him to commit a fault upon which the destinies of the empire depended. Napoleon, looking with apprehensions upon the consequences of the battle of La Rothiere, and calculating upon his actual and eventual resources, rightly concluded that Italy would be lost irrecoverably, if France was not saved. In consequence of this he wrote to the viceroy, ordering him to throw garrisons into the strong places, and to repass the Alps with his army, and to enter into action upon the bases of the operations of the allies. This measure would have been attended with important results; but after the battle of Champ Aubert, Napoleon, flattering himself with a series of similar victories, hastily revoked his orders. At the same time that he was sending bulletins to Paris of his

brilliant success, he resolved to treat his city of Paris with a kind of triumph. General Alsusiew, and other generals, were ordered to enter that city in open day, with six thousand prisoners. The generosity of the French people, who now no longer saw an enemy in men unfortunate and disarmed, was distinguished on this occasion, which appeared so much the more noble, as the same enemy had treated the inhabitants of the French soil with much less humanity. Every kind of succour was bestowed upon this column.

On the 14th of February Napoleon received dispatches from his brother Joseph, and from three of his marshals, announcing new dangers to which Paris was exposed, in consequence of the movements of the grand allied army: nothing less than the astonishing activity of the Emperor of the French, could have enabled him to arrive before the enemy, from the borders of the Marne upon those of the l'Yeres.

The affairs of Montmirail and Montereau were highly glorious to the French: after the latter, Napoleon is reported to have said, "My heart is relieved; I shall save the capital of my empire." A new organization of the French army now took place, and the two allied armies had again formed a junction, and being in presence of the French on the 22d of February, on both sides of the Seine, the unfortunate town of Mery became a prey to the flames. In the midst of this scene of desolation, the aged were massacred without pity; the sick, dragged from their beds, expired with misery and cold by the light of their own dwellings. Every thing seemed to announce the eve of a battle: Napoleon, who also expected such an event, smiled at the idea; his position was excellent, and his army was inspired with such enthusiasm, that he had no doubt of a victory; but the allies were too sagacious to hazard the fate of the campaign, and perhaps the loss of all their armies in one battle. In the night

between the 22d and 23d, they continued their retreat from Troyes by the two routes of Bar-sur-Seine and Bar-le-Duc.

Soissons having capitulated, this intelligence was received with great indignation by Napoleon, as by this means the passage of l'Aisne was opened to Blucher. The unsuccessful attacks on Laon on the 9th and 10th of March, though at intervals attended with success, was rightly censured as an act of the highest temerity on the part of Napoleon, who with less than thirty thousand men, had the presumption to enter into a conflict with an hundred thousand, in possession of a most formidable position. In these murderous affairs the loss of the French in men, cannon, and prisoners, was very considerable, and besides, rendered the immediate retreat of Napoleon to Soissons absolutely necessary.

On the 11th the allies got possession of Rheims, but were driven out a second time with the loss of eight hundred killed, sixteen hundred wounded, and two thousand five hundred prisoners.

A decree of the 5th of March had called out nine thousand of the national guards of l'Aisne and La Marne. These brave citizens hastened to Rheims; but as no arms could be procured for them, they were sent back to their homes.

In the midst of these new reverses the allies very safely adopted the determination of marching to Paris. Joachim Murat, the King of Naples, had now openly declared for them, and the French interest in Italy and Savoy was declining more rapidly than could have been expected. Savoy was abandoned by the French troops, as was also the city of Lyons, and other places in the south of France were closely pressed by the enemy.

Napoleon, who now felt more and more the want of old troops, was completely foiled in his negotiations with the Regency of Spain, for the liberation of fifteen

thousand of this description. He had been guilty of similar neglect and want of discernment in the German campaign of 1813, in having left seventy thousand men as garrisons, in places which he could have no reasonable hope of retaining, not including the thirty thousand with which the Prince of Echmuhl defended Hamburgh.

A congress had been opened at Chatillon on the 4th of February, with the professed view of treating for a peace with Napoleon; but without coming to so happy a conclusion, this was broken up on the 19th of March; an event certainly hastened by the suspicions entertained by Napoleon, as much as by the check which his army had received at Laon on the 10th.

The following circumstance is very important, since it proves how much Napoleon's thoughts were employed at this crisis upon the Bourbons. After the check sustained at Brienne, the evacuation of Troyes, the forced retreat on the Seine, and the degrading conditions transmitted from Chatillon, which were so generously rejected, the Emperor, who was closetted with one of his friends, overpowered at sight of the miseries then impending on France, rose from his chair, exclaiming with warmth, "Perhaps I still possess the means of saving France. What if I were myself to recal the Bourbons! The allies would then be compelled to arrest their course, under pain of being overwhelmed with disgrace, and detected in their duplicity; under pain of being forced to acknowledge that their designs were directed against our territory, rather than against my person. I should sacrifice all to the country. I should become the mediator between the French people and the Bourbons. I should oblige the latter to accede to the national laws, and to swear fidelity to the existing compact; my glory and my name would be a guarantee to the French people. As to me, I have reigned long enough. My career is filled with acts of glory, and this last will not be esteemed the least.

I shall rise higher by descending thus far." Then, after a pause of some moments, he added—"But can a repulsed dynasty ever forgive? Can it ever forget? Can the Bourbons be trusted? May not Fox be right in his famous maxim respecting restorations?"

Overcome by grief and anxiety, he threw himself on his couch, and was shortly after roused, to be made acquainted with the march of the flank of Blucher's corps, which he had been secretly watching for some time. He then rose to put into action that new spring of resources and energy, that will for ever consecrate the names of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, Nangis, Montereau, Craone, &c.

The smiles of fortune were for some time sufficient to have bewildered a disposition less sanguine than that of Napoleon, who probably again dreamed of being master of the world. But accidents not within the limits of his conceptions intervened, and the war was continued without any permanent success on his part.

During the negotiations at Chatillon, it was decided that France ought not to hesitate in giving up Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, if peace could not otherwise be obtained; but if a peace could only be obtained by one of these concessions, then Belgium was to have been abandoned first, as most pleasing to the English, and because it might again be conquered at the risk of the consequences of a maritime war, whilst no attempt could be made to reconquer the left bank of the Rhine without alarming the whole Continent. Napoleon was to have signed a dispatch which contained these concessions, at seven in the morning; but at five he received a report on the movements of the Russian and Prussian army, that led him to think that some successful events would soon change the face of affairs. Instead of sending instructions to the Duke of Vicenza, he set out for Champ Aubert. Undoubtedly the series of unexpected

triumphs that followed, produced him five memorable victories. The enemy's loss was so enormous in the course of ten days, that instead of having to save his capital by peace, Napoleon flattered himself that he had saved it by arms. The state of affairs thus altered, he wrote to Nangis, ordering his plenipotentiary to withdraw his full powers, and desired M. Caulincourt to take his orders in future respecting every point of the negotiation from himself alone.

The minutes of a preliminary treaty which Napoleon received from Chatillon towards the end of February, appeared to him like an armistice in one hand and a sword in the other, and during which France was to have laid down her arms, whilst her enemies would have occupied the part of her territories which they had invaded, and the fortresses of Huninguen, Befort, and Besançon, the surrender of which they required. This appeared to him so much like a dishonourable capitulation, that he wrote to his plenipotentiary—"Why do not the allies require us to give up our muskets and cannon to them? Come and take them, would be the only answer to make to such proposals of peace."

Instructions were now sent to the Duke of Vicenza for drawing up a counter-proposal. That of the allies was sent to the Empress, with directions to submit it to an extraordinary council, chiefly composed of the men who had considerable influence at different periods of the Revolution. *One* alone rejected the proposal with indignation! To discover the true ultimatum of the allies, a few days after the battle of Craone, Napoleon sent new powers to his plenipotentiary to conclude peace, with this single restriction, that he would sign no treaty in which the evacuation of the territory, and the return of the prisoners made on both sides, should not be stipulated. This courier met the Duke of Vicenza returning, a few leagues from Chatillon. The allies had, as at

Prague in 1813, assigned an absolute limit to the continuance of the negotiations, and they had been broken off accordingly. The principal battle before mentioned, as influencing the determination of Napoleon to break off the negotiations at Chatillon, was briefly noticed in a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Duke of Vicenza, dated Nangis, Feb. 17, 1814, as follows:

"MONSIEUR DUKE OF VICENZA,

"I gave you *carte blanche* to save Paris and avoid a battle, which was the last hope of the nation. The battle has taken place, and Providence has blessed our arms. I have made 30 or 40,000 prisoners. I have taken two hundred pieces of cannon, a great number of generals, and destroyed several armies almost without striking a blow. I yesterday attacked Prince Schwartzenberg's army, which I hope to destroy before it can re-pass our frontiers. Your attitude ought still to be the same. You ought to do every thing for peace; but my intention is, that you should sign nothing without my orders; because I alone know my own situation. In general, I desire nothing but a solid and honourable peace; and peace can only be so upon the terms proposed at Frankfort. If the allies had accepted your proposals on the 9th, I should not have run the risks of fortune at the moment when the slightest failure would have ruined France; in short, I should not have known the secret of their weakness. It is just, in return, I should have the benefit of the chances that have turned out favourable for me. My position is certainly more advantageous than it was when the allies were at Frankfort. They could defy me at that time: I had obtained no victory over them, and they were not far from my territories. I have now gained immense advantages over them, such as are unparalleled in a military career of twenty years. I am ready to cease hostilities, and to let the enemy retire quietly home, if they will sign

the preliminaries founded on the proposals of Frankfort. The enemy's bad faith, and violation of the most sacred engagements, are the only causes of delay between us; and we are so near, that if the enemy would let you correspond directly with me, you might have answers to your dispatches in twenty-four hours. Besides, I mean to come still nearer to you. Hereupon I pray God, &c. &c.

"NAPOLEON."

The marvellous successes of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, Vauchamps, Nangis, Montereau, Craone, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, St. Dizier, &c. &c., dismayed Alexander and the English, and for a while suggested to them the necessity of treating in earnest. In fact, the short but immortal campaign of this year is described by Baron Fain, in a volume entitled, "The Manuscript of 1814," as an episode of miracles, in which Napoleon throughout appears supernatural in the resources of genius, the energy of mind, the celerity of motion, the steadiness of views, and the sublimity of courage which he then evinced. Nothing can be compared with the prodigies he performed, except indeed the indefatigable ardour of a handful of brave men frequently deprived of food and rest.

Finally, the position which Napoleon had taken up in the rear of the enemy, intercepting his magazines, parks of reserve, convoys and equipages; all had thrown the invading forces into a desperate situation, from which they were only relieved by fresh defection among the French marshals, and the want of muskets to arm the population of Paris, who, notwithstanding the dreadful slaughter they sustained in the environs and under the walls of Paris, seemed willing to shed their last blood in its defence.

When Lord Castlereagh was at Chatillon with the ambassadors of the allied powers, after this success on the part of Napoleon, and the town being partly invested,

he was greatly alarmed lest he should be made a prisoner, as he was not invested with any diplomatic character. He went to M. Caulincourt, and expressed his apprehensions, as it was impossible for him to get away, or elude the French troops. Caulincourt assured him that, as far as his opinion went, Napoleon would do no such thing; yet he could not answer for what he might do. Napoleon, however, with a magnanimity that had often proved fatal to him, wrote Caulincourt word, that Lord Castlereagh might make his mind easy, and stay where he was; that he would consider him as an ambassador.

Lord Castlereagh, it was said, asserted that Napoleon, after having at first refused to agree to the peace proposed by the allies at Chatillon, sent a messenger to his lordship, to say that he had changed his mind, and was willing to agree to those terms; but that he (Lord Castlereagh) replied, it was too late, and that the allies had taken their measures. Napoleon having this repeated by Dr. O'Meara, replied, "It is false: I never would consent to the peace of Chatillon, because I had sworn to preserve the integrity of the empire; rather than deviate from which, I wrote to Caulincourt that I would abdicate. I would have agreed to the terms proposed at Frankfort, where the Rhine was to form the boundaries of France, as being the natural ones."

M. Caulincourt, it should be observed, arrived at Chatillon on the 30th of January, 1814: he wrote to Paris for his household, and every thing else he should require. The whole arrived on the 5th of February at the French advanced posts; but though provided with a passport countersigned by General Herzenberg, they were sent back, and the ambassador remained at Chatillon without a change of clothes. His couriers, forced out of their way, were obliged to travel sixty leagues instead of twenty, and were ill-used and delayed three or four hours at every post of Cossacks.

The correspondence that followed the arrival of Lord Castlereagh, between this minister and the Emperor of Austria, soon made it apparent that all the sentiments of paternal love that had existed in his heart towards his unfortunate daughter Marie Louise, were extinct, and that he had consented to offer her up as a sacrifice a second time, to obtain that which his arms had been unable to acquire in fifteen campaigns.

About this time Napoleon thought proper to restore to the venerable Pope Pius, what is called the Patrimony of St. Peter; and a treaty was published in the Moniteur, expressing, that the departments of Rome and Trasimene had been rendered to his Holiness, upon condition that he should abandon the rest of the Ecclesiastical States. No one, however, was the dupe of this jugglery; and a few days after, Murat, who coveted these estates, or the honour of giving them up, as much as his brother-in-law, remitted them in their full integrity to the Pope.

Though, in the few combats that intervened between this period and the possession of Paris, the bravery and self-devotion of the French armies never shone brighter; the fearful odds of increasing numbers crippled every effort. In the last affair of Fere Champenoise, General Thevenet, after sustaining the fire of forty-eight pieces of cannon, held firm till the whole of the enemy's cavalry rushed upon him and made a horrible butchery; he himself was wounded and taken, and not a man escaped, as not a man would give or receive quarter, but fought with the bayonet till the last breath. The French on this occasion lost nine thousand in killed and wounded, nearly half the number that was present. The Generals Pacthod, Amey, Jamin, Delort, Bonthé, and Thevenet, being among the prisoners, were presented to the Emperor Alexander, who received them with that benevolence that a generous monarch could not refuse to brave war-

riors betrayed by fortune. Sixty pieces of cannon, &c. fell into the hands of the allies; and this brilliant success completely opened to them the way to the capital. It was noticed as a singular circumstance, that during this battle, a *chef d'escadron*, Rapatel, formerly aide-de-camp to General Moreau, and then an officer in the service of the Emperor of Russia, was killed whilst summoning one of the French squares to surrender: in this square was one of his brothers, who was a captain of artillery.

Such was the issue of the memorable day of Fere Champenoise, where less than six thousand French had to contend with a body of cavalry who at the end of the combat nearly amounted to 20,000 sabres. When, about four o'clock in the afternoon, General Pacthod found himself assailed on all sides, he harangued his national guards, who took an oath to sell their lives as dearly as possible. It was in vain that they resisted the repeated charges of cavalry; their squares were broken or swept away by grape-shot.

How far the spirit of the French people might have been excited under the most untoward circumstances, appears from the conduct of the garrison and the inhabitants of Soissons. This town, when Napoleon's reverses were crowding thickly upon him, had been twice taken in less than a month, and did not appear capable of sustaining a long siege. Commanded by two branches of the Aisne, which waters its environs, abandoned more than twenty years, and only presenting ramparts without parapets, practicable breaches at every point, a ditch nearly filled up, and every where exposed to the enemy, it may be affirmed, that this place required great repairs before it could be secured from a *coup de main*. However, its position at the head of several roads had conferred upon it no small importance. The routes from Chateau-Thierry, Compeigne, and Rheims, twenty-five

leagues distant from Paris, had become the best post that could be chosen between the Marne and the Oise, to cover the capital, though the strength of Soissons seemed inadequate to the purpose intended in this celebrated but unhappy campaign. Napoleon had to regret the first loss at Soissons, occasioned by the death of Rusca, a general of division: but what painful sensations did he not feel, in seeing the fruit of so many victories escape him, by the second surrender of the place, at the moment when Marshal Blucher, forced back upon the Aisne, had this not occurred, had no alternative but that of laying down his arms.

Napoleon wrote to the minister of war on the 6th of March, ordering him to retake Soissons, and expressly charging him to send as commandant, a young officer of a rank superior to a colonel or chef de battalion, one whose military fortune was yet to be made; and further stating, that this choice should be guided by the consideration of the high importance of the post. On this occasion the Duke de Feltre cast his eyes upon Gerard, chef de battalion of the thirty-second, and an officer of the Legion of Honour, who had given brilliant proofs of his valour at Polotsk, at Nogent-sur-Seine, at Mormant, and on many other occasions.

The task imposed upon the brave Gerard was very difficult to perform; the heavy responsibility attached to this undertaking had alarmed more than one old general. Soissons had been provisionally entrusted to a general of artillery of the guard, who at this time was occupied with some detachments he had collected, in repulsing a corps of the enemy's cavalry that had slipped behind the French army between Laon and Soissons, and had even approached the gates of the latter place, the garrison of which was not yet formed.

General Gerard arrived here on the 10th of March. At a single glance he discovered the advantages and the

weak parts of his position, and immediately gave his orders for the demolition of old, or the erection of new works of the first necessity, informing the inhabitants that his orders were, to prevent the enemy from setting his foot within the place.

After two fruitless attacks upon Laon, the French army retired upon Soissons, and encamped under the walls on the 11th of March. This place was now become of great interest to the ulterior movements of the army, who could not forget that the misfortunes occasioned by its first loss, had rendered useless the advantages gained at Montmirail, Montereau, Lisy, and Craone.

On the 12th, Napoleon having reconnoitred the place, gave fresh orders and instructions to the commandant, to whose demand he granted forty pieces of cannon, and three thousand men of all arms, including 1500 of his guard; it was also his particular desire, that the defenders of Soissons should oblige the enemy to attack the place according to the regular rules. On the 14th Napoleon departed, leaving the Marshal Duke of Trevisa to cover the town, and who accordingly took a position on the heights before Crouy. The duke had orders to furnish Soissons with all the labourers he could spare. On the 15th the duke was attacked by the enemy's troops, much superior to his own, but without success. On the 16th and 17th he continued a firm resistance, in order to give time to General Gerard to make his dispositions for receiving the enemy; but on the 18th he marched away, leaving General Charpentier's division in his position, to act as a rear-guard. After the Imperial guard had entered Soissons on the 16th, General Gerard having formed his garrison, found it composed of six battalions, two squadrons, three companies of artillery, and three others of sappers and miners; a staff was created for the place, and the works were pushed with activity at every point.

On the same day General Gerard reviewed the whole of his garrison, and assigned to each corps the position of the line it was to defend; he swore, and made them all swear, they would rather die than suffer the enemy to enter the place: from this moment their emulation with each other was redoubled; works of defence were carried on with the highest degree of activity, and without ceasing day and night. In fine, the whole population was animated by the same enthusiasm as the soldiers. By the 20th, parapets, musket proof, were every where constructed; batteries raised, and the artillery in position; old breaches repaired, and palisadoed; the gorge of St. Vast was crenelated, and its approaches by the military path of the river, guarded by a line of palisades and trunks of trees; and all necessary demolitions were made at the least possible expence and inconvenience to the state and the inhabitants. A dike was also dug near the gate of Laon, to retain the water from the brook of St. Medard in the ditches of St. Vast and in the Mail. A *palanque* was constructed before the gate of Crouy, and *tambours* and palisades placed before the gates of Mail, of Paris, and of Rheims. The bridge of boats was drawn up, and every thing in readiness to blow up the stone bridge, in case that either part of the town should be in danger.

On the 20th, General Charpentier wrote from Braine, informing General Gerard that Rheims had been abandoned by the corps under the Duke of Trevisa, and that there was every appearance that the whole of Blucher's army was approaching; that the Duke of Ragusa had been forced to fall back upon Fismes; that these two marshals were going to take the position of Mount St. Martin, upon La Vesle, and that they would endeavour to maintain themselves there the next and the following day; and that if they should be forced to yield to the superiority of numbers, they would retire upon Oulchy la

Ville. The general added, that the commandant of Soissons should be reminded of the importance of the post entrusted to his care, and make a vigorous resistance, for the purpose of giving the Emperor (then in full march) time to approach l'Aisne, and carry on his operations against the army of Schwartzenberg. General Bulow having been joined at Crouy by Sacken's corps, and having under him 30,000 men, summoned Soissons. On the evening of the 20th of March the Prussian general, flattering himself that he should carry Soissons as easily as it had been carried by the Russian commandant Witzingerode, sent his flags of truce. General Gerard refusing to receive their dispatches, caused them to be conducted by two officers of the garrison to the camp whence they set out. These officers were ordered to inform General Bulow, that the commandant of Soissons would have no correspondence with the enemy, excepting the exchange of cannon-balls. Seeing no probability of negotiation, the enemy unmasked several batteries, and inundated the town with a discharge from howitzers and red-hot balls, making at the same time a violent attack upon the fauxbourg of Paris, but without effect.

The garrison, proud of their first advantage, redoubled their zeal and their confidence; but the inhabitants hesitated between hope and fear. General Gerard seized this moment to make an appeal to these brave citizens: he informed them he would answer for the place, and assured them of a glorious result, if they would unite their efforts with those of the garrison. He declared in the council, that half-measures would be the ruin of the place, and all its inhabitants, and therefore they had only to decide whether they would grant what he required of them, or abide by the consequences. In the mean while General Bulow had received through Marshal Blucher, the Emperor Alexander's positive orders to make himself master of Soissons, the sooner to open the way to Paris. For

this purpose, Bulow sent more flags of truce, which being no better received than the former, determined him to make a second attack; but he every where found the garrison at its post; and the bravest of his soldiers rushed forward only to die at the foot of its ramparts. The Prussian infantry that had seized upon the fauxbourg of Rheims, wished to maintain themselves there. General Gerard ordered a sortie; this suburb was retaken, and the young soldiers of the garrison made their valour and humanity known to the inhabitants by the prisoners they brought in with them.

On the 22d the enemy never ceased firing upon the place, and this fire, if it had been possible, would have augmented the ardour with which the besieged continued their labour at all points. That part of the fauxbourg of Rheims nearest the ramparts of the town, and built upon the brink of the ditches, as far as the brook de la Crise, was burnt, as an essential means of defence.

This second attempt of the enemy being unsuccessful, the Russian corps under General Sacken quitted General Bulow, who notwithstanding the repeated injunctions that he had received to hasten the surrender of a paltry town, the position of which was of such importance to the allies, then wrote to Marshal Blucher, to say that he renounced all hopes of carrying it by main force, as that was impossible; but that he was going to commence a regular siege without delay. Accordingly on the 23d the trenches were opened in front of St. Jean (bastion No. 2 of the place). The commandant of the artillery, Dubocq, immediately ordered howitzers and swivels into the bastion, and this battery soon silenced the fire from the enemy.

On the 24th the enemy having forcibly entered the suburb of St. Christophe, and established himself, immediately began to crenelate the houses of which he had got possession, at the same time that a battery was raised

behind them upon the road to Compeigne. Soon after this their tiralleurs, that were under cover, kept up a continual fire upon the gate of Paris and a battery constructed upon the platform, and supported their tiralleurs by a strong column of infantry. These dispositions led to the supposition that they meant to make a vigorous attack during the night, or to establish batteries without loss of time behind the houses, which would have enabled them to have forced the gate that was threatened. In consequence of this, General Gerard resolved to make a sortie from the Rheims and Paris gates, which he executed with success. The working parties, taken by surprise, abandoned the trenches without much resistance; some prisoners were taken; the enemy was entirely driven out, and the houses nearest the Paris gate were set on fire.

The enemy, to be revenged on this check, kept up a continual fire during the night between the 24th to the 25th, from a number of howitzers; but deceived by the light of the fauxbourg in flames, the town suffered very little. Upon the same night the enemy made another attempt upon the gate of Crouy, where he was rudely received.

General Gerard learned that the Prussians were collecting scaling ladders at different points; but already a number of long pikes had been fabricated in the place for the defence of the breaches, and materials of all kinds were collected to render them insurmountable.

On the 25th the inhabitants, deriving confidence from the dispositions of the chiefs, and the valour of the troops, and also inspired by the noble devotion which they perceived in their defenders, who were not able to take a moment's repose, spontaneously consented to obey the invitation of General Gerard, to join their patriotic efforts with those of the garrison. In consequence of their consent, he called upon the sub-prefect

and the municipal council for two hundred volunteers, who were soon at his disposal, and organized into three companies of sappers, &c. under officers in the army. The national guard was destined to the service of the internal police. The fire engines of the four sections were used with extreme vigilance; and as all the inhabitants had large butts of water before their doors, and upon each of the landing places within, the fires occasioned by the enemy's projectiles were soon extinguished.

On the 26th General Bulow sent another flag of truce, who was warned against approaching the gates, and immediately ordered off. But notwithstanding the brisk fire of the garrison and their frequent sorties, the approaches of the enemy upon the bastion No. 2, were considerably advanced in the night between the 26th and 27th. In fact, he believed himself already master of the place: the situation of the besieged became serious and alarming: it was necessary that they should redouble their bravery, activity, and audacity. In this state of things the flag of truce appeared before-mentioned, and the troops and the people deriving confidence from the presence of General Gerard, whom they saw every where, renewed their oaths to sustain the assault, repulse the enemy, or to die rather than to see him within those walls that had been confided to their valour. The commandant then determined to make a strong sortie, for the purpose of reconnoitring the works of the besiegers, and if possible to destroy them. The garrison, not exceeding two thousand five hundred men, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to fall upon the enemy.

On the 28th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, General Gerard harangued the troops; the action was intended to be decisive; the draughts from the old guard, the miners, and a squadron of gendarmerie, remained in reserve at the Paris gate, and the gunners were at their guns. At a given signal of a discharge of twenty pieces

of cannon that covered with their grape shot the faux-bourg St. Christophe, the Commandant Gerard, at the head of the remainder of his garrison, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that, owing to his surprise he could not resist the shock; the labourers were killed or taken in the trenches; the guards and reserves were overthrown or put to flight. The squadron of the Imperial guard made a very fine charge in the fauxbourg, and would have brought away two pieces of cannon, if the lieutenant who commanded them had not had his horse killed under him at the head of his troop. Many barricadoed houses still held out; but nothing could resist the fury of the old grenadiers and chasseurs of the guard; they snatched the muskets out of the hands of the Prussians as they levelled them out of the loop-holes, &c., and killed their adversaries with the bayonet or the sabre. The whole of the reserve then marched forward from behind the houses, to protect the parties charged with destroying the enemy's works. In vain they ordered up fresh troops to recover the fauxbourg. General Gerard then made his troops fall back to draw the enemy's masses under the fire of the grape from the ramparts: they suffered prodigiously. The artillery which had so effectually protected the sortie, was never better served. The sappers and miners rivalled the old guard in valour. The commandants of the artillery and the engineers were every where. This day cost the Prussians under Bulow near nine hundred men; but the fauxbourg of St. Christophe was burnt. The garrison brought in with them about fifty prisoners: their own loss did not exceed eighty killed and wounded.

The re-entrance of the troops into the place was made in the best order, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The whole of the former were collected in close columns upon the *place d'armes,* and General Gerard pronounced just eulogiums upon those officers who had

contributed the most to the success of the day, and also inquired after the subalterns and privates, that he might report their names to government. He also seized the colours of one of the victorious battalions, and exclaimed with the accent of enthusiasm—"Soldiers! the army have their eyes upon us; we cover the capital of the empire; let us again swear upon this standard to justify the confidence of our government in defending the post confided to us, till death." A new oath was pronounced, and repeated by the troops, and the names of those who had the most distinguished themselves were inserted in the order of the day.

In the night between the 28th and 29th the enemy contrived to keep the garrison upon the alert at different points, and on the following day opened a battery of four pieces, upon the capital of the bastion No. 2; and sent another flag of truce that was refused. Favoured by the darkness of the night between the 29th and 30th, he forced a passage into the fosse; but this operation was not only checked by a brisk fire, but a shower of fascines burning with pitch and other combustibles, thrown down from the ramparts, destroyed the enemy's works and his preparations.

At day-light the fire of the place being better directed, forced the enemy to withdraw his working parties; but however new batteries were constructed to batter the ditch with twelve pounders; these opened their fire about four in the afternoon; though the swivels had never ceased all the day to fill the trenches with a shower of shot, that incommoded them much.

On the 31st, at break of day, the garrison perceived with equal joy and surprise, that the enemy had abandoned his intrenchments, and withdrawn his artillery from the batteries. Some time after they saw the Prussian troops in position upon the heights that surround Soissons, with a few posts and videttes in the plain,

whilst several of their columns were filing off towards Paris and Compeigne.

M. Bergeres, at the head of a column of five hundred infantry and all the cavalry, next proceeded to reconnoitre the works of the besiegers, to destroy which the sappers, miners, and others were employed. The enemy did not attempt to annoy these troops otherwise than by cannon, the grape from which wounded a few men.

On the 1st of April a brisk cannonade was heard in the direction of Compeigne. The enemy had remained in position the whole day upon the heights of Crouy and Presle, and never ceased to fire from two batteries raised on the latter, upon the parties employed in completing the destruction of his works.

On the 6th of April the enemy, being intrenched in Crouy, had crenelated the principal houses, and fortified his position upon the mountain. General Gerard being in want of forage, wished to know the force that might be opposed to him in this quarter, and sent out six hundred men and one piece of cannon, under Major Braun, who advanced to the entrance of the village. After having driven back the enemy's advanced posts, they turned their left, and chased a battalion intended to protect them. Major Braun perceiving that he could not effect the object of his sortie, remained in position till night a little in the rear of the village, and then entered Soissons in good order.

On the 7th of April the enemy sent two letters by a peasant, which General Gerard refused to receive. On the following day a *parliamentaire*, who said he was sent by the new minister of war, was equally refused. On the 10th General Gerard was informed that a Prussian convoy was at Venizel: this escort and twenty horses were brought into Soissons. On the 14th in the afternoon, General Daboville, bearer of the acts of the pro-

visionary government, was admitted into Soissons; he remitted to the commandant, General Gerard, the following letter:

"The provisionary government transmits to you the faithful and authentic relation of the events to which Paris has been witness some days past. Amongst these documents you will remark the decree of the senate, which pronounces the fall of Napoleon and his family; the constitutional act which recalls to the throne the legitimate inheritors and descendants of St. Louis and Henry the Fourth, and the unanimous adherence of the magistrates, the generals, officers and soldiers, who have devoted themselves without reserve to the holy cause of their country. You will there find the legalized copy of the act of abdication by Napoleon, signed at Fontainebleau on the 11th of the present month of April. What pretext can now hinder you from manifesting the same sentiments? Any kind of delay is an act of rebellion, when conscience is enlightened by reason, and examples the most imposing. The country calls upon you to put an end to the scandal that afflicts every heart truly French, and wishes you to hasten to unite yourself with its children. I have the honour to salute you."

This letter was signed Montesquiou, General Count Beurnonville, Duke D'Alberg, Prince de Benevente.

On the 15th the commandant Gerard concluded an armistice with the blockading troops, and sent Bergeres, the commandant of the engineers, to Paris, to inquire into the real state of affairs. On the 16th he received the official acts of the fall and abdication of Napoleon. After having transmitted these documents to the garrison, at half past ten at night he sent in to General Daboville his adhesion, and that of all the French corps under him, in order that it might be presented to the government.

On the 22d a convention was signed with the Prussian

Lieutenant-General Borstel, commandant of the blockading troops. One of these articles is very remarkable; it states that a bridge shall be thrown across the Aisne above the stone bridge at Soissons, and under the cannon of the place, for the passage of the allied troops, so that not one single enemy should enter the town. A stipulation thus glorious preserved this unhappy place, taken and retaken three times in the space of a month, from a fresh occupation by the enemy, and thus saved the honour of the French arms, and particularly that of the last brave garrison who had so effectually defended it.

Thus terminated the siege of Soissons. This place, fortified with such haste and so imperfetly, sustained nine days of open trenches. Under its walls the enemy lost more than two thousand men.

The Russian Lieutenant-General Balk, sent from Paris by the Emperor Alexander with six thousand men to join the Prussians forming the blockade of Soissons, was the first that passed over the bridge formed for the passage of the allies, with his column. Notwithstanding the order was to admit no foreigner within the place, he demanded and obtained admittance, to compliment M. Gerard, the commandant, upon his brave defence. But M. Gerard received testimonies of the public esteem still more honourable at Paris. The Prince of Wagram, then captain in the royal guards, wrote him a letter on the occasion, which he concluded in these words: "You have maintained the honour of the French arms; your zeal, your devotion, and your conduct, have gained the esteem of your superiors, and has given you a claim upon his majesty's benevolence." In a short time after, M. Gerard was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Previous to these transactions, Napoleon dispatched to the Emperor Alexander a deputation of marshals, among whom was the Duke of Ragusa, instructed to propose the abdication of Napoleon in favour of his son. The

Emperor Alexander, who had a few days before publicly declared that he would not treat either with Napoleon or with any of the members of his family, nevertheless discussed the subject, in contradiction to that party of the senate who proposed the abdication. The marshals spoke vehemently, and in the name of the whole army. Alexander's determination was shaken, and the party favourable to the regency seemed likely to prevail, when intelligence arrived of the defection of the Duke of Ragusa; and this circumstance confirmed Alexander in his previous resolution. The event came upon him like a ray of light. The army is not then unanimous, thought he. From that moment, setting aside all reserve, he declared himself to be inflexible. In this state of things Napoleon was surrounded, urged and harassed, till he signed his positive and unconditional abdication.

The allies having passed the Marne at Meaux, were on their march to Paris early in the morning of the 29th, which they attacked, or rather overwhelmed, on the 30th of March and during the days following; the consequence of which was their entrance into Paris, after King Joseph, the remaining forces, the Empress, and the King of Rome, had retired.

The following notice and proclamation appeared at Paris on the 30th:

"Blucher is close under the walls: the Empress and the King of Rome left Paris yesterday, and are gone to Rambouillet.—King Joseph, lieutenant-general of the Emperor, &c. to the citizens of Paris—Citizens! An enemy's column has proceeded upon Meaux: it is advancing by the road from Germany; but the Emperor is following it closely, at the head of a victorious army. The council of regency has provided for the safety of the Empress and the King of Rome. I remain with you. Let us arm for the defence of the city, its monuments, its riches; our wives, our children, and all that is dear to us.

Let this vast city become a camp for some moments, and let the enemy find his disgrace under its walls, which they hope to break through in triumph. The Emperor is marching to our succour; second him by a short and powerful resistance, and let us preserve the French honour.

(Signed) "JOSEPH."

Such were the illusions played off till the last moment upon an enlightened people.

Immediately after the affair of Montmartre, for it is to be observed that Napoleon never arrived to the succour of Paris, a flag of truce was sent out of the city by Marmont, intimating a desire to receive any propositions for saving the capital from being sacked and destroyed; but though he had a short time before refused admittance to a flag, an armistice was proposed to him for four hours, to obtain which, he consented to abandon every position he occupied beyond the barriers of Paris.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 31st, the following articles were agreed to:

Art. I. The corps of the Marshals Duke of Treviso and Ragusa shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.

II. They shall take with them all the appurtenance of their corps d'armée.

III. Hostilities shall not recommence until two hours after the evacuation of the city, viz. on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.

IV. All the arsenals, military establishments, workshops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state that they were previous to the present capitulation being proposed.

V. The national, or city guard, is entirely separated from the troops of the line. It is either to be kept on

foot, or disarmed or disbanded, according to the ulterior dispositions of the allied powers.

VI. The corps of the municipal *gendarmerie*, shall in every respect share the fate of the national guard.

VII. The wounded and stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock, shall be prisoners of war.

VIII. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allied powers.

Prince Schwartzenberg agreed to these terms. Count Nesselrode, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, and Count Par, were sent into the town to demand its surrender. An answer being soon received, the garrison was to evacuate Paris by seven o'clock on the 1st of April.

On the 31st in the morning the allies entered Paris. In the evening Caulincourt came from Napoleon, to say that he acceded to the terms of peace which the allies had offered at Chatillon. The Emperor gave no other answer, than that the time was past for treating with Bonaparte as sovereign of France. The Emperor and the King of Prussia marched into Paris on the same day, and were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The windows of the best houses were filled by well-dressed persons waving white handkerchiefs and clapping their hands; the populace, intermixed with many of the superior class, were in the streets, pressing forward to see the Emperor Alexander, and to endeavour to touch his horse. The general cry was "*Vive l'Empereur Alexandre! Vive notre Liberateur!*"—"*Vive le Roi de Prusse!*" Many persons appeared with white cockades, and there was a considerable cry "*Vive Louis* XVIII! *Vive les Bourbons!*" which gradually increased. The Emperor of Russia rode to the Tuileries, examined every thing, and praised the tasteful decorations. "I have found Paris very fine," said his Majesty, "but I shall leave it in a much more flourishing condition."—Being

shewn the Saloon of Peace, he said, "What use could Bonaparte make of this saloon?"—"Your Majesty's arrival at Paris has been long expected and desired," said somebody. "I should have been here sooner," replied the Emperor: "attribute my delay to French valour."

The enthusiasm and exultation that was exhibited, far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine and devoted friends of the ancient dynasty of France. It really appeared that the restoration of their legitimate king, the downfall of Napoleon, and the desire of pe ce, had become the first and dearest wish of the Parisians, who by the events of those days had been emancipated from a system of terror and despotism impossible to describe, and kept in ignorance by the arts of falsehood and deception incredible for an enlightened people, and almost incomprehensible to the reflecting part of mankind.

The manifestation of public spirit in Paris, was now so strongly marked, that the allies found it unnecessary to establish any very strict measures of police. General Sacken was appointed military governor of the city, but a French General Dessolles was entrusted with the command of the national guard. The barriers were opened, and persons passed in or out with great facility. Paris heard no more the sound of cannon. The morning passed in reflection on the danger of the proceding day; on the desertion of the sovereign; on the flight of his brother Joseph; on their plan of defence founded on the destruction of the city; in the mean while the enemies became its saviours. The Emperor of Russia lodged in the house of the Prince of Benevente; the King of Prussia in that of M. de Beauharnois, and Prince Schwartzenberg at General Sebastiani's.

The provisional government, which was not necessary to exist but a short time after the arrival of Louis XVIII. from England, soon issued an address to the army, telling them they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, a man

who was not even a Frenchman; who had thrown away the lives of a million of French troops; had exposed them to perish without either magazines or hospitals, and was in fact as much the oppressor of the soldiery as of the rest of France. Of course many conscripts who were on their march to join the army, immediately returned, and many soldiers from the army went to their homes, bearing green boughs in token of peace, and white ribbons, to shew their attachment to their legitimate sovereign.

Napoleon had now moved his army from Troy by Sens towards Fontainebleau, where he was joined by the wrecks of Mortier and Marmont's corps; the whole did not exceed 40 or 50,000 men; nevertheless, he would have made some desperate attempt, had he been assured they would have supported him. The Emperor of Russia, acting in accordance with the senate, proposed to Napoleon in the name of the allied powers, to choose a place of retreat for himself and his family, and Caulincourt was directed to carry this proposal to him in answer to his own, which was, to submit to the decision of the senate, and to abdicate in favour of his son.

He had been informed of this resolution of the senate whilst at Fontainebleau. He was reviewing the troops on the 1st of April in the morning, and seemed to think them his own. He pretended not to know what had passed. Marshal Ney then gave him the Paris papers to read. In the mean time Lefebvre arrived, who addressing the late Emperor in a feeling tone, said, "You are undone! you would not listen to the councils of any of your servants, and now the senate has declared that you have forfeited the throne." These words drew tears from him; and he wrote the act of abdication almost immediately after. It is also related, that several generals sent to the Duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with the Emperor, to dissuade him from appearing on parade, but he did not succeed. On the parade, Napoleon looked

pale and thoughtful, whilst his convulsive motions shewed his internal struggles, and he did not stop many minutes. When he returned into the palace, he asked the Duke of Reggio if the troops would follow him. "No, Sire," answered the Duke: "you have abdicated." —"Yes, but upon certain conditions."—"The soldiers," resumed the Duke, "do not comprehend the difference; they think you have no more any right to command them."—"Well then," said Napoleon, "this is no more to be thought of: let us wait for accounts from Paris."

The marshals left him, and returned in the night about twelve. Ney entered first—"Well, have you succeeded?" exclaimed Napoleon.—"Revolutions do not turn back: this has begun its course; it was too late. To-morrow the senate will recognize the Bourbons."—"Where shall I be able to live with my family?"—"Where your Majesty shall please; and for example, in the isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions."—"Six millions! that is a great deal for a soldier as I am. I see very well I must submit. Salute all my companions."

The form of abdication was to the following purport: "The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

"Done at the Palace of Fontainebleau,
April 11, 1814."

Far from being proud of the treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon is understood to have said, "I blush for it: it was discussed for me against my will." In his signing it, after the utmost exertions were made to prevail upon him so to do, he thought it both degrading and useless.

"Of what use is a treaty," said he, "since they will not settle the interests of France with me? If only my personal interests are concerned, there is no need of a treaty. I am conquered; I yield to the fate of arms. All I ask is, that I may not be accounted a prisoner of war; and for that, a mere cartel is sufficient." Every endeavour to turn his thoughts to his existence and future wants, proved unavailing. To all such suggestions he energetically replied, "What matters it? A horse and a crown a day are all that I want."

He also very much regretted the counter-march that he made upon Paris when he was at St. Dizier and Doulevant. "Here," said he, "I wanted firmness. I should have followed up my intention of advancing to the Rhine, collecting reinforcements from all the garrisons in the way, and exciting the rise of the peasantry. By this means I should soon have possessed an immense army. Murat would immediately have joined me; and he and the viceroy would have made me master of Vienna, if the allies had presumed to deprive me of Paris. But no: the enemy would have shrunk from the dangers with which he would have been surrounded. The allied sovereigns would have regarded it as a favour to have been permitted to retire. Peace would have been concluded, and sincerely maintained." Besides, the departure of the Empress had produced a fatal effect on the public mind. The young King of Rome, contrary to custom, obstinately refused to quit the palace: he wept bitterly, and it was found necessary to carry him away by force. It was by the express order of Napoleon that the Empress quitted Paris; he foresaw the intrigues of which she would be the object; and he wished to prevent at Paris what subsequently occurred at Orleans. "There the men who were planning the regency in the expectation of ruling under the Empress, prevented her from joining me. What fatal consequences were thus produced!"

But the greatest sacrifice was now to be made: the allied powers had concentrated their armies. The English were under the walls of Paris; the Prussians upon the Loire; an hundred and fifty thousand Russians were collected at the Camp de Vertus, a town in the department of the Marne, between Chalons and Epernay; the Bavarians occupied Chaumont and its environs; and the Austrians, Dijon and the Cote d'Or. The King having accepted the resignation of the Prince of Echmuhl, appointed the Duke of Tarentum his successor. This marshal, who arrived at Bourges on the 2d of August, was charged with executing the orders of government for the dislocation of the troops, as a previous step to the disbanding of the army.

This last measure was carried into effect in the beginning of September. In laying down their arms, the French soldiers were far from imitating those mercenary hordes whose liberation is always a calamity to the state where it occurs. Respecting his country, the French soldier silently intermixed with the mass of a patient and industrious population, of which he formed the most noble portion. An hundred thousand disbanded troops covered the public roads, and crossed each other in all directions, without the least compromise of the public safety. Not one traveller was stopped or insulted, as the respect the soldier entertained for order and the laws, afforded no cause for reproach. At home, though often insulted and made the subject of bitter reproaches, he remained calm, faithful, and devoted.

Napoleon, it is said, had a firm conviction, that his consort, the Archduchess, had never endeavoured to do for him, *what, as his wife and his queen,* she was bound to have done. In 1814 the Countess St. Leu, who was acquainted with many of his secrets, advised Napoleon to request Maria to interpose in the amelioration of his affairs. "No, Madame," he replied, "the Archduchess

has seen me at the summit of human power; it does not become me to tell her, now that I am descended from it, and still less to beg of her, to countenance me with her credit." Napoleon, in fact, desired that she should anticipate his wishes; and he afterwards confessed to Carnot, that it was strange, that in the council of the Empress Regent, there was not a man of genius to be found, with an ardent mind capable of anticipating the Emperor's wishes. It was necessary, he said, to inspire his consort with the glory of becoming a second Marie Therese. "Who," said he, "could calculate the effect which would have been produced, by my young consort running through all the ranks of the army of the line, holding her young son in her arms, presenting him to all, and placing herself and him under the protection of their courage and their bayonets. I know the French nation; it would not have been less generous than the Hungarians."

At length, on the 20th of April, at eleven in the morning, Napoleon left Fontainebleau, followed by fourteen carriages. His escort employed sixty-four post-horses. The four commissioners of the allied powers who accompanied him, were M. Suwatow, a Prussian general, Kolliere, an English officer, and another, supposed to be an Austrian. Four officers of his household, among whom was his baker, formed part of his suite. Few of the military departed with him. To the officers and subalterns of the old guard he said on setting off, "I bid you farewell: during the twenty years that we have acted together, I have always found you in the path of glory. All the powers of Europe have armed against me: a part of my generals have betrayed their duty. With your assistance, and that of the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war. Be faithful to your new king, whom France has chosen: be obedient to your commanders, and do not abandon your dear country, which too long

has suffered. Pity not my fate. I shall be happy when I know that you are so likewise. I might have died: nothing would have been more easy to me; but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done I will write. I cannot embrace you all, but I will embrace your general. Come, general: let the eagle be brought to me, that I may also embrace it." On embracing it, he said, "Ah, dear eagle, may the kisses I bestow on you, resound to posterity. Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Once more encompass me." The staff then, attended by the four commissioners, formed a circle around him. Getting into the carriage at this moment, he could not suppress his feelings; he dropped a few tears. On this occasion, the English commissioner, who stood near him, and who had previously been his inveterate enemy, was so deeply moved, that he was affected in the same degree as Napoleon's attendants. In going, he called for Roustan the Mameluke, but the latter had concealed himself, though on the preceding day he had received from Napoleon at Fontainebleau, a present of thirty thousand francs, to provide for his wife and family during his absence. But returning to Paris, it is supposed that, owing to the persuasions of his spouse, instead of joining his benefactor on his journey to Elba, he thought proper to remain behind.

Napoleon, speaking on this subject whilst at St. Helena, said, "he was by no means astonished at the conduct of Roustan: he was imbued with the sentiments of a slave, and finding me no longer master, he imagined his services might be dispensed with." But when Napoleon returned from Elba in triumph, Roustan had the assurance to present himself at the Tuileries. Napoleon hearing of this, issued his command, that in case he did not instantly retire, he would cause him to be flogged for his intrusion.

On the evening of the 20th Napoleon reached Briarre;

on the 21st he arrived at Nevers; on the 22d at Rouanne; on the 23d at Lyons; on the 24th at Montelimart; on the 25th at Orgon; on the 26th he slept near Luc; on the 27th at Frejus; on the 28th, at eight in the evening, he embarked on board the English frigate the Undaunted, Captain Usher.

Through every town which he passed, he was the topic of universal observation, and is said to have been frequently much alarmed for his personal safety. On this subject, many ridiculous reports were circulated at the time. The bad state of the roads prevented him from continuing his route from Luc to St. Tropez; the English Colonel Campbell therefore caused two frigates to proceed to St. Rapheau, the little port at which Napoleon landed on his return from Egypt. On approaching the coast of the Mediterranean, and perceiving the sails of the vessels in the roads, it is said his heart dilated, and that he began to speak with wonderful volubility.

It was deemed prudent that Napoleon should reach Lyons at night; when the Austrian general and an English gentleman went out in disguise, and mingled with the crowd collected to see the dethroned monarch pass by, concluding that he would be the object of the bitterest imprecations. On the contrary, as soon as the Emperor appeared, deep silence prevailed among the multitude, and an old woman in deep mourning, with a countenance full of enthusiasm, rushed forward to the door of the carriage. "Sire," said she, with an air of solemnity, "may the blessing of Heaven attend your endeavour to make yourself happy. They tear you from us; but our hearts are with you wheresoever you go." The Austrian commissary, quite disconcerted, said to his companion, "Let us be going: I have no patience with this mad woman."

A little beyond Lyons, the Duke of Castiglione, general-

in-chief of the army of the east, appeared on the road, and Napoleon alighting from his carriage, walked a considerable way. When the general had taken his leave, one of the commissioners ventured to express his surprise that Napoleon should have treated him with such an appearance of friendship and confidence. "Why should I not?"—"Your Majesty is perhaps not aware of his conduct? Sire, he entered into an understanding with us several weeks ago." The Emperor afterwards confirmed this anecdote; adding, "The conqueror of Castiglione might have left behind him a name dear to his country; but France will execrate the memory of the traitor of Lyons."

The four commissioners, and Captain Usher of the Undaunted frigate, who was appointed to convey him to Elba, dined with him on the 27th of April, previous to his embarkation. On the introduction of Captain Usher, he said, "that though formerly our enemy, he was now as sincerely our friend, and that we were a great nation." On Captain Usher observing that he feared he could but ill accommodate him, Napoleon said, a British man of war was a palace. At dinner, the subject was chiefly naval affairs, of which he appeared a perfect master. He said that in three years his plans would have been completed: that he would have had two hundred sail of the line, well manned, as his naval conscription fully answered his expectations. He said that his principal object in annexing Holland to France, was for the purpose of making good sailors, by exercising them on the Zuyderzee; and turning round to the Russian commissioner, added, that he had constructed a three-decker, then called the Austerlitz. The conversation was highly interesting. Napoleon looked remarkably well, and talked with his usual confidence. A French frigate was sent to wait upon him, but he preferred going in the English frigate.

On the evening before his embarkation at Frejus, an immense mob had gathered round his hotel. He sent for Captain Usher; his sword was on the table, and he appeared very thoughtful. Captain Usher observed, that the French mob was the worst he had seen: he answered, they are a fickle people. Napoleon appeared deep in thought; but recovering himself, rung the bell, and ordered the grand marshal to be sent for: he asked if all was ready; being answered in the affirmative, he turned to the captain in his usual quick way, and said, *Allons;* let us go. The stairs were lined on each side with ladies and gentlemen; he stopped a moment, and said something to the ladies, which Captain Usher did not hear. He walked to his carriage, and called for the captain, the Austrian commissioner, and the grand marshal, and they drove off.

Napoleon was handed into the boat by a nephew of Sir Sidney Smith. When he came on board the Undaunted, he walked round the ship; the people crowded about him, and for the first time in his life, he seemed to feel confidence in a mob.

Next morning he told Captain Usher that he never slept better, and the next day asked a thousand questions, and seemed quite initiated in nautical affairs. When they were sailing by the Alps, he leaned on Captain Usher's arm half an hour, who told him he had once passed them with better fortune. He laughed, and liked the compliment. When off Corsica they had a smart gale; and he asked Captain Usher to anchor at Ajaccio, the place of his birth; but the wind changing, rendered that impossible. In the gale, Captain Usher told him he had more confidence than Cæsar's pilot. The Undaunted afterwards returned to Frejus to embark the Princess Borghese his sister, who came on a visit.

On the morning after Napoleon's arrival at Porto Ferrajo, all the authorities were ordered to attend the

ceremony of his entrance. Accordingly on the 4th of April in the morning, a flag was brought into the town with some solemnity, and immediately hoisted on the castle. This flag had a white ground interspersed with bees, and in the centre appeared the arms of Napoleon and those of the island of Elba, united by a rose-coloured stripe. Some time after the flag was hoisted, Napoleon landed with all his suite, and was saluted with 101 rounds of cannon. The English frigate replied to the salute with 24 guns. Napoleon was dressed in a blue great coat, under which appeared a suit richly embroidered with silver, with a peculiar decoration: he had a small round hat with a white cockade. He was conducted to the house of the mayor, where he received the visits of all the superior officers: he spoke to them with an air of confidence, and even of gaiety, putting a number of questions relative to the isle. After reposing a short time he got on horseback, and visited the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo, Liviri, and Rio. On the morning of the 5th, accompanied by the commissaries of the allied powers, he rode to Porto Longone, five miles from Porto Ferrajo, and also visited the iron mines that constitute the wealth of the isle.

As Napoleon's guard had not arrived, Captain Usher gave him one composed of his marines, under an officer, who constantly remained at Porto Ferrajo, and formed Napoleon's body-guard for some days. He had every reason to be contented with them. When his own guard arrived they became very friendly; and British sailors and marines were frequently seen rolling about the streets, locked arm in arm with a Frenchman, or singing and shaking hands with each other. The seamen, Napoleon remarked, were surprised at the familiarity with which he treated them, so different from the aristocratic *morgue* to which they had generally been accustomed. He did not think any man in the ship would

have injured him, had it been in his power. When he left them, he ordered a Napoleon to be given to each, and made Captain Usher a present of a box, with his picture set round with diamonds.

When he landed at Elba, instead of proceeding immediately to the palace prepared for him, he waited on the shore whilst his property was brought to land, and in some cases lent his assistance. The sun was at this time intensely hot. Captain Usher, who stood by the side of the Emperor, felt it severely. Napoleon, who perceived this, could not refrain from laughing. After being thus employed two hours, Napoleon observed, he was going to take a ride to view the country, and invited Captain Usher to accompany him; who, ashamed of being outdone, willingly consented. As soon as they mounted, Napoleon started at a rapid pace, and before he had ridden far, was out of sight of the captain, who was unable to keep pace with the man thus eager to survey his new dominions.

Whilst in this island, the Emperor observed that his flag had become the first in the Mediterranean. It was held sacred, he said, by the Algerines, who usually made presents to the Elba captains, telling them that they were paying the debt of Moscow. Some Algerine ships once anchoring off the island, caused great alarm among the inhabitants, who questioned the pirates, and asked them plainly whether they came with any hostile views—"Against the great Napoleon!" said the Algerines—"Oh! never—we do not wage war on God."

Notwithstanding Napoleon's pretended ignorance of what was passing on the Continent, or the more honourable motive of not committing the persons who brought him intelligence, besides one officer disguised as a sailor, more than a hundred French and Italian officers, with their uniforms and swords, and with regular passports coming from France, Corsica, Genoa, Leghorn,

Piombino, Civita Vecchia, or Naples, visited Elba: they each had more or less conversation with Napoleon; they all tried to make him recollect them, by mentioning different acts of bravery or enterprise, and they brought him particular news of what was passing in France or Italy.

Among other reasons assigned by Napoleon for his leaving Elba, he mentioned a visit from an English nobleman, a Catholic, about thirty years of age. He had dined with the Duke de Fleury a few weeks before, when the conversation turning upon the sum of money to be allowed Napoleon annually, according to a treaty signed by the ministers of the allied powers, the duke laughed at him for his supposing for a moment that it would be complied with, and said they were not such fools. "That," said Bonaparte, "was one of the motives which induced me to quit Elba." He was surprised that some English frigates had not been ordered to cruize about the island, and that a French frigate had not been stationed in the harbour. Other violations of the treaty of Fontainebleau, he said, obliged him to take the step he did: his wife and child were seized; detained, and never permitted to join him. They were to have had the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which they were deprived of. Prince Eugene Beauharnois was to have had a principality in Italy. Napoleon's mother and brothers were to receive pensions, which were also refused: his own private property was seized in the hands of Labouillerie, and all claims made by Bonaparte rejected. Besides, he said, assassins were sent over to Elba to murder him.

Whilst at Elba, the late Princess of Wales sent to inform Napoleon of her intention to visit him. He, however, on her own account, sent back an answer, begging her to defer it a little longer, till he saw what turn affairs would take, adding, that in a few months he should have the pleasure of receiving her. He knew at the time that

a visit to him could not fail of injuring the princess, and therefore he put it off. He observed that she had no right to be attached to him; her father and brother being killed fighting against him. She afterwards went to see Marie Louise.

CHAP. XXX.

Viscount Ebrington's Conversations with Napoleon in the Isle of Elba—Lord Wellington's appointment in France —Vanity of the French Character—The Conscription— Napoleon's intended Aristocracy—Napoleon's Ideas of the British Parliament and Peerage—Sums received by him as the Price of Peace—Character of the Emperors Alexander, Francis of Austria, and the King of Prussia—On the Russian Campaign—Ferdinand of Spain —Prince Eugene Beauharnois—The Duke D'Enghien— Moreau and Georges—Sir Robert Wilson—Egypt— English Jacobites and Jacobins—Mr. Charles Fox—Lord Grenville—Detention of the English Travellers in France —Religious Toleration—Tithes—The Slave Trade—The American Navy—Lucien Bonaparte—The French People —The two Empresses—The Marshals—Minor Events of the Year.

On the 6th and 8th of December this year, Napoleon received two visits at Elba from Viscount Ebrington, who was then on his travels. The conversations which then passed, his lordship permitted the publication of in 1823. Some of the most remarkable passages in these dialogues, his lordship caused to be printed in the original French; but these are here translated, for the information of those who may not be conversant in that language. His

lordship writing from Porto Ferrajo, Monday, Dec. 6, 1814, says, "I went by appointment at eight o'clock in the evening to the palace, and after waiting a few minutes, was shewn into the room to Napoleon. After some questions about myself, my family, &c. he asked eagerly about France, saying, "Tell me candidly, are they satisfied." I said, so, so. He replied, "they cannot be;—they have been too much humbled by the peace; they have had a king imposed upon them, and imposed by England. Lord Wellington's appointment must be very galling to the army, as must the great attentions shewn him by the king, as if to set his own private feelings up in opposition to those of the country. If my Lord Wellington had come to Paris as a visitor, I should have felt a pleasure in testifying the esteem due to his great merits; but I should not have been satisfied if you had sent him to *me* as an ambassador. The Bourbons were not calculated to be popular with a people like the French." Madame d'Angoulême, he had heard, was plain and awkward. "The angel of peace ought at least to be possessed of wit or beauty." The King and Monsieur were too much influenced by priests. The Duke d'Angoulême, he had been told, was weak; "and the Duke de Berri, as it is said, has lately been guilty of some follies." Besides, they had been the instruments of making a peace on terms to which he (Napoleon) never would have consented; giving up Belgium, which the nation had been taught to consider as an integral part of the dominions of France, and would never quietly submit to be stripped of. "You had gained enough by the peace, in securing the internal quiet of your empire at home, in the recognition of your sovereignty in India, and in having the Bourbons, instead of me, upon the throne. The best thing for England would, perhaps, have been the partition of France; but whilst you left her amply the means of being formidable, you have, by

what you have taken away, mortified the vanity of every Frenchman, and produced feelings of irritation, which, if not employed in foreign contests, must break out into revolution or civil war." He spoke not from what he had heard: "for I have no news but from the gazettes; or the information I get from travellers: I am well acquainted with the French character: the French are not proud, like the English; but they have much more vanity; it is their universal stimulus, and renders them capable of undertaking any thing." The army were naturally attached to him (Napoleon); "since I was their comrade. I have been successful with them, and they know that I reward them liberally; but now they feel that they are nothing. There are at present in France, 700,000 men that have borne arms; and the late campaigns have only served to shew how much they are superior to all their enemies. They do justice to the valour of the English troops, but they despise the rest of the nation."

"The conscription furnished annually 300,000 men, of which he never took above half. No class was exempt: but the higher might get substitutes from the lower, for which they paid 4000 francs. The common people will now feel that all the soldiery must come from them, without the same bounty, or chance of promotion as before. It had, however, been his system, to give every encouragement to such of the inferior orders as were willing to serve, and for this purpose he had established corps of a higher description: "For I know it is hard for a gentleman to be put upon an equal footing with a common soldier." He was always desirous of bringing forward the old families, and had many young men of the ancient *régime* in his army, who had behaved very well. He had also placed several of them about his court, but he was obliged to do it very cautiously. He felt that France wanted an aristocracy: but that required time and recollections attached to history. "I have created princes and

dukes, and given them large property; but I could not infuse nobility of blood," on account of the meanness of their connections. He meant, however, gradually to have intermarried them with the old nobility, as he had done in some instances; "and if the twenty years that I wished for, to promote the grandeur of France, had been granted, I should have done much more; but fate had otherwise disposed." The king, he thought, ought to follow the same plan, instead of advancing so much those who, for the last twenty years, have been "buried in the garrets of London." He knew that a king might have his friends like another man, and is naturally desirous of rewarding those who have shewn attachment to him. In England, the king may indulge private partiality in the appointment of his court officers, because there he is only a part of the government. "The king among you may be ill, and even a little weak in his intellects, and affairs will not cease to go on in the same train, as all that is arranged between the ministers and the parliament; but in France, the sovereign is the source of every thing, and importance is attached to his least actions: "the king is as if he was in a palace of crystal: all eyes are turned upon him."

"He considered the house of peers as the great bulwark of the English constitution, which he thought would be overturned, if there were in the country materials for making another such assembly, equal in all respects to the present. "But in France I could make forty senates as good as the one they have." On my observing, that I thought he laid too much stress on the peerage, he said, that in mentioning the house of peers, he meant to include the parliament in general, which he considered as representing, by descent or by election, the heads of the commercial as well as the landed interest, which were what he called the aristocracy of a country. That this aristocracy had enabled the royal family to get over that

affair of the Duke of York; which, if it had occurred in France, would have been sufficient to shake, perhaps overturn, the throne. "But *John Bull* is steady and solid, and attached to ancient establishments, and so different in character from the Frenchman, that there is no bringing the two countries fairly into comparison."

"He had read most of the pamphlets published in France since his abdication: "Some call me a traitor; a coward; but it is the truth only that wounds: the French well know I am neither traitor nor coward. The wisest part the Bourbons could adopt with respect to me, would be the same that I observed by them, that is, not to suffer the people to say good or ill of them."

"Speaking of the finances of France he said, "All that I have caused to be printed on the finances, may be looked upon as strictly true." His civil list income was 30,000,000 francs, but the expenditure seldom exceeded 18,000,000, and with that he had finished two or three of the palaces. His table cost 1,000,000 francs. His stable and chaise, including 700 horses, 2,000,000. He had an excellent treasurer, whom he named, but I forget: "and I never permitted any peculations." Besides this, he had the disposal of the "*Domains extraordinaires*," a fund of 200,000,000, out of which he made presents, and rewarded those who distinguished themselves. To my question, "whence it came?" he answered, "from the contributions of my enemies. Austria, according to secret articles, for peace twice granted, paid three hundred thousand francs, and Prussia also paid enormously high." I asked whether he had received any thing from Russia? He said, "No; from Russia I required nothing more than to shut her ports against England." I asked him what he thought of the Emperor: he said, "he is a true Greek: you cannot trust him: he is not without information, and some liberal ideas, with which he was imbued by a philosopher, La Harpe, who

was his tutor. But he is so light, and has so much duplicity, that there is no knowing when his expressions are his own, or whether they result from a species of vanity which prompts him to place himself in contrast with those around him." He mentioned as an instance, an argument they had had upon forms of government, in which Alexander maintained a preference for elective monarchy. His (Napoleon's) opinion was quite contrary, for "who is fit to be so elected? A Cæsar, an Alexander may not be found once in an age, so that the election must after all be a matter of chance; and succession is surely better than the cast of the dice." During the fortnight that they were at Tilsit, they dined together nearly every day: "but we soon rose from table to get rid of the King of Prussia, who was tiresome to us. About nine o'clock the Emperor came to me in an undress to take tea, and remained conversing very agreeably on different subjects, for the most part philosophical or political, sometimes till two or three o'clock in the morning." The Emperor Francis, he said, had more honesty but less capacity. "I would trust to him much rather than the other; and if he gave me his word to do this or that, I should be certain that from that moment he intended to keep his word; but his faculties are very limited; no energy, no decision." The King of Prussia he called "*un caporal*," without an idea beyond the dress of a soldier, "infinitely more *bête* than either of the three." The Archduke Charles was not a person of great abilities; who had, however, on some occasions, shewn himself not to be without military talent.

"Speaking of the Russian campaign, he said, that when he got to Moscow, he considered the business as done; that he was received with open arms by the people on his march, and had innumerable petitions from the peasants, praying him to emancipate them from the tyranny of the nobles; that he found the town fully supplied with every

thing, and might perfectly have subsisted his army there through the winter, when in twenty-four hours it was on fire in fifteen places, and the country all round, for twelve miles, laid waste: "an event," said he, "on which I could not calculate, as there is not, I believe, a precedent for it in the history of the world. But *parbleu*, one must confess there was some energy in this." He then talked over his last campaign, and ascribed his ruin entirely to Marmont, to whom he had given some of his best troops and the post of the greatest importance, as a person on whose devotion to him he could most depend: "For how could I expect to be betrayed by a man whom I had loaded with kindnesses from the time that he was fifteen years old? Had he stood firm I could have driven the allies out of Paris; and the people there, as well as generally throughout France, would have risen in spite of the senate, if they had had a few troops to support them. But even with him, the allies were three against one; and after his defection, in the uncertainty in which I was placed, there were no more hopes of success. I might have been in France at this moment, and perhaps have prolonged the war some years; but under existing circumstances, I could not flatter myself with a happy termination against Europe united. I soon came to a decision to save France from a civil war, and I now look upon myself as politically extinct; for to die or to be here, is the same thing."

"He spoke lightly of the talents of his marshals, but having once raised them, it had been his system to maintain them. He had always been indulgent respecting military errors, as he shewed in not removing Marmont from his command, after the loss of his artillery at Laon, which he now believed to have been treachery. He said that Augereau was a bad subject, who he thought had made his terms a month before he declared himself. He spoke well of Massena. "He behaved very well: I

believe; so did also the Marshals Soult and Davoust." I asked if he was not surprised at Berthier having been among the first to hail the king's arrival? He answered, "they told me he did some foolish things of this kind: but he is not a man of much capacity. I promoted him more than he deserved, as he was useful with his pen. Besides, I assure you he was a *bon diable*, and that if he had seen me he would at once have expressed his regrets with tears in his eyes."

"I asked him what he thought of the King of Spain? he said he was not without natural understanding, but ignorant and bigotted from the faults of his education, which had been left entirely to priests: besides, he was the completest dissimulator I ever saw." He considered Charles IV. to be honest and well-intentioned, but with very little capacity. His queen, I think, he called a bad woman; but I do not recollect his saying much about her.

"He inquired if I had seen "the fine Museum which he had established at Paris;" but expressed some regret at having taken away so many fine things from Italy. "In that I was a little unjust; but at that period I thought only of France." He had meant, however, to acquit his debt one day to Italy, by separating it from the French empire, and forming it altogether into an independent kingdom for his son. I asked him if the King of Naples (Murat), would have made an obstacle to this arrangement? He said, "yes, for the present, but I should have settled that somehow or other by the time my son came of age." He had found the Italians lazy and effeminate; "but I have finished with making them as good soldiers as the French." On my naming the viceroy, he said, "he is a young man whom I have always treated as my son, and on whose account I have always had reason to be satisfied with myself." I asked if he was not a very good officer, he said, "yes, he has always

conducted himself well; but he is by no means a man of superior talents." He questioned me a good deal about Milan; the disposition of the people towards him; whether the things he had begun there were going on, &c.; and seemed pleased at my admiration of the Simplon, which led him to speak of the roads and other public works he had made, or intended to have made, in different parts of the French dominions. Among them he particularly mentioned the dock-yards at Antwerp and Venice.

He asked me, "How would they treat me if I was to come to England? Should I be stoned?" I replied, that he would be perfectly safe there, as the violent feelings which had been excited against him were daily subsiding, now that we were no longer at war. He said, smiling, "I believe, however, there is always some danger to be apprehended on the part of a London mob." I then mentioned to him the odium that some acts of his had produced in England, and instanced the execution of the Duke d'Enghien. He justified it on the score of his being engaged in a treasonable conspiracy; and having made two journies to Strasburgh in disguise, in consequence of which he had been seized and tried by a military commission, which sentenced him to be shot. "I was told he wished to speak to me; I was affected because I knew he was a young man of courage and merit. I even think I should have seen him, but M. Talleyrand prevented me, saying, '*We cannot compromise you with a Bourbon: you do not know the consequences: the wine is drawn and it must be drank.*'" *I asked him* if it was true that the duke was shot by torch-light? he replied, "Oh no! that would have been against the law. The execution took place at the usual hour, about eight in the morning, and I immediately ordered the report of it, with the sentence, to be published in every town in France." I mentioned the idea that prevailed in Eng-

land as to the murder of Captain Wright. He did not recollect the name; but on my saying that he was a companion of Sir Sidney Smith, he said, "Did he die in prison? for I have entirely forgotten the circumstance." He scouted the notion of foul play, adding, that he had never put any man to death clandestinely or without a trial: "My conscience in respect to this point is without reproach; and had I been less sparing of blood, perhaps I might not have been here now. But your newspapers charged me also with the death of Pichegru, who strangled himself with his neckloth."

"He then went into an interesting account of Georges' conspiracy, its discovery by the confession of ———, an apothecary, a *Chouan;* and a curious conversation which was overheard between Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, at a house on the Boulevards. It was there settled that Georges should assassinate him (Bonaparte); that Moreau should be First, and Pichegru Second Consul; Georges insisted on being Third; to which they objected, saying, that any attempt to associate him in the government would ruin them with the people, as he was known to be a royalist. On this he said, "If I cannot have this post, then I am for the Bourbons; and if it is not for them or for me, I would as willingly have Bonaparte as you." When this was repeated to Moreau on his examination, he fainted away. "Had I been as sanguinary as I am represented in England," said Napoleon, "I should have put him to death; but after his being convicted of having connected himself with Georges, whatever influence or popularity he had, was at an end." I asked him if he was a man of talent? He said, "None, except as a soldier; nor would his own disposition ever have led him into political intrigues. But he had a mischievous wife and a mother-in-law complete intriguers, who were the causes of it."

"He spoke with apparent pleasure of Egypt, and

described humorously enough his admission and that of his army to Mahometanism, on receiving from the men of the law, after many meetings and grave discussions at Cairo, a dispensation from being circumcised, and a permission to drink wine, under the condition of their doing a good action after each draught: "You can hardly imagine," said he, "the advantages which I gained in the country from this adoption of their worship." I mentioned Sir Robert Wilson's statement of his having poisoned his sick: he answered, "that has some foundation in truth. Three or four men of the army had the plague: they could not have lived twenty-four hours; I was about to march; I consulted Desgenettes as to the means of removing them: he said that it must be attended with some risk of infection, and would be useless to them, as they were past recovery. I then recommended him to give them a dose of opium, rather than leave them to the mercy of the Turks. He answered like an honest man, that his business was to heal, and not to kill: so the men were left to their fate. Perhaps he was right, though I asked for them what I should, under similar circumstances, have wished my best friend to have done for me. I have often thought since on this point of *morale*, and have conversed on it with others, and I think upon the whole, it is best for a man to live as long as his fate will permit him, whatever it may be. I judged so afterwards in the case of my friend Duroc, who, when his bowels were falling out before my eyes, repeatedly cried to me to have him put out of his misery. I said, I pity you, my friend; but there is no remedy: it is necessary to suffer to the end." I then asked him about the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa: he answered, "It is true, I caused near two thousand to be shot. You may think that rather cruel, but I had granted them a capitulation at El Arish, on condition that they should return to their homes. They violated their faith, and

threw themselves into Jaffa, which place I took by assault. I could not take them with me as prisoners, for I was short of provisions, and these devils were too dangerous to be let loose a second time, so that I had no other means left than to get rid of them."

"This is all that I accurately recollect of this interesting conversation, which lasted from eight till half past eleven o'clock, as we walked up and down the room. His manner put me quite at my ease almost from the first, and seemed to invite my questions, which he answered upon all subjects without the slightest hesitation, and with a quickness of comprehension and clearness of expression beyond what I ever saw in any other man: nor did he, in the whole course of the conversation, betray either by his countenance or manner, a single emotion of resentment or regret.

"*Wednesday, Dec.* 8, 1814.—As I was embarking to return to Leghorn, an aide-de-camp brought me an invitation to dine with the Emperor, which I accepted. I went at seven o'clock, and soon after, dinner was announced. It was plain, but well served, on plate, which from its size and substance, most probably had been his camp service. General Drouot dined with us, but did not join in the conversation, and almost immediately after we went into the next room to coffee, left me alone with Napoleon.

"He asked me several questions about the administration of justice, the courts of law, and the magistracy of England; answering, at the same time, mine respecting the administration of justice in France, and discussing their comparative merits. From this we got to the two houses of parliament, and some of the principal speakers in them, such as Mr. Canning, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Liverpool, Lord Grey, and Lord Grenville. He said that he had seen some very good speeches of the latter, which gave him a

great idea of his talents. He added, "Lord Grey is also one of your great orators." He asked me about the motion I had made in behalf of Lord Cochrane, and said, "You are right: a man of his rank ought not to have suffered a punishment so infamous." But he was astonished that the house of commons should have allowed one of their own body to be so condemned; seeming in this, as in our former conversation, to confound the two houses of parliament together, and to consider them as the only tribunal for the trial of their own members.

"He entered a good deal into the state of parties, and asked if there existed in England "any Jacobins mad enough to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Charles I." On my answering, that I believed not, but that, on the contrary, some of the zealous Jacobite clergy still read the service appointed for that day as a fast in our liturgy, he said, "Ah! that is the contrary of what I ask you. I know that Jacobite signifies a tory, by way of distinction. I believe, however, that at the bottom there are very few real Jacobins among you. You have enough in the conduct of the opposition always before your eyes, to lead you to take care that you should never lose the majority." He, at the same time, praised our political consistency: "for," said he, "in England, a man who quits his party is, to a certain degree, disgraced, unless he has some good reason to assign for it; whereas in France, they change sides just as it may suit their present interests, without feeling accountable to any one." He was surprised at the impolicy of our government with respect to the Catholics: "I believe that the Prince Regent has broke his engagements with them in consequence of the intrigues of Lord Sidmouth—that Lord Sidmouth is a bigot. But notwithstanding, I believe your parliament will not long delay the passing of an act of emancipation."

"He inquired after several persons whom he had seen at Paris during the peace: the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Lord Whitworth, Lord Erskine, Lord Holland; and a good deal about Mr. Fox, with whom he said he had conversed much: "And he was satisfied with me: was he not?" I told him that I was not sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Fox to have ever heard him say so, but that I understood he had been much flattered by the reception he met with from him, as well as generally in France. He said, "He had much reason so to be: he was every where received as a god, because the people knew he was always a friend to peace." He spoke of his oratory, as compared with that of Mr. Pitt; asked if the former was not more "in the manner of Demosthenes, the other in that of Cicero?" and discussed the two styles as if he was well acquainted with their authors.

"He said that it was his wish to have kept the peace of Amiens, but that we chose to break it. He praised, in the highest terms, the late Lord Cornwallis, as a man who, without superior talents, was, from his integrity and goodness, an honour to his country. "He was what I call, one of the superior class of your English nobility;" and he wished that he had some of his stamp in France. He added, that he always knew whether the English cabinet were sincere in any proposal for peace, by the persons they sent to treat. "I believe, if Mr. Fox had lived, we should have made peace; for the manner in which he began his correspondence with Talleyrand, afforded a proof of his good faith much more than—— You remember the circumstance of the assassin—but his colleagues in office were not so pacific as he was." I said, that the impression we had of his views of aggrandizement, made many of our statesmen, and Lord Grenville among them, afraid of making peace with him. He replied, "You are wrong: I only wished to make you just. I respect the English character; but I wished for

the freedom of commerce and the liberty of the seas. Circumstances, which induced me to make war, furnished me with the means of aggrandizing my empire, which means I have not neglected; but many years of peace would have been necessary for me to have done what I intended for France. Tell Lord Grenville to come and see me at Elba. I believe you thought, in England, that I was the devil; but now that you have seen France and seen me, you will probably allow that you have, in some respects, been deceived."

"I attacked his detention of the English travellers; which he justified on the score of retaliation, for our making prizes at sea before declaration of war. I replied, that this had been in a manner sanctioned by long use. He said, "Yes, to you who gain, but not to others who suffer from it; and if you make new laws of nations, I have a right to do the same. I am sure that, in England, you believe that I was right in the main, since, in doing that, I shewed some decision of character. Ah! you see I am a little bit of a pirate as well as others."

"I observed to him how much I had been struck with the general state of cultivation in France. He ascribed it chiefly to the division of property produced by the revolution; but also, in some degree, to the encouragement he had given to agriculture, which had always been his first object; then manufactures; and, thirdly, commerce. In England, he knew that, from her local situation, the case must be different; but he should think ill of her prosperity, when the interests of the land came to be sacrificed to those of commerce. He went at some length into his plan for the re-establishment of an aristocracy, by restoring or giving titles of nobility to all who could prove their immediate descent from persons who had served the country in any high office, civil or military; buying estates for them, according to their several degrees of nobility, out of the "*domaines extraordinaires*,"

and uniting them by intermarriages with the families of his marshals.

" He asked me if I had seen his " *Temple de la Gloire*" at Paris. He intended it for a very different purpose, having contrived the inside so that it might, with a little alteration, be made into a church, which he should, in some eighteen or twenty years, have dedicated to the expiation of the massacres of the revolution. " I was cautious of making my design public, for being rather a novice myself, management on my part was necessary: I believe you are only the fourth person to whom I have spoken on the subject. I waited to accomplish my object when time should have disposed of some persons who had figured in the revolution." He spoke of the church establishment of France, which had been entirely his own work; the revolution having destroyed the old one without substituting any thing in its place. " In this," said he, " I had a great advantage, from beginning afresh." He thought an establishment essential to every state, to prevent the disorders that might arise from a general indulgence of wild, speculative opinions: " we neither know whence we come, nor what will become of us; but our minds, if not otherwise employed, turn naturally to our own situation; and the mass of the people ought to have some fixed point of faith, whereon to rest their thoughts. Besides, provided a man be a good subject, I do not embarrass myself with his religious opinions. I am a Catholic because my father was such, and because it is the religion of France." On my observing that there seemed a great indifference generally throughout the country about public worship, he said, " Oh no! the French love their curates very well, and the mass too, provided that they never pay for them." He had frequently petitions from villages and districts for a parish priest, to which he always assented, " upon condition they would pay him:" this they as constantly declined.

He then inquired into their case, and if he found the request reasonable, gave them the *curé;* for he rather liked to encourage devotion among the people. Not so, however, in his armies: "I suffered no priests there, because I do not like devout soldiers." He also carefully excluded the priesthood from any thing like civil jurisdiction; and therefore enacted that all marriages should be registered in a lay court, making that register the legal proof, without the necessity of any certificate from the priest, or even of any religious ceremony at all, if the parties were content to have it so. He asked if we did not continue to pay tythes in England; and wondered that Henry VIII., when he reformed our church, did not get rid of them altogether: "but you owe him infinite obligations for what he has done."

"He discussed the policy of France with respect to St. Domingo, and condemned the measures they were adopting, as ill calculated to promote their views there. He did not object to the abolition of the slave trade, though he might to a treaty compelling him to it; but, in his opinion, the best mode of at once tranquillizing and civilizing the colonies, would be by the encouragement of intermarriages between the whites and blacks; and for that purpose he would allow every man to have two wives, provided they were of different colours; so that the children of both, brought up under the same roof, and upon the same footing, would, from their infancy, learn to consider themselves as equal, and in the ties of relationship to forget the distinction of colour. He believed that the origin of polygamy in the East had been derived from the same principle, of uniting nations of different colours and habits, separated by great deserts and rivers, when they came under one government; and wisely had it been adopted by Mahomet in his law. The Jews acted on a contrary system, from a desire of keeping themselves a distinct nation, and from them is de-

rived our law respecting marriage; but why should we carry it among people where, from the nature of our relations with them, it can only do us harm? He went into a good deal of argument (which I do not recollect), in favour of his opinion, but added; "I do not tell you that I should have been able to carry it into effect: it was, perhaps, too great an innovation for a sovereign, a novice like myself, singly to attempt; but I am persuaded that if it could be adopted throughout the colonies generally, it would produce the most beneficial results."

"He asked how our affairs went on in America: "How is it that they beat you at sea?" I answered, that their frigates were of a larger size, and more fully manned. He said, with a smile, "But it is nevertheless true that they beat you." He entered into some discussion on the grounds of the war, and concluded, "You had better make peace; you will gain more by trading with them, than by burning their towns; besides, your state of war at this time weakens your influence at the Congress."

"He inquired kindly after "my good friend Usher," and spoke with great admiration of our discipline and skill in the management of our ships: "If I had remained in France I should have had a navy in time; I do not say I should have beaten yours; but, however, a navy I should have had."

"On my expressing my surprise at the admirable *sang froid* with which he bore the change of his situation, he said, "at this, I believe, all the world has been more astonished than myself. I have not had a very good opinion of men, and I was always distrustful of fortune. Besides, I have enjoyed very little; my brothers have had more of her favours than I have. They have had the enjoyments of royalty, whilst I have had little but its fatigues." He asked if I knew his brother Lucien, and what success his poem had had? said he was a clever

man, but doubted his understanding sufficiently the "*finesses*" of the French language for an Epic poet. "He, of all my brothers, possesses the most talent; but he is a man that has done me much injury; for me, whose object was to found a dynasty, it was a terrible thing to unite himself to one of the lower class, a pretty Parisian! He had done every thing to prevent it; but he always had a bias for women."

"Speaking of some of the events of the last campaign, he said, that on the allies crossing the Rhine, he had urged the senate to decree that no peace should be made whilst the enemy was within the territory of France. "This would have given confidence to a people who were upon the point of rising against the allies; that was the moment to have shewn firmness—the Romans were always conquerors; but they were never so great as after the battle of Canna. A parliament like that of England would have done so; but the senate had not the courage. They began to complain to me about grievances, which had been matter of dispute between us. They said, the Emperor is not like other men: he is pleased with nothing but war; he hates tranquillity, pleasure, and women.—This was by no means the case: I enjoyed my pleasures like another man, when I had time for them: I had two wives—you know the history of my divorce." He believed there could hardly be found an example of another grounded so exclusively on public motives, "and in amity more perfect. I have since espoused a young princess, of an age rather disproportioned with mine; but I believe no one can doubt that she was not very much attached to me. I always had mistresses, but I never had a *mistress* in reality: I never suffered myself to be governed by a woman."

"Some of the old republicans, among whom, I think, he named Cambaceres, remonstrated with him against his marriage, lest the niece of Marie Antoinette should

indulge a spirit of revenge against those who had been instrumental to her aunt's death. He answered them, "My friends, you may assure yourselves that I shall marry her; but I promise you she shall not rule me. My wife, who is a woman of excellent sense, completely entered into my views upon this point, and gave the most gracious reception to all who approached her."

"He asked me about my intended stay in Italy, the places I proposed visiting, &c. &c. On my mentioning Naples, he said, "You will then surely see the King of Naples; he is a good soldier; and one of the most brilliant I ever saw upon the field of battle. His talents are not of the most superior kind, and without much moral courage, sufficiently timid in forming his plans of operation; but the moment he sees the enemy all that disappears; he has then the *coup d'œil* the most rapid; and his valour is truly chivalrous. Besides, he is a handsome man, tall and well made, and neat in his person, sometimes a little fantastic: in a word, a magnificent Lazzarone." I asked if he did not make a fine charge with the cavalry at the battle of Leipsig, on the first day? He replied, "*Parbleu!* he led them always too far; he made them do too much execution; he was continually at their head. It was really a superb spectacle to see him leading his cavalry in a battle."

"He shewed more animation in speaking on this than on any other topic in the whole course of conversation, and seemed quite to dwell on it with pleasure. He said, "You will also see the Queen; she is a handsome woman, and possesses no small share of wit and ingenuity."

"He then asked me how long I proposed remaining at Elba; offered me a horse out of his stables to ride about the island; and at a little past eleven o'clock dismissed me."

Among the minor events of the year 1814, it should be observed, Piedmont was restored to the King of Sardinia,

though the long occupation of that country by the French had fostered a French interest there, which obstructed its ready return to its ancient allegiance. Genoa was also given up to the Sardinian monarch, and the city and republic of Venice restored to the Emperor of Austria. The island of Sicily also, which the circumstances of the war had so long converted, as it were, to an English garrison, naturally returned to its pristine condition after the peace; and in the beginning of June it was announced from Palermo, that his Majesty Ferdinand had resumed the reins of government, and returned to Naples, after an absence of nine years.

France, in consequence of Bonaparte's failures and abdication, being reduced to her former limits, Holland was soon after enlarged by the addition of the Catholic Netherlands. The Emperor Francis shewed no reluctance in getting rid of a detached territory, which had long been more of a burden than a benefit. On the 1st of August, 1814, a proclamation by Baron de Vincent, the Austrian governor, informed the people that Belgium was to be given up into the hands of the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands; and the Prince of Orange soon after assured his new subjects, that the destination of these provinces, was only a part of a system by which the allied sovereigns hoped to insure to the nations of Europe a long period of prosperity and repose.

It may be necessary to mention here, that Joachim Murat having effected his escape from Italy, retired to Provence, in the south of France, while Madame Murat and her family found an asylum in the Austrian states.

The results of the battle of Waterloo, in the following year, obliged Murat to quit France, and in September 1815, he appeared in the island of Corsica, where he assembled a number of partizans to assist him in invading Naples, and to recover the throne from which he had been expelled. At mid-day on the 8th of October, he

disembarked in Calabria with a suite of thirty persons, and marched without interruption to the first village, where, hoping to excite a rising of the people, Murat exclaimed, "I am Joachim, your king; it is your duty to acknowledge me." These words served to rouse the people to arms, not to aid, but to crush a desperate enterprise, that threatened to involve their country in the horrors of a civil war. Murat and his suite sought refuge in the mountains, and afterwards endeavoured to open themselves a way to the coast, but were made prisoners. Immediately after his capture, Murat was brought to trial before a military commision, by which he was condemned to be shot, in company with his followers; this accordingly took place in the afternoon of the 13th of October, and thus released the apprehensions of the reigning family for the safety of their throne.

The news, that Murat after landing in Calabria with a few troops, had been seized and shot, when brought to St. Helena, occasioned Napoleon to interrupt the relator, and say, "The Calabrians were more humane, more generous, than those who sent me here." Murat, without real judgment, without solid views, without a character proportioned to the circumstances in which he had been placed, had perished in an attempt evidently desperate. It is not impossible that the Emperor's return from Elba turned his brain, and inspired him with the hope of renewing the prodigy in his own person.

Such was the miserable end of him who had been one of the most active causes of Napoleon's reverses. In 1814, his courage, it was admitted, might have saved Napoleon from the abyss in which his treachery involved his former sovereign. He neutralized the vice-king Eugene, on the Po, and fought against him; whereas, by uniting together they might have forced the passes of the Tyrol, made a descent into Germany, and arriving on

the Rhine, might have destroyed the rear of the allies, and cut off their retreat from France.

The Emperor, while he was at Elba, avoided all communication with Murat, as King of Naples; but on departing for France, he wrote to inform him, that being about to resume possession of his throne, he felt pleasure in declaring to him, that all their past differences were at an end. He pardoned his late conduct, tendered him his friendship, sent some one to sign the guarantee of his states, and recommended him to maintain a good understanding with the Austrians, and content himself merely with keeping them in check, should they attempt to march upon France. Murat, at this moment, actuated by the sentiments of his early youth, would receive neither guarantee nor signature. He declared, that the Emperor's promise and friendship were sufficient for him, and that he would prove he had been more unfortunate than guilty. His devotedness and ardour, he added, would obtain for him oblivion for the past.

"Murat," said the Emperor, "was doomed to be our bane. He ruined us by forsaking us, and he afterwards ruined us by too warmly espousing our cause. He observed no sort of discretion: he himself attacked the Austrians without any reasonable plan, and without adequate forces, and he was subdued without striking a blow."

The Austrians, when rid of Murat, cited his conduct as a pretext for imputing ambitious views to Napoleon, when he again appeared on the scene. They constantly referred to Murat whenever the Emperor made protestations of his moderation.

"I should have taken him with me to Waterloo," said Napoleon, "but such was the patriotic and moral feeling of the French army, that it was doubtful, whether the troops could surmount the disgust and horror which

they felt for the man who had betrayed and lost France. I did not consider myself sufficiently powerful to protect him. How useful would he have been at certain periods of the battle! At the head of a body of cavalry no man was ever more resolute, more courageous, or more brilliant."

To O'Meara Napoleon was more explicit, relative to Murat. "I had," said he, "forbidden him to act; for after I had returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the Emperor of Austria and me, that if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled; but that *imbecille*, in spite of the direction to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff.—The Emperor of Austria seeing this, concluded directly that it was by my order."

In the meanwhile, Louis, who had ascended the throne of France, found himself surrounded with difficulties. The splendid military despotism which for several years had dazzled his country, had hushed, but not extinguished the revolutionary parties. A great mass of past glory still adhered to the name of Napoleon; and his partizans, and even his troops, had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation co-operating with this feeling, spurned at the idea of being conquered. As soon therefore as the joy of present relief from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government which they considered had been imposed upon them by foreign arms. This spirit was so strong in the capital, and in some of the departments, that it required all the vigilance of the government to prevent its breaking out into open insurrection.

It was on this principle that the king endeavoured to

attach the marshals and generals to his person and government, and to guarantee to them those honours and distinctions for which they were originally indebted to another master. Hence Marshal Soult was appointed minister of war, and Prince Talleyrand, one of the most consummate statesmen of his age or nation, was elevated to one of the first offices in the state, and entrusted with the entire management of the negotiations at the congress of Vienna.

CHAP. XXXI.

State of Parties in France at the commencement of 1815—*Situation of Napoleon at the Isle of Elba—Change in his Habits—Learns the Discontents of the French People—The symbol of the Violet—Blindness and Insensibility of the Bourbons—Removal of Bonaparte, in agitation at Vienna—This prevented, by his own determination to quit Elba, and return to France—His actual departure on the 26th of February—His Fortitude and presence of Mind—Address to the French Nation—Lands, and takes up his first night's quarters in a Field of Olives—Begins his march to Paris—Proclamations, &c.—Sensations excited in Paris by the return of Bonaparte—Re-establishment of the Imperial Government—Intrigues of Fouché against Napoleon—Activity and bustle of the Hundred Days—The Champ de Mai—Napoleon's Compliment to the British Navy—Order of the Day.*

THE state of parties in France at the commencement of the year 1815, still indicated alarming differences in sentiments and opinions among large classes of the community. The military in particular, deeply felt the

humiliation of the French arms. A recent ordinance for the reduction of all officers not immediately in employ, to half-pay, combined with the recall of the Swiss guards to the capital, together with the exclusion of the old Imperial guard from Paris, swelled the tide of discontent to an alarming height. To add to such stimulants, already too strong, a religious ceremony, calculated to revive a recollection of the errors and crimes of the revolution, and by no means adapted to the enlightened spirit of the times, was performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. On the 18th the remains of the bodies of the king and queen were taken up from the cemetery of the Magdalene, where they had lain two and twenty years. They were then enclosed in a large box, which was fastened and sealed with the signet of the arms of France, and carried into a chamber, in order that the ecclesiastics might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time finally fixed for the placing them in leaden coffins, and for carrying them to the royal church of St. Denis, where they were finally entombed. The people now not only imagined that they should be compelled to pay respect to all the ancient rites and prejudices in religion, but that it was intended to restore the whole circle of feudal tenures and services, especially as the theatres of Paris had been ordered to be shut on the day of the reinterment of the royal corpses, and a service commemorative of the death of Louis XVI. then considered as a martyr, introduced into the French Liturgy. To add to this aggravation, many persons from factious motives were busy in disseminating reports of designs on the part of government, to restore tithes, and invalidate the purchase of national property.

The arrival of Napoleon at Elba has been noticed in the preceding chapter; there his ever active mind was immediately applied to completing the fortification of his capi-

tal, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural and mineralogical resources of the island. One of his attendants observed, "his days passed in the most pleasing occupations, all his hours were filled up." In the morning he shut himself up in his library. He often rose before the sun, and employed himself several hours in study; about eight o'clock he visited the works he had projected, and spent a considerable time amongst his workmen. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he repaired daily to his chateau at St. Martin, and there, as in the city, he was occupied with the interior management of his house, and required an exact account of every thing, entering into the smallest details of rural and domestic economy. Often after breakfast, he reviewed his little army, required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed; after the review he mounted his horse, generally attended by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouot, and in his excursions often gave audience to those who met him. At dinner, all who were admitted to his table were treated with kindness and cordiality; as he had acquired the secret of enjoying the most intimate and friendly society, without surrendering any part of his dignity. The evenings were usually dedicated to family parties.

When the Emperor received the visits of strangers, which often happened, he entered freely into conversation. Frequently he spoke of his last campaign, of his views and hopes, the defection of his marshals, the capture of Paris, and his abdication, with great earnestness, exhibiting in rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, indignation, and no small share of self-estimation.

However, when the first impressions of novelty were effaced, Bonaparte's mind gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui*. He grew corpulent, took less exercise, and more sleep. But his knowledge of the dis-

cussions of the congress of Vienna, with respect to his future disposal, and the treatment of the Empress and his son, soon roused him from this state. Hitherto he had evinced a decided preference for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; but having received a visit from some of his family and friends, he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British resident, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times he would wander on the shore with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal and agitated step. The increasing discontents of the French people had now come to his knowledge; the wheel of vicissitudes was again in motion, and the mind of Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in his conduct, and the frequent intercourse which he had opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of the Continent, was not concealed from the principal governments of Europe. A corvette had also been assigned to him, to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruizer of any nation had any right to violate his flag. In fact, Colonel Sir Neil Campbell had not any authority for seizing or detaining Bonaparte, if he thought proper to quit the island. His device, the *violet*, the secret symbol by which his friends denoted him, and knew each other, was extended on the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the lake of Geneva. Rings of a violet colour, with the device *Elle reparatrai au printems*—"It will re-appear in the spring," became fashionable. Females wore violet-coloured silks, and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings; and the mutual question when persons met, was generally, *Aimez vous la violette?*—"Are you fond of the violet?" to

which the answer of a confederate was, *Eh bien*—"Ah! well."

In the midst of this peril, the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Tuileries, and to disregard the warning voice so often sounded in their ears. Early in January, offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Bonaparte; but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with neglect. Posterity will scarcely credit the assertion, that after the return of Napoleon, there were found in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquiou, several successive communications from the Comte de Bontheliers, prefect of the department of the Var, unread and unopened. The early part of these communications, dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent arrival at, and the departure of various persons from Elba. At Vienna also, the conduct of the illustrious exile had become the subject of correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand; and it certainly was in agitation to remove Napoleon to a situation more remote from his family and his friends, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the grand catastrophe.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprise now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast with those made by the same personage some years before for the invasion of England. For the army that was now to invade France, one day's notice was all that was deemed necessary; instead of two hundred thousand men, here were considerably less than one thousand; the flotilla on board which they were embarked, consisted of the Inconstant, of 26 guns, L'Etoile and La Caroline bombardes, and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one in the afternoon; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th

of February the expedition, with the Emperor and his staff on board the Inconstant, sailed from Porto Ferrajo at the signal of a single gun. Every thing had been for some time in motion; crowds of old men, women and children, eagerly rushed to the shore, and thronged round the faithful companions of Napoleon, contending with each other for the honour of touching them, seeing, and embracing them for the last time.

The French rushed into their boats, martial music struck up, and the flotilla sailed majestically from the shore amid the shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* Napoleon, when he set his foot on board the vessel, was calm and serene, only exclaiming with Cæsar, "the die is cast!" Count Bertrand's eyes sparkled with hope and joy: Drouot and Gorgaud were pensive and serious. The old grenadiers resumed their martial aspect; and Napoleon chatted and joked with them incessantly. All were burning to know their destination; but none dared to ask the question: at length Napoleon broke silence: "Grenadiers," said he, "we are going to France; we are going to Paris." At these words every countenance expanded. An English sloop of war under Captain Campbell, which seemed to have the charge of watching the Island of Elba, at the moment of embarkation was at Leghorn; however, several vessels were in sight, and excited some apprehensions. These were soon increased by a calm, and at daybreak the flotilla was still between the islands of Elba and Caprea, having advanced no more than six leagues. About now the wind freshened a little, and at four o'clock they were off Leghorn. A frigate and a man of war brig were still in sight, and the latter was coming down upon th Imperial flotilla, right before the wind. The Emperor ordered the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps and go below. At six o'clock the French brig Le Zephir passed alongside the Inconstant, and the captain inquired after the Emperor, when he was answered by

Napoleon himself, that the Emperor was extremely well. The other brig and the Zephir now steered different courses, without the least suspicion of the valuable prize which they had suffered to escape. In the night of the 27th, the wind continued to freshen, and at day-break a seventy-four gun ship was descried steering for Fiorenza, or Sardinia, but it was soon perceived that she took no notice of the flotilla.

Before Napoleon had left Elba he had prepared two proclamations; one addressed to the French people, the other to the army. They were couched in his usual animated style, and dated Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815.

In his address to the people, he reminded them that the defection of the Duke of Castiglione had last year given up Lyons to the Austrians, instead of taking the left flank of the enemy in the rear, which then threatened Paris. He also reminded them of the victories of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, Montereau, Craone, Rheims, Arcy-sur-Aube, St. Dizier, &c., and of the position he had taken in the rear of the enemy's army, calling it off from its magazines, parks of reserve and convoys, when the treachery of the Duke of Ragusa (Marmont) gave up the capital, and disorganized the army.

"I have," said he, "crossed the seas amid perils of every kind, to resume my rights, which are also yours;" adding, "there is no nation that has not possessed the right of withdrawing, and that has not withdrawn itself from the disgrace of obeying a prince imposed upon it by an enemy temporarily victorious."

On the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they entered the Gulf of Juan. At five the Emperor landed, and took up his quarters for the night in a field surrounded with olives. "This," Napoleon exclaimed, "is a happy omen: may it be realized!" Among a few peasants that appeared, was one who had formerly served under Napoleon, and knowing him, would not quit him.

"See," said the Emperor to Bertrand, "we have got a reinforcement already." He spent the evening chatting and laughing familiarly with his guards.

Five-and-twenty men who had been sent forward to Antibes, to sound the garrison, under the pretext that they were deserters from Elba, behaved so imprudently, that the French commandant of the garrison ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and detained them as prisoners. Napoleon finding they did not return, dispatched an officer to the walls of Antibes, to harangue the soldiers; but he found the gates of the town and the harbour both closed, and that it was not possible to see General Corsin, or to speak to the soldiers. Napoleon, though a little disconcerted at this event, began his march at eleven at night, with four small pieces of artillery in his train. He proceeded to Cannes, thence to Grasses, and in the evening of the 2d arrived at the village of Cerenon. On the 3d he slept at Bareme, and at Digne on the 4th. The peasants blessed his return; but when they saw his little troop, they looked on him with pity, and very little hope.

On the 5th he slept at Gap, and here first printed his proclamations, which were distributed with the rapidity of lightning.

In these proclamations he styled himself Emperor, as he knew that any other title would only weaken his authority. On the 6th, at two in the afternoon, he left Gap, and the whole city went to see him set off. At St. Bonnel, the inhabitants proposed sounding the alarm-bell to collect the neighbouring villagers, and accompany him in a body, but Napoleon declined the offer: on the same night he slept at Gorp. At Sisteron, the people were willing to furnish more provisions than were demanded; and when the battalion of Elba appeared, they offered it a tri-coloured flag. Three leagues from Gorp the Emperor found a battalion of the fifth regiment, a company of sappers, &c., in all, seven or eight hundred men, opposed

to him. He sent Raoul to parley with them; they would not hear him. Napoleon then alighting from his horse, marched strait to the detachment, followed by his guard, with arms secured: "What, my friends," said he to them, "do you not know me? I am your Emperor; if there be a soldier among you who is willing to kill his General, his Emperor, he may do it: here I am," and he placed his hand upon his breast. "Long live the Emperor," was the answer, in an unanimous shout.

It seems a division of royalists continued to cover Grenoble, which the soldiers who had now joined Bonaparte being anxious to march against, their request was granted. Before they had reached Vizille the crowd of inhabitants increased every instant; but between this place and Grenoble an adjutant-major came to announce that Colonel Labedoyere had separated from the troops at Grenoble, and was hastening with his regiment to the Emperor.

Soon after loud shouts were heard at a distance; the soldiers, when they approached, being impatient to join, broke their ranks, and nothing was heard but "The guard for ever! the seventh for ever!" Napoleon thus seeing his forces and the public spirit increasing every step, resolved to enter Grenoble that very evening, when, before he reached the city, a young merchant, an officer of the national guard, offered his services and a hundred thousand francs. Further on he was joined by a party of officers, by whom he learned that General Marchand and the prefect of Grenoble had declared against him, drawn the troops into the town, and closed the gates; and that the ramparts were covered by the third regiment of engineers, composed of two thousand sappers, all veterans, covered with honourable scars; by the fourth artillery of the line, some battalions of the fifth, and hussars of the fourth. Napoleon, however, and his party, with their arms reversed, and marching with joyful irregu-

larity, approached the walls singing. Nothing was heard but Grenoble for ever! France for ever! The garrison, the national guard, and the town's-people spread over the ramparts, beheld at first with surprise and emotion these transports of joy and attachment; and it was not long before they partook of them: the besiegers and the besieged uttered at once the rallying words, "Long live the Emperor!" The people and the soldiers rushed to the gates, which were in an instant beaten down, and Napoleon surrounded, thronged by an idolizing crowd, made his triumphant entry into Grenoble. Soon after the people came and brought him the fragments of the gates, with trumpets sounding, and said, "for want of the keys of the good town of Grenoble, here are the gates for you." Here Napoleon questioned young Labedoyere on the state of Paris, and of France in general. Full of the noblest sentiments, the frankness with which he expressed himself sometimes staggered Napoleon: "Sire," he said, "the French will do every thing for your majesty, but then your majesty must do every thing for them: *no more ambition, no more despotism: we are determined to be free and happy*. It is necessary, Sire, to renounce that system of conquest and power which occasioned the misfortunes of France and of yourself." Napoleon promised every thing, if he should succeed.

Proclamations, &c. printed at Grenoble, were diffused in every direction, and couriers dispatched to announce Napoleon's entrance into that city, and his prospects of success. Here he reviewed the garrison of six thousand men, which afterwards set out on its march to Lyons. The Empress and Prince Joseph Bonaparte were written to from Grenoble, and it was carefully made known to the people, that Marie Louise and her son were coming to join the Emperor.

The news of the Emperor's landing did not reach Paris till the 5th of March, at night. It transpired on the 6th,

and on the 7th a royal proclamation appeared in the Moniteur, convoking the chambers immediately. A decree was also issued, placing Napoleon and all who should join him, out of the protection of the law. On the 8th the Moniteur announced that Bonaparte had landed with eleven hundred men, most of whom had deserted him; that he was wandering in the mountains, with only a few attendants; that he had been refused provisions, was in want of every thing, and must soon give himself up to his pursuers. All manner of falsehoods and empty boasts were propagated among the royalists; and on the 11th of March an officer in the king's household appeared in the balcony of the Tuileries, and waving his hat, announced that the king had just received an official account that the Duke of Orleans, at the head of twenty thousand of the national guard of Lyons, had attacked Bonaparte and completely beaten him. On the 12th this victory was contradicted, and a decree that followed for assembling a new army in front of Paris, and a call upon the three millions of national guards to take up arms, sufficiently indicated the danger apprehended by the king and his friends. In fine, the defection of Marshal Ney completely removed the veil of deception. The king again swore to maintain the charter; but in the course of a few days he left Paris for Ghent, and Bonaparte and his troops made another triumphant entry.

In the interim, when Napoleon approached the city of Lyons, he found the Count D'Artois with Marshal Macdonald, determined, as he was told, to defend the place; however, as at Grenoble, he was received with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" by the immense population as well as by the troops. The Count D'Artois fancied he could gain the military by the distribution of money; but they were deaf to his words, entreaties and promises. Passing before the thirteenth regiment of dragoons, he said to one of them, decorated with three

chevrons and with scars, "Come, comrade, shout, Long live the king!" "No, Sir, no soldier will fight against his father. I can only answer you by saying, Long live the Emperor!" Confused and in despair, the count exclaimed, "All is lost!" Marshal Macdonald, who was well known to the soldiers, did restrain them for a few moments; but moved, seduced, borne away by the incitements of the people and Bonaparte's hussars, they rushed to the barricades and burst them, and were quickly in the arms and in the ranks of the soldiers of Napoleon. At five in the evening the whole garrison joined him; at six, the Imperial army took possession of the city; and at seven, Napoleon made his solemn entry, proceeding alone before his troops, but preceded and followed by an immense crowd, expressing by incessant acclamations, the intoxication, the happiness and pride they felt at seeing him again. He alighted at the archbishop's palace, which, with his person, he entrusted to the national guard. He rejected the services of the horse guards, assigning as his reason, their ill behaviour to the Count D'Artois. This corps, chiefly composed of nobles, after having sworn they would die for the count, Napoleon was informed, had deserted him; one excepted, who remained faithfully attached to his escort till the moment he thought the prince out of danger. Napoleon, who loved a noble action, not only commended the conduct of this generous Lyonese, but appointed him a member of the Legion of Honour. At Lyons, Napoleon was joined by his friend and confidant, M. Fleury de Chaboulon, of whom he inquired into the state of the public mind at Paris, and after various individuals: he wished to know what Augereau and Marmont were about. Was told that Ney had boasted of ill treating him before he set out for Elba; of having laid his pistols upon his table: all this was false. "Had Ney dared," said he, "to have failed in respect to me, I would have ordered him

to be shot." He abdicated, he said, not in consequence of their advice, but because his army was out of its senses. The report, he said, that Augereau, when he met him, loaded him with reproaches, was a lie. No one of his generals would have dared to have forgot what was due to him in his presence. Had he known of Augereau's proclamation, he would have forbidden him his presence.

Asking after his sister Hortense, he was told that the house of this queen, though without a throne, was still the resort of men who knew how to appreciate wit and elegance. Napoleon then blamed her for having her son made a duke of St. Leu, and a peer of the Bourbons. Her husband was in the right to oppose it. She herself, he was told, did not demand the title of duchess: it was the Emperor Alexander, who also insisted upon the honours due to the Empress Josephine, being paid her at her decease, which otherwise would not have been granted. He shewed himself the protector of the Empress, the Queen, Prince Eugene, the Duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt), and others, who but for him would have been persecuted or ill-treated. To the question, whether Alexander had seen young Napoleon, the answer was, "Yes, Sire: I have been assured that he embraced him with a tenderness truly paternal."—"He is," said he, "a charming fellow: how have I been deceived."—"What did he mean by that?"—"They say he had been informed that the young prince was ricketty and imbecile."—"Wretches! he is an admirable child; he gives every indication of becoming a distinguished character. He will be an honour to his age. Is it true, that so much was made of Alexander at Paris?"—"Yes, Sire; but for him, the English would have ruined Paris, and the Prussians have set it on fire."—"He acted his part well (with a smile): if I were not Napoleon, perhaps I would be Alexander."

Hitherto the civil government under Louis had remained unchanged; but by several decrees issued by Napoleon from Lyons, on the 13th of March the chambers were dissolved, and a variety of changes made, which at once embraced every part of the civil and military administration of the state. On the same day Napoleon left the city of Lyons, with a high encomium upon its fidelity and attachment.

At Maçon, the next place at which the Emperor slept, he was curiously addressed by one of the corporation, in a long ridiculous harangue. When the orator had finished, Napoleon said to him, "You were much astonished then at hearing of our landing!"—"Yes, faith; when I knew you had landed, I said to every body, the man must be mad; he will never be able to escape."—Napoleon could not help laughing at his simplicity.—"I know," said he, with a sarcastic smile, "that you are all a little inclined to be frightened: you gave me a proof of this last campaign; you should have behaved as the men of Chalons did."—At Maçon Bonaparte received the first official intelligence of what was going on at Paris. He laughed at the emigrants who were to defend the king. "What indeed," said he, "could he do with the old puppets that are about him? One of our grenadiers would knock down a hundred of them with the butt end of his musket."

Approaching Chalons, the Emperor perceived artillery and ammunition waggons, and was surprised. "They were intended," said the people, "to act against you, but we have stopped them on their way, and present them to you."—"That is right, my lads; you have always been good citizens. I have not forgotten that you resisted the enemy forty hours, and valiantly defended the passage of the Saone. Had all the French possessed your courage and patriotism, not a single foreigner would have escaped out of France."

On the 16th the Emperor slept at Avalon; and here an

officer of the staff came and brought Marshal Ney's submission, and his orders of the day, in which he announced to the troops, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever; that liberty was at length triumphant; and that their august Emperor was about to confirm it, and would be at Paris in a few days.

On the 17th the Emperor arrived at Auxerre. He alighted at the prefect's house. On the mantle-piece of the first saloon were the busts of the Empress and of her son, and in the next a whole length portrait of Napoleon in his Imperial robes. At eight o'clock in the evening Ney arrived, and on the following day received a very cordial reception. The Emperor, as soon as he perceived him, said, "Embrace me, my dear marshal; I am glad to see you: I have honoured and esteemed you as the bravest of the brave." The marshal ended his compliments to Napoleon and the profession of his own patriotism, with observing that the Bourbons incessantly sought to humiliate them. "I am," said he, "still enraged, when I think that a marshal of France, like me, was obliged to kneel down before that *** of a Duke of B——— to receive the cross of St. Louis. It could not last; and if you had not come to expel them, we should have driven them out ourselves."

Here the Emperor wrote to the Empress for the third time; and about this period he had heard of so many plots against his life, as to produce a painful impression, and he could not help contrasting this disposition for assassinating him, with the conduct he had observed towards many of his bitterest enemies when they were completely in his power. In advance of Fossard, the king's regiment of dragoons were drawn up in order of battle, for the purpose of joining him. On the road to Fontainebleau the Emperor was informed that two thousand of the body guards were drawn up in the forest to oppose him. Hitherto his only escort had been the car-

riage of General Drouot, which preceded his, and that of M. Fleury De Chaboulon, which closed the march. Some officers, and three or four Polanders, galloped by the side of them. The horses, the postilions, the couriers, were decked with tri-coloured ribbands, and gave the whole party an air of festivity.

At two o'clock on the 20th of March Napoleon set out for Paris; but retarded by the crowd, and the felicitations of the troops and the generals who came to meet him, he could not reach it till nine in the evening. As soon as he alighted, the people rushed on him: a thousand arms bore him up, and carried him along in triumph to the Tuileries. The halls of the palace seemed metamorphosed into a field of battle, where friends and brothers unexpectedly escaped from death, found and embraced one another after victory.

As it cannot but gratify the curiosity of our readers to be made acquainted with the sensations excited in Paris by the return of Napoleon, we have borrowed the following narrative from an eye-witness:

"At this momentous crisis, I resided in the fauxbourg St. Germain, when having business one morning on the other side of the water, I proceeded down the rue du Bac, but stopped in my way at the caffé Guerraz, which I found extremely crowded, while a strange appearance of anxiety was depicted on every countenance, several persons surrounding each individual who had been fortunate enough to get a newspaper, the contents of which the lucky possessor was reading aloud to the by-standers. As the incessant buzz prevented my gaining any information, I inquired of the *limonadiere* at the *comptoir*, the reason of the novel scene I witnessed; upon which she exclaimed with astonishment, 'Good heaven! is it possible, Sir, you should not have heard that the Emperor is landed in France?'—such being indeed the earliest information I had acquired of this wonderful event. All

endeavours to convey a faithful picture of the extraordinary scene that now presented itself would be utterly impossible; people, running in all directions, seemed to have forgotten the avocations for which they left their homes; at every hundred paces you met a group in close conversation; gendarmes, on horse and foot, were proceeding with rapidity in different directions; at the Tuileries, upon 'Change, along the Boulevards, all was hurry and confusion; while many old soldiers, hoping that the Emperor might arrive at the capital in safety, forgot in their eagerness the prudence which should have guided them, and in the exultation of the moment cried out, '*Vive l'Empereur!*' two instances of which I witnessed in front of the Garde Meuble, Place Louis Quinze: these men were forthwith seized, and hurried away to the corps de garde. In short, all regular routine of business was totally at a stand; a species of public fever was the consequence, and the national pulse defied all the efforts of reason to bring it back to a tone of sanity. In this state of mental delirium the day passed over, but with return of night the sensation was, if possible, increased; the caffés were crowded to excess, while the vigilance of the police had redoubled its precautions, by stationing additional gendarmes in every quarter; added to which, the mouchards, under all disguises, mingled with the crowds, to ascertain and report the state of public feeling, as well as to stop all such whose conduct should render them amenable to the existing laws; many arrestations in consequence took place; and actuated by various contending passions, the inhabitants of Paris at length retired to their respective quarters, awaiting with unparalleled anxiety, the arrival of news as to the failure or success of Napoleon's hazardous undertaking.

"At a very early hour the next morning the city was in motion; when it was given out, that if three persons

were seen stationary in the street, they should immediately be dispersed; and by the middle of the day numerous reports were afloat, most of which emanated from government, stating the complete failure of Napoleon, and his imprisonment immediately after landing; others detailed his assassination by the indignant populace; while another related that the soldiery having forced him to surrender, he was shot as a traitor by military law, and his head chopped off in order to be sent to Paris, and there publicly exposed. But as to any real statements, not a word transpired that could be relied upon, all letters from the south being inspected at the post-office; added to this, the diligences were searched on entering Paris, while at the barriers, which were kept closed, guards were stationed, together with the most vigilant emissaries of the police.

"All these precautions, however, were not sufficient to prevent some of the facts attending the landing of Napoleon from gaining the capital: but at last, the government, though reluctantly, announced the same officially, accompanied by an ordinance, declaring him and all who should assist, to be traitors, and ordering the magistrates, army, and people, to proceed against him accordingly.

"While this information was gradually made public in the capital, a thousand reports were spread; and certainly had Napoleon been a cat, his nine lives would not have sufficed him, as I am certain he was killed twenty times, and in as many different ways; however, upon his arrival at Grenoble, which is a large and populous city, the sensation at Paris became very apparent indeed, nor could all the vigilance and rigorous measures of the police, and arrestations hourly made in all directions, prevent the expressions of joy, which arose from a conviction of his ultimate arrival in safety at the capital.

"Those persons who were not witnesses of the fact, can form no idea of the incalculable sale of Napoleon's

proclamation dated from the Gulf of Juan, the first of March, wherein he stated, "Victory will march with a charging pace; the eagle with the national colours will fly from steeple to steeple till she rests upon the towers of Notre Dame;" in short, the above words were in every one's mouth.

"On the evening of the 19th, between ten and eleven at night, I passed through the Place Carrousel in my way home; all was perfectly quiet at the Tuileries, where the only circumstance that struck me was, there being more lights than usual in the windows of the long facade; nothing, however, gave the least indication of the speedy departure of the royal family, which took place about two hours after, of which I was not aware until the following morning at half-past nine, when I observed, on gaining the Pont Royal, that no sentries were stationed there, and that all the windows of the palace were closed, while upon gaining the pedestal of the first colossal figure that intersects the iron railing in the Place Carrousel, I found a large placard posted upon it, whereon appeared the following ludicrous notice, in striking characters, '*Chateau a louer bien meublé, si ce n'est la Baterie de Cuisine que le dernier proprietaire a emporté avec lui.*'—'Palace to let, well furnished, except the kitchen utensils, which have been carried away by the late proprietor.'—And upon the second pedestal, '*Gros et gras cochon a vendre pour un Napoleon*'—'A large fat hog to be sold for one Napoleon.' Such were the first intimations I had respecting the departure of Louis and the family, of which Bonaparte was apprised at Fontainebleau by seven o'clock in the morning, when he immediately set off in a carriage for Paris, attended only by a few hussars and dragoons, driving with great rapidity.

"From the moment that the departure of the Bourbons was made public, the arrival of the Emperor was anxiously expected, and consequently on the 20th of March, at an

early hour, no inconsiderable bustle was manifested throughout Paris. Numerous reports were in circulation as to the barrier by which he would enter, as well as the precise hour when he might be expected. Thus, being misled by contradictory statements, I proceeded in various directions, and about mid-day was attracted, with multitudes to the Boulevard Montmartre, where I arrived in time to see a body of about two thousand troops covered with dirt and dust, who where accompanying several pieces of heavy artillery, every man wearing the tricoloured cockade; while at stated intervals of five minutes, as they advanced, shouts of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' rent the air, in which they were joined by the vociferations of the populace who accompanied them, every soldier having a citizen linked to either arm, demanding tidings concerning the march of Napoleon, and the period of his arrival at the capital. This motley cavalcade was slow in its progress, for at certain periods a halt was made in order to gratify the populace, who insisted upon regaling the companions of the Emperor, for which purpose all the surrounding wine shops were put in a state of requisition, when immense cans were brought out at the expence of the people, who with the troops toasted the Emperor, General Bertrand, the Old Guard, &c. &c. with an enthusiasm which none but an eye-witness can figure to his imagination. In this manner they continued along the Boulevards, turning down the rue de la Paix, and halted in the Place Vendome, where it appears they were to remain till further orders.

"I repaired to the Tuileries, taking my station as near as possible to the entrance of the Pavillon de Flore, when, after waiting hour after hour, during which period the expectant but wearied crowds were many times replaced by fresh comers, at past six o'clock, on a sudden, a distant shout was heard, which continued rapidly increasing, and after a lapse of some minutes a small escort

galloped into the square, and immediately afterwards a carriage rattled along at full speed, containing the object so long and ardently expected by the accompanying multitudes, who with Bertrand and Drouot, made signs to the shouting populace, while numerous general officers surrounded the vehicle uncovered, mingling their affectionate sentiments with those of the crowd.

" On gaining the portal, it was with infinite difficulty that Napoleon could alight, from the dreadful pressure, and no sooner had he gained the bottom of the grand staircase, than he was raised from the ground and borne up the flight of stairs upon the shoulders of the officers, during which operation his constant cry was '*Soyez sage, mes bons enfans! Soyez sage, je vous en prie!*'—Be steady my good children; be steady I entreat you; but to expect subordination at such a moment was fallacious, as the general impulse approximated to madness; in proof of which, a piece of the flap of his coat being either purposely or by accident torn off, was instantly divided into hundres of scraps, for the procurement of each remnant of which, by way of relic, there was as much struggling as if the effort had been made to become possessed of so many ingots of gold.

" On the ensuing morning a report was spread that a national guard, upon duty at the Tuileries, had discovered a secret train, whereto a match was connected, which was made to burn so many hours, and, at the expiration of that time, the portion of the building inhabited by Napoleon would have been destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder. This statement was very current throughout Paris. On the night of the Emperor's arrival, he issued orders to General Excelmans to follow the troop of horse attached to the royal establishment, at the head of 3000 men, and either to take, to dissolve, or to drive it beyond the frontiers. But this military corps was composed of such heterogeneous elements, that it had disbanded of

itself; the remnants being hemmed in and disarmed at Bethune, while another straggling party proceeded as far as Neuve Eglise, where the Count D'Artois issued his orders for its disbanding. All the horses, baggage, and magazines of this troop, fell into the hands of General Excelmans; while the officers and guards, pursued by the country people, threw away their military equipments, and assumed every species of disguise in order to escape the popular indignation.

"I repaired at an early hour in the morning to the Tuileries gardens, where I already found thousands assembled to view Napoleon, who appeared at one of the windows every five minutes, when he was saluted with incessant acclamations, and, if absent from popular observation for any longer period, he was compelled to show himself, as the clamour became so loud and imperious. Upon one of these occasions, Bertrand stood beside him, whom he good-naturedly pulled by the ear, and patted upon the shoulder, exclaiming as he performed the action, '*Le brave ne m' a jamais quitté!*'—'This brave fellow never abandoned me!' As the windows of the apartment were wide open, I could perceive that Napoleon constantly traversed the chamber, accompanied by a female, whom upon inquiry I learned was the queen Hortensia. And another circumstance which I noticed was, that upon his presenting himself to the public in this manner, numerous individuals among the crowd held up petitions, who, upon the Emperor's retiring from the window, were desired by Bertrand, or some other officer, to deliver them to a sentry stationed below at no great distance; when after the lapse of a few minutes Napoleon again appeared with the bundle of papers in his left hand, which he held forth to view, and then placing his right hand upon his heart, he bowed his head two or three times, thereby intimating that it was his intention to peruse every document himself, and not commit the peti-

tions of his subjects to the decision of any other individual."

The very evening of his arrival, Napoleon had a long conversation with the Duke of Otranto and other dignitaries of the state, on the situation of France. Napoleon could not disguise his rapture; "never was he seen so madly gay, or so prodigal of boxes on the ear, his favourite compliment. The fonder he was of a person, the more he gave him, and the harder he struck."

Prince Cambaceres was with reluctance placed at the head of the new administration, as minister of justice. The Prince of Echmuhl was named minister of war. The Duke of Vicenza was made minister of foreign affairs. The Duke of Gaëta and Count Mollien again became ministers of the finances and the treasury; and the Duke of Otranto had the charge of the police.

From no other person than the Duke of Vicenza, did the Emperor hear more bold and useful truths. Even his ministerial correspondence testifies that France and Europe were tired of shedding blood; and that if he did not renounce his system of war, he would be abandoned by the French, and precipitated from the throne by foreigners.

Louis departed from Paris with such precipitation, that he had not time to carry away his private papers. Napoleon found his writing-table covered with mystic authors; but in their room he ordered plans and maps. "The closet of a French monarch," said he, "should resemble the ten of a general, not an oratory."—In the king's family port-folio, a number of letters from the Duchess D'Angouleme was found. Napoleon cast his eye over them, but ordered them to be strictly preserved. Upon a small table which the king had brought from Hartwell, Napoleon took pleasure in writing for a few hours, after which he ordered it to be removed, and the greatest care taken of it. The Merlin's chair used by the king was banished to the back closet. Some person being found

sitting in it as the Emperor passed through unexpectedly, he gave him an angry look, and the chair was removed. One of his valets thinking to please him, ventured to place over his mantel-piece, some insulting characters of the Bourbons: these he disdainfully threw into the fire, and severely enjoined the valet never to be guilty of such impertinence in future.

When upon business, Napoleon rarely sat down, but dictated as he walked about. He did not like to repeat his words; if he was asked for a word not clearly understood, he would answer with impatience, "I said," and then go on. Much of his writing, dictated with too much precipitancy, he would frequently correct the next day, and sometimes obliterate altogether.

By his decree of the 24th of March, the censors, the censorship, and the superintendence of the bookselling trade, were altogether suppressed, though he foresaw that the Royalists would employ it in the cause of the Bourbons, and that the Jacobins would also make use of the press to calumniate his sentiments.

At length, Sunday March 26th was appointed as the day on which the Emperor would give an account of the new constitution intended for France. The answers to the addresses were couched in general terms, and the Emperor did not at that time pledge himself to any specific measures, beyond the copious use of the words, "national glory, liberty, country, &c." However, the example of Paris was soon followed: the public functionaries, the judicial and administrative bodies in the departments, who but a few days before had offered up prayers to Heaven and to the King, for the extermination of the Corsican, the tyrant, and the usurper, were eager to congratulate the *Emperor* on his miraculous return, and to confer on him the titles of hero, deliverer, and legitimate sovereign.

The re-establishment of the Imperial government took

place on all sides with a promptitude and facility truly extraordinary. Marshal Augereau, who had endeavoured, in his proclamation of 1814, to disgrace the Emperor, was eager to make his recantation in a fresh proclamation. The Duke of Belluno and Count Gouvion St. Cyr, after making vain efforts to curb their insurgent troops, were glad to escape from their resentment by flight. The military household of the king had submitted to their discharge, and readily surrendered their horses and arms. In fine, the royal family having evacuated the Imperial territory, the Emperor thought proper to acquaint the army in person with these happy results: "Thanks to the French people and to you," said he, on reviewing the troops on the 27th of March, "the Imperial throne is re-established. It is acknowledged throughout the Empire, and not a single drop of blood has been spilt. The Count de Lille, the Count D'Artois, the Duke de Berri, the Duke of Orleans, have passed our northern frontier, and sought an asylum among foreigners. The tri-coloured flag waves on the towers of Calais, Dunkirk, Lille, Valenciennes Condé, &c."

When Marshal Ney was sent on a mission to the north and east frontiers, he was directed in express words by Napoleon, "to cause the royal family to be respected, and facilitate its procuring the means of quitting France freely and quietly." General Excelmans had similar instructions. Ney, it seems, had been ordered to set off immediately; but he answered he could not go till he was paid some twenty thousand francs that were owing to him. The Emperor swearing, ordered them to be paid. Lecourbe and some other generals also demanded arrears of pay, which made Bonaparte exclaim, "Do these men think that I throw away my money, or will suffer myself to be plundered like Henry IV.? if they are not inclined to fight, let them put on petticoats, and go and take an airing."

The king quitted Lille on the 23d of March. All the

reports of an order for his arrest sent from Paris were utterly void of truth. The Duke of Orleans remained at Lille twenty-four hours after the king's departure. When he parted from his officers, he said to Colonel Athalen, "Go, Sir, resume the national cockade: I take a pride in having worn it, and I wish I could wear it still." The Emperor appeared struck with these words; and soon after ordered that the Duchess of Orleans, whose property had been sequestrated, should receive annually from the public treasury, three hundred thousand francs, as an indemnification. Soon after a considerable sum was granted to the Duchess of Bourbon, and the Duke was allowed to embark at Nantes for England, after having sounded the dispositions of the Vendeans with no prospect of success. He however roamed about the French coast for some time, with a fictitious passport, and under a borrowed name.

Of all the family of the Bourbons, the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme alone persisted in the struggle against Napoleon. The Duchess was at Bordeaux at the time of the landing from Elba. Even after what she had heard had taken place at Paris, she made the national guard at Bordeaux take up arms: she hastened to the barracks to harangue the soldiers, and exerted herself with such spirit and activity, that Napoleon himself was pleased to say, "the Duchess D'Angouleme is the only man in the family." The subsequent efforts of the Duke her husband, in the south of France, were much more formidable, and even gave the Emperor some uneasiness, especially as, besides the inhabitants of the south of France, the Duke had four thousand soldiers in his ranks.

A fresh defection among the troops, and the approach of those detached in pursuit of him by Napoleon, after very little bloodshed, caused the Duke to retire from the scene of action to Valence. The Emperor himself caused the following account of this little war to appear in the

Moniteur: "*Valence*, 7th of April. The Duke of Angouleme has made a sad figure here. The alarm-bell sounded through Dauphiny, and numerous battalions of the national guards departed for Lyons. The Duke, informed of their arrival, set off helter-skelter with the four thousand insurgents who are under his orders. The troops of the line, informed by our citizens that we were engaged in the cause of the nation against a few privileged families, of the people against the nobility, and in short, of the revolution against the counter-revolution, suddenly changed sides. The army, however, reckons three traitors, Generals Ernouf Mornier, and D'Aultainnie." He forgot General Loverdo.

The Duke D'Angouleme, when nearly abandoned by all his followers, surrendered to General Gilly, and having formally disbanded his army, was allowed by Napoleon to embark at Cette, from whence he sailed for Cadiz. His capitulation and departure, soon led to the submission of Marseilles, which had taken part with the Royalists, when the royal standard was hauled down and the tri-coloured flag hoisted in its stead, without any disturbance.

The Emperor named General Grouchy marshal of the empire: but to punish the 10th regiment for the part they took at the passage of the Drome, he decreed that it should wear a piece of crape on its colours, till it had washed in the blood of the enemy, those arms which it had stained with the blood of Frenchmen. This decree, however, was not put into execution. During a review of the Parisian national guard, in consequence of the threats and execrations of some grenadiers of the royal ex-volunteers against the Emperor, he was followed by some of his own grenadiers unknown to him, who were directed not to lose sight of him for a moment. Whilst walking his horse along the ranks, this escort had followed him without his paying any attention to it; but when he set off at a gallop he was aware that his grenadiers were galloping after him,

and he stopped. "What do you do there?" said he to one of them. "Go about your business!" The old grumbler (a nick-name given to his old grenadiers) appeared not much disposed to obey. The Emperor then took hold of him by his hairy cap, and giving it a hearty shake, repeated with a smile, his order to him to retire. "Go all of you away: I am surrounded by none but good Frenchmen: I am as safe with them as with you." The national guards, who heard these words, cried out spontaneously, "Yes, yes, Sire, you are; we would all defend your life at the expence of our own." After a speech addressed to the national guards, an oath was administered to them, by which they swore to sacrifice every thing to the honour and independence of France. Lest any ill blood should remain between his guards and the Parisians, for having surrendered so promptly in 1814, Napoleon caused their meeting at this review to be celebrated by a dinner, to which the Imperial guards invited the national guard and the garrison of Paris.

After Napoleon's return to Paris this year, as he was passing his troops in review at the Place Carousel, he happened to meet Mademoiselle Mars, the celebrated theatrical performer, stationed among the surrounding troops, to view the imposing military spectacle. The Emperor approaching the spot, and addressing her, said, "What do you do here, Mademoiselle Mars? this is certainly no place for you."—"Sire," answered the witty and animated daughter of Thalia, "I come to behold a *real hero!* I am tired of seeing *mock* ones on the stage."

About this period Napoleon sent another letter to the Empress Marie Louise. The Emperor of Austria ordered it to be delivered into his hands, and contented himself with informing his daughter, that he had received news of her husband, and that he was well. Neither Napoleon or his ministers neglected any means that could assure the foreign sovereigns of his pacific intentions; and in a

letter addressed to them individually and collectively, he gave a solemn and authentic character to the manifestation of these sentiments.

The Duke of Vicenza also had orders personally to express the same sentiments to the foreign ministers, as those with which the Emperor was animated; but the couriers who carried his dispatches were impeded or arrested, and it was evident that the hostile declaration of the Congress at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, was acted upon already. In this declaration they charged Bonaparte with infringing the Convention he had entered into on the 30th of March, 1814, which settled him in the Island of Elba, by re-appearing in France with the design of disturbing and subverting it. The powers declared in consequence, that Napoleon Bonaparte had thrown himself out of all the relations of civil society; that they would employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the general peace from being disturbed anew; that they would be ready to furnish the King of France, or any other government that may be attacked, with the succours necessary to restore the public tranquillity, as soon as they shall be demanded, &c. &c. This was signed by the respective ministers of Austria, Spain, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, &c. and on the part of Great Britain, by Wellington, Clancarty, and Stewart.

Some of the French persuaded themselves that this declaration of Congress would heighten their courage, and more inseparably unite the whole nation in the cause of Napoleon; but M. de Talleyrand had been for some considerable time at Vienna, and his intrigues were more than sufficient to paralize all the exertions of Napoleon and those of his adherents. At the same time the ill-advised interference of Murat, King of Naples, and the hostilities commenced by him in Italy against the Austrians, extinguished every ray of hope which might otherwise have been indulged.

Murat had most egregiously deceived himself: all his consequence was borrowed from Napoleon; personally he enjoyed no weight, no influence in Italy. The Italians could not forgive him for having previously deserted Napoleon in 1814, or for having revealed to Austria the patriotic conspiracy of Milan in 1815.

Napoleon now found that he must struggle alone against all his enemies. The royal government had totally disorganized the army, reduced the regiments one half, and dispersed the soldiers among new battalions; Napoleon having to establish them on their former footing, restored them their glorious surnames of Invincible, Incomparable, Terrible, One to Ten, &c.; but all his means were inadequate to the force and influence against which he had again to contend.

Besides the foreign allies, Napoleon had a more potent enemy in the priests and nobles at home: "These," he observed in a fit of ill-humour, "are playing a deep game. If I were to let the people loose upon them, they would all be devoured in the twinkling of an eye." Added to these, Fouché was at that period a more dangerous enemy than all the rest, and was even protecting several of the royalists in his own house, whom Napoleon had commanded to remove to the distance of thirty leagues from Paris.

The Emperor, by a decree published on the 9th of April, ordered the condemnation and the sequestration of the property of the Prince of Benevente, the Duke of Ragusa, the Duke of Alberg, the Abbé Montesquiou, the Count de Jaucourt, Count de Bournonville, M. Vitrolles, &c. &c. All these people, as members of the provisional government, or agents of the royal party, had only concurred in the subversion of the Imperial government previous to the abdication of Napoleon. When this decree was written and sent to Bertrand to sign, he read it, and returned it, saying, "I will never

sign it: this is not what the Emperor *promised* us; they who advise him to take such measures, are his bitterest enemies." This firm and courageous answer being related to Napoleon, he sent again to the grand marshal; but as the messenger was unable to overcome his repugnance, Count Bertrand, according to his instructions, followed him into the Emperor's closet: "I am astonished," said Napoleon to him in a dry tone, "that you make such difficulties about signing with me. This severity is necessary for the good of the state."—"I do not think so, Sire."—"I do, I tell you, and it is my business alone to judge: I did not ask your advice, but your signature, which is only a matter of form." Bertrand was firm, and replied, "If your majesty choose to reign by the laws, you have no right arbitrarily to pronounce by a simple decree, sentence of death and forfeiture of property against your subjects. If you choose to act as a dictator, and to have no law but your own will, you have no need of the addition of my signature. Your majesty has declared by your proclamations, that you would grant a general amnesty. I countersigned those most cordially, but will not countersign the decree that revokes them."—"But you well know," said Napoleon, "that I always told you I never would pardon Marmont, Talleyrand, and Augereau, and that I promised only to overlook what had passed since my abdication. Besides, all those who are on the list, Augereau excepted, are all out of France. I shall not seek them: I only wish to terrify them." In fine, Bertrand persisted in his refusal to sign this new decree, and it appeared without being countersigned.

The effect produced by this decree was, its being considered as an act of despotism and revenge. The murmurs of the people were echoed even within the walls of the palace; and Labedoyere, at a moment when Napoleon was passing, said loud enough to be heard, "If

the system of proscriptions and sequestrations begin again, all will soon be over."

The Countess Duchetel being asked by Napoleon sometime after, if her husband had executed the order for sequestrating the estates of Talleyrand and company, she answered, "There is no hurry for that." He made no reply, and changed the conversation.

Prince Joseph and Prince Lucien both arrived about this time at Paris, to offer their fortunes and their services. He heard the same patriotic sentiments from them as from Marshal Bertrand, but it was his misfortune not to listen to either. M. Benjamin Constant was also sent for to the Tuileries, where it is said he arrived with repugnance, but quitted the palace an enthusiast, and was the next day nominated counsellor of state. Napoleon, it is probable, allayed the apprehensions of the new counsellor; but his future conduct evinced that his own sentiments had not undergone the least alteration.

About the beginning of May the treachery of Fouché was evident beyond all doubt, though it is said, "of all the ministers of Napoleon, there was not one at the time of his return from Elba, who lavished on him so many protestations of fidelity and devotion to his service, as the Duke of Otranto."

It was through the interception of some of his correspondence with M. de Metternich at Vienna, that Napoleon learned that M. de Metternich had retained "the highest opinion of M. Fouché's merit; that he imagined a man like him could not suppose that Napoleon would maintain himself on the throne; that he was persuaded that he (M. Fouché) had accepted the ministry of police, only to spare France the calamities of a civil and a foreign war; and that under this persuasion, he hoped he would not hesitate to second the efforts the allies were about to make, to get rid of Bonaparte, and re-establish

the Bourbons in France." As to the means of getting rid of Bonaparte, it was said, "there is one, the issue of which cannot be doubtful: this is force; but the allies are unwilling to have recourse to it, unless in the last extremity; and they would have wished that M. Fouché could have found means of delivering France from Bonaparte, without shedding fresh torrents of blood."—Open assassination at that time, the agents of the allies would not hear of. It also transpired, that M. Fouché had on all occasions expressed to a confidential agent employed by M. Metternich, an inveterate hatred of Bonaparte; that even in 1814, he blamed the allies for not having caused him to be confined in some strong fortress; predicting that he would return from the island of Elba to ravage Europe anew.

Napoleon in the meantime having fresh reasons to distrust Fouché, expressed to a confidant, that he was almost certain that Fouché was intriguing both at London and at Ghent, and regretted that he did not dismiss him before he pretended to make a disclosure of the intrigues of Metternich. "At present," said Napoleon, "the opportunity is gone by, and he would every where proclaim me as a suspicious tyrant, who had sacrificed him without any cause." At length the Emperor had not the least doubt of Fouché's treachery; but as he foresaw too the approaching commencement of hostilities, he resolved to wait some more favourable opportunity for getting rid of him. If the victory of Fleurus had not been followed by the disasters of Waterloo, the Emperor's first decree from Brussels would probably have been for displacing the Duke of Otranto.

It is remarkable, that both England and Austria, in Memoirs published on the 25th of April and May 9, 1815, authentically declared, that they had not engaged by the treaty of the 29th of March, to restore Louis XVIII. to

the throne; and that their intentions in pursuing the war, were not to impose on France any particular government whatever.

Instead of the new constitution which Napoleon had promised to the French, he now resolved to confine himself, at least provisionally, to the promulgation of a supplementary act, by way of sanctioning the new guarantees for which he was already pledged to the nation. Besides, he wished to avoid every thing that would favour the appearance of his beginning a new reign: for such, it has been observed, is human weakness, that after Napoleon had ridiculed the pretensions of "*the King of Hartwell,*" he was inclined to persuade himself that his own reign had not been interrupted by his residence in the island of Elba. This supplemeutary, or additional act, gave great offence, and alienated many of Napoleon's best friends, who insisted "that this was more favourable than the charter, or any of the preceding constitutions, to the nobility and their privileges." They disliked the idea of an hereditary and privileged chamber of peers.

The fortification of the capital was the next object of Napoleon's attention, and during this operation he frequently went with a few officers of his household to stimulate the zeal of the workmen. But at the moment when the population of Paris was testifying their attachment to their country and their Emperor, the alarm bell of insurrection again resounded through the plains of La Vendée, where the peasants from Anjou, Poitou, &c. were collected. This rising in La Vendée, in consequence of the death of M. De La Roche Jacqueline, was soon quelled.

Much about this time, as observed in the preceding chapter, the rumour of the defeat and death of Murat, King of Naples, arrived. The Lazaroni having assassinated a few Frenchmen at Naples, the minister of

police repaired to the royal palace with the intent of murdering the queen, the sister of Napoleon. This princess, worthy of the blood that circulated in her veins, was not affrighted by their shouts and threats; she courageously made head against them, and compelled them to return to their obedience. Joachim Murat, who had performed prodigies of valour, considering the slender means he had of opposing the Austrians whom he had unnecessarily provoked, returned in the night of the 19th of March, to Naples. The queen appeared indignant at seeing him. "Madam," said he to her, "I was not able to find death." He departed immediately, to prevent his falling into the hands of the Austrians; but the queen, notwithstanding the dangers that threatened her life, resolved to remain at Naples till her fate and that of the army were decided. When the treaty was signed, she went on board an English vessel, and repaired to Trieste.

But whilst the commencement of hostilities against France was only waiting for the arrival of the Russians, the Parisians, not contented with erecting their intrenchments with their own hands, solicited the honour of defending them; and twenty thousand men, composed of guards, federates of the suburbs, and citizens of all ranks, were formed into battalions for actual service, under the denomination of tiralleurs of the national guard. Unfortunately, however, the arsenals had been plundered in 1814, so that instead of having six hundred thousand muskets, scarcely enough could be found to arm the troops of the line, and the national guards sent to garrison the fortified towns. Here, however, we may observe, that no part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it had always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparations, afforded a greater display of activity than was manifested during the hundred days which formed the duration of his second reign. Amidst all his political pursuits, he was never diverted from his

military preparations. Cannon, muskets, and arms of every description were founded and forged, and issued from the manufactories with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited; new levies were instituted, under the various names of free corps, federées, and volunteers; the whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the spring and the leader.

The Champ de Mai, long delayed by unforeseen circumstances, was celebrated on the 1st of June: the ceremonies were imposing, and the addresses on the part of the Emperor and the electors were in the usual inflated style.

Upon this occasion Napoleon, who wore the Imperial costume, with a hat *à la Henri Quatre*, surcharged by a plume of ostrich feathers, looked remarkably handsome, bowing to the right and left with great complacency, every gesture being perceptible to the observer, as the upper compartments of the carriage wherein he was seated, were of plate glass. From the moment of his setting out, the shouts of applause were renewed at intervals by the concourse of people accompanying the procession; but upon its arrival at the Champ de Mai, where all the regiments of horse and foot were stationed, the acclamations were continued without intermission, producing one incessant roar, (as stunning as the fall of a tremendous cataract), which was really awful and appalling.

On the Emperor mounting the throne, and seating himself, the clamour ceased. The deputies presented their addresses, to which Napoleon replied. When the ceremony of proposing the constitution to the representatives took place, the due performance of which was sworn to by Napoleon, amidst the shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" that literally made the ground tremble beneath the feet;—at

the conclusion of this solemn act, he delivered the following very energetic speech:

"Emperor, consul, soldier, I hold every thing from the people: in prosperity and in adversity; upon the field of battle, and in council; upon the throne as in exile; France has been the unique object, and the constant attendant of my thoughts and actions.

"Like the Athenian king, I sacrificed myself for my people; in the hope of seeing realized the promise given, to preserve the national integrity, the honours, and the rights of France.

"I feel indignant on beholding those sacred institutions, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, disallowed and lost for ever, and the cry of national honour vilified; the vows of the nation have, therefore, restored me to that throne which is so dear to me, from being the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people.

"Frenchmen, while traversing in the midst of public rejoicings, the several provinces of the empire, in order to gain my capital, I had every right to hope for a long peace; for nations are bound by the treaties concluded upon by their respective governments, whatsoever they may be.

"My mind was wholly directed to the means of consolidating our liberty, by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of the people, and I have, therefore, convened the Champ de Mai.

"It was not long before I ascertained that the princes who have disregarded all the principles, checked the opinions, and the dearest interests of so many people, are determined upon war. They meditate the acquisition of the Low Countries; to give for its barriers all our strong places to the north, and to conciliate the differences which still exist between them, by the dismemberment

of Lorraine and Alsace. It was consequently requisite to prepare for war. Notwithstanding this, before I would have recourse to arms, my first anxiety necessarily was to consolidate the nation without delay; and the act which I presented was accepted by the people.

"Frenchmen, when we shall have repulsed these unjust aggressions, and that Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and the independence of twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, passed after the forms required by the constitutional act, will unite the different forms of our constitutions which are scattered at the present moment.

"Frenchmen, you are upon the point of returning to your several departments: proclaim to the citizens the magnitude of existing circumstances! Tell them, that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall stand forth victorious in this mighty struggle of a great people opposed to their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; for that a nation is bereft of every thing on losing her independence. Tell them, that those very monarchs whom I have raised to their thrones, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns; who, at the period of my prosperity, crouched for my alliance, and the protection of the French people, at the present moment direct the thunders of their arms against my person. Did I not perceive that their aims are against the country, I would place at their disposal that existence against which they appear so implacable. But at the same time, tell the citizens, that so long as the French people cherish towards me those sentiments of love, whereof they have afforded me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will prove powerless.

"Frenchmen, my will is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, and my happiness, can

alope exist but with the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

This discourse, pronounced in a strong and impressive voice, produced a lively sensation. The cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" in an instant resounded through the immensity of the Champ de Mai.

Napoleon having sworn upon the Gospel to observe, and to cause to be observed, the constitutions of the empire, ordered the oath of fidelity to be proclaimed by the Arch-chancellor Cambaceres. The people being represented by the electors, this was spontaneously repeated by the latter, by the troops, and the majority of the spectators; the ministers of war, and the marine, at the head of their deputations. The staff officers of the Imperial and the national guards afterwards advanced to take the oath, and receive from the hands of the chief of the state the eagles intended for their acceptance.

Such was the Champ de Mai. Napoleon was far from having united all parties by this grand solemnity. The people were disgusted with theatrical representations and empty declamation. The old revolutionists wished him to abolish the empire, and re-establish the republic. The partisans of the regency would have had him resign the crown to his son; whilst the most liberal partisans maintained, that he ought to have submitted it to the sovereign people, and receive it again from them, or to have consented that they should place it upon the head of some more worthy object. "If," said a writer about this period, "Napoleon had remitted the crown into the hands of the people on the 21st of March, or on the 2d of April this year, the sceptre which he had taken from the Bourbons would have impressed a more heroic character upon the revolution that followed. Possibly it would have disconcerted the foreigners, increased Napoleon's popularity, and have added to his ranks an

hundredfold: but the 1st of June was too late; the additional act had appeared. The results of the scrutiny into the votes by which the additional act was supported, were also strongly censured. The man, it was said, who boasted of having been nominated Emperor by four millions of citizens, could not on this late occasion obtain more than one million two hundred thousand votes, excluding the military, who in reality stood for nothing: so that out of eight millions of French called upon to exercise this elective *franchise,* only one million two hundred thousand had given their acceptation. Besides, eleven departments, an eighth part of France, had not on this occasion given a single vote.

But unhappily for himself, Napoleon could do nothing more at the Champ de Mai, than endeavour to conceal the emptiness of the day under the pomp of a religious and military ceremony. The Emperor was now convinced of the injury he had done himself by his additional act, and in order to regain the good opinion of the public, he repeated to satiety, his determination to collect together those provisions of the constitutional laws that were not yet abrogated, and to form the whole into one sole constitution, that should become the fundamental law of the nation.

M. Carnot, it is asserted, was continually repeating to him, "Sire, do not strive, I conjure you, against public opinion. Your additional act has displeased the nation. Promise that you will modify it, and render it conformable to its wishes. I repeat to you, Sire, that I have never deceived you. Your safety and ours depend on the national will. This is not all, Sire; the French are become a free people. The appellation of *subject,* which you are continually giving them, wounds and humbles them: call them citizens, or your children. Neither suffer your ministers, your marshals, your great officers, to be called *Monseigneur;* there is no Seigneur in a country

where equality forms the basis of the laws; there are none but citizens."

Once, when the ill-humour and discontent of the inhabitants of Paris was the topic, Napoleon asked what they expected he would do after he had accomplished all he wished? "Sire," said some one, "it was wished your majesty should stop your horse."—"Stop my horse!" resumed Napoleon: "that was easily said; my arm was strong enough, it is true, to stop, with a single check, all the horses on the Continent; but I could not bridle the English fleets; and there lay all the mischief. Had not the people sense enough to see all this?"

Soon after the meeting of the Champ de Mai, the Emperor sent Count de Flahaut to Vienna, to negotiate or demand publicly, in the name of nature and the law of nations, the deliverance of the Empress and her son. He set out, but could not be allowed to proceed beyond Stuttgard. Napoleon had previously attempted, by several letters full of feeling and dignity, to move the justice and sensibility of the Emperor of Austria, but in vain, though it appeared he had almost persuaded the French people of the certainty of her return. Offers had been several times made to the Emperor Napoleon, to bring off the Empress and her son, privately, but he never would listen to any thing of the kind.

In fact, every overture, direct or indirect, made to the foreign cabinets, had failed. Talleyrand and Fouché still persisted in their attachment to the Bourbons; and the Princess Hortense had received from the Emperor of Russia this laconic answer: "No peace, no truce with that man; any thing except him."—Alexander, it seems, had been tacitly charged with weakness by Talleyrand and the foreign ministers, who strongly remonstrated with him on the danger of leaving Napoleon on a spot so near France and Italy as Elba, and conjured him not to oppose their compelling Napoleon to choose another place of

retreat. Alexander, faithful to his engagements in 1814, having guaranteed to Napoleon the possession of that island, would not consent to this. But in 1815, it would seem that he wished to repair the error he had committed, and thus from duty rather than animosity, he became the most inveterate enemy of his former friend.

During the month of May, Napoleon having lost all hope of preserving peace, had been meditating upon a plan for the ensuing campaign. Two projects principally engaged his attention—the first was to remain upon the defensive, and by this means to throw the odium of aggression upon the allies. Supposing them to get possession of all the strong places, and to penetrate as far as Lyons or Paris, he would then commence a vigorous and decisive war. Flattering himself that numerous battalions would be continually arriving at Paris, he reckoned that the French force would augment in every quarter, whilst the strength of the allies would diminish. Two hundred and forty thousand men under such a chief as himself, manœuvring on the shores of the Seine and the Marne, under the protection of a vast intrenched camp guarded by sixteen thousand stationary troops, he inferred, must prove victorious against four hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy.

The second plan was, to attack the allies before they could be in readiness to resist him: it would then be necessary to commence the campaign by the 15th of June, beat the two armies, Anglo-Hollandaise and Prusso-Saxon, then in Belgium, before the Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, and Wirtemburg armies could arrive.

Napoleon hesitated a considerable time, as to the plan he should adopt; but as an insurrection in La Vendée necessitated him to detach troops from the army of the north, his force was reduced to an hundred and

twenty thousand men: these considerations induced him to adopt a third plan, viz. to attack on the 15th of June the armies Anglo-Hollandaise and Prusso-Saxon; to separate and beat them, and if he failed, to retire with his army under the walls of Paris. Still he knew that the allies, thus surprised on the 15th of June, would have been in complete readiness by the 1st of July, and that their march upon Paris would be much more rapid after a victory than otherwise; and that the French army was still much inferior to those under Field Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington. But Napoleon also recollected, that in the preceding year, 1814, the French, with forty thousand combatants, had faced the army commanded by the same Blucher, and that under Prince Schwartzenberg, where the two Emperors of Russia and Austria were present with the King of Prussia; that these combined armies, two hundred and forty thousand strong, had been beaten; that at the battle of Montmirail, the corps of Sacken, Yorck, and Kleist, forty thousand in number, had been attacked, beaten, and drove beyond the Marne, by sixteen thousand French, whilst Marshal Blucher with twenty thousand men was held in check by the corps under the Duke of Ragusa, consisting of no more than four thousand men; and that Prince Schwartzenberg's army of an hundred thousand, was restrained by the corps of the Dukes of Reggio and Tarentum, with General Gerard's corps, not exceeding eighteen thousand.

Napoleon having finally determined to attack the Duke of Wellington and the Prussians, nominated the Duke of Dalmatia major-general of the army. This marshal left Paris on the evening of the 2d of June, to visit the garrisons in the north, and to inspect the troops, to whom he issued this order of the day:

" Soldiers! Our institutions have been consecrated by the most august ceremony. The Emperor has received

from the people and the deputations from the different corps of the army, the expressions of the wishes of the whole nation, upon the act added to the constitutions of the empire, which had been submitted to them for their acceptance, and a new oath has united France and the Emperor; thus the destinies of each will be accomplished, and all the efforts of an impious league will not be able to separate the interests of a great nation from the hero whose brilliant triumphs have excited the admiration of all Europe.

"At the moment that the national will has been manifested with such energy, the cries of war are heard; at the moment when France is at peace with all Europe, foreign armies are advancing upon our frontiers. What are the hopes of this new coalition? Would they put France out of the rank of nations? Would they plunge twenty-eight millions of French into slavery? Have they forgotten that the first coalition formed against our independence, tended to our aggrandizement and to our glory? An hundred splendid victories, that our momentary reverses and unfortunate circumstances cannot efface, remind France that a free nation, conducted by a great man, is invincible.

"In France, every man is a soldier when the honour and liberty of the nation is at stake. To-day all the French are united by one common interest. The engagements extorted from us by violence, have been broken by the retreat of the Bourbons from our territory: by the appeal made to foreign armies to replace them upon the throne which they have abandoned; and by the unanimous wish of the nation, which, in resuming the exercise of its rights, has solemnly disavowed every thing that has been done without its participation.

"The French cannot receive the law from a foreigner; even those who are gone to beg a parricidical succour,

will not be long before, like their predecessors, they will find that contempt and infamy follow their paths, and that it is only by returning to our ranks, that they can wash off the opprobrium by which they are covered.

" But a new career of glory is opened to the army; history will consecrate the remembrance of the military exploits which will illustrate the defenders of the country, and the national honour. They say the enemies are numerous—What does this signify? It will be more glorious to conquer them. The conflict in which we are going to engage, is not above the genius of Napoleon, nor above our strength. Do you not perceive that all the departments rival each other in enthusiasm and devotion, in forming, as it were by enchantment, five hundred superb battalions of national guards, which have already doubled our ranks, and who are come to defend our places, and associate with the glory of the army? This is the burst of a generous people, which no power can vanquish, and that posterity will admire. To arms! Very soon the signal will be given: let every one do his duty: from the number of the enemies' phalanxes we shall derive new triumphs. Napoleon guides our steps. Let us combat for the independence of our beautiful country—we are invincible."

CHAP. XXXII.

State of the Chambers—Opposition to the Views of Napoleon—Effect of his Speeches—Reflections—Formation of a Council—Preparations for his departure for the Army — Immoderate desire of speechifying among the Deputies—Report on the moral state of France—Fouché sold to the Bourbons—Error of Napoleon, in employing his former Generals—Treachery discovered in Napoleon's Army — Affairs of Charleroi, Marchiennes, Fleurus, Quatre-Bras, Ligny, and St. Amand—Battle of Waterloo—Instances of individual suffering and devotedness—Proofs of the Treachery of Marshal Grouchy—Disastrous retreat of Bonaparte to Paris—Napoleon's Sentiments on the Battle of Waterloo.

THE approaching opening of the chambers excited much apprehension in the mind of Napoleon; but he could not divest himself of his old prejudices. The remembrance of the former French assemblies haunted his imagination. "He feared," says one of his friends, "that the opposition inherent in representative governments would not be rightly comprehended in France; that it would make a bad impression, and clog the sovereign power!"

At last, tormented by the sudden application of the popular system, and the dispositions which the deputies inspired, he rested all his security on the chamber of peers.

Napoleon hoped that the chamber of deputies would elect his brother Lucien as their president; but consistent with the new tone of independence which the nation had assumed, their choice fell upon M. Lanjuinais, a person by no means agreeable to the Emperor. The

chamber was further displeased at not being furnished with the list of the new peers, which Napoleon purposely kept back, to see if they would elect Lucien as their president. M. Dupin maintained, "that the oath to be taken to the sovereign by the nation, to be valid and legitimate, should not be administered by virtue of a decree that emanated from the will of the prince, but by virtue of a law, which is the will of the nation constitutionally expressed." But though this proposal was rejected, it extorted the confession from Bonaparte, "that he perceived with sorrow, that the deputies were not disposed to act with him, and that they let no opportunity slip of seeking a quarrel. "I will act," said he, "with them as long as I can; but if they think to make of me a King Log, or a second Louis XVI. they are under a mistake. I am not a man to receive the law from counsellors, or to allow my head to be cut off by factionaries."

The law allowed him the privilege of dissolving the chamber; but on the eve of a war this would have been dangerous; he therefore resolved to conceal his vexation and ill-humour as much as possible.

On the 7th of June he opened the chambers, and received the oaths of the peers. His speech made a deep impression on the assembly, and was received with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" In the concluding speech made by Napoleon to the other chamber on the 12th of May, in answer to the president, his voice, naturally emphatic, gave prominence to the masculine thoughts of which it was composed; and when he arrived at this passage, "Let us not imitate the Lower Empire," he accompanied it with such a penetrating look, that made the instigators of discord in the chambers cast down their eyes. The sound part of the representatives approved of the Emperor's answer; the rest considered it as a lecture offensive to their dignity. There are some

men who imagine they may push remonstrance to insult, yet cannot listen to prudent and temperate advice without being offended.

Napoleon, as he had announced, set out to join the army in the night of the 12th of June, and inspected on the way the defensive works carrying on at Soissons and Laon; and on the 13th he arrived at Avesnes. His looks, said one of his retinue, were frequently directed towards Paris. Placed as it were between two fires, he seemed less to fear the enemies he was going to contend with than those he had left behind him. As it was thought the untoward disposition of the chambers would increase daily, it is possible that Napoleon resolved to commence the war, vainly hoping that fortune would favour his arms, and that victory would reconcile him to the deputies, or supply him with the means of reducing them to order.

The government, during his absence, consisted of a council composed of Prince Joseph, president; Prince Lucien; *ministers*—Prince Cambaceres, the Prince of Echmuhl, the Duke of Vicenza, the Duke of Gaëta, the Duke of Decres, the Duke of Otranto, Count Mollien, Count Carnot, and others. Napoleon said to them, "To-night I set off: do your duty: the French army and I will do ours. I recommend to you union, zeal, and energy."

It is evident that Napoleon was as far from being completely satisfied with his ministers as he was with the deputies; for when the Duke of Vicenza solicited the favour of attending him to the army, "If I do not leave *you* at Paris," said he, "on whom can I depend?"

The day after his departure the ministers of the interior and for foreign affairs repaired to the chamber of peers, and M. Carnot laid before them the situation of the Emperor and the empire. He dwelt much upon the improvements which the Emperor had introduced into every branch of the state, and the increase of the army in

particular, concluding that eight hundred and fifty thousand Frenchmen would defend the independence, the liberty, and the honour of the country, exclusive of the sedentary national guards. These representations were followed by two reports presented to the peers and to the chamber of deputies. Instead of impressing upon the representatives the necessity of frankly joining the Emperor, and as one of them observed, "of not entering into a contest with government at a moment when the blood of Frenchmen was about to be shed," they proposed discussions upon the impropriety of the connexion of ministers of state with the chamber, and upon the urgency of appointing a committee to alter the supplementary, or additional act. An immoderate desire of speechifying, and of making laws, seemed to have seized the greater number of the deputies; as if a state could be saved by empty words, whilst the enemy was at the gates!

On the 17th a new report made to the Emperor by the minister of police, on the moral state of France, was communicated to the two chambers. "Sire," said this minister, "it is my duty to tell you the whole truth. Our enemies are encouraged by instruments without and supporters within." Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulouse, and the left bank of the Loire, Caen, and other places, were mentioned as highly disaffected. Fouché, who made this traitorous report, was not believed by many of the deputies. They imagined it had been drawn up by order of the Emperor, with the intention of alarming them, and rendering them more docile to his will; but Fouché had distorted facts, with the design of giving encouragement to the Bourbons, to whom he was sold, and of intimidating, cooling, and dividing the partisans of Napoleon. The chamber, however, continued their discussions on its favourite subject, the additional act.

The whole army was superb and full of ardour: but

the Emperor, a slave to his ancient habitudes, committed the fault of replacing it under the command of its former chiefs. They were not now the same men who, full of youth and ambition, were generously prodigal of their lives to acquire rank and fame; but enriched by the spoils of the enemy, or by Napoleon's bounty, they seemed to trust more to the fortune of their leader than to their own exertions.

At this momentous period, when the French army with Napoleon at their head were once more upon the point of crossing the Rubicon, the practice of issuing a proclamation was not omitted. This was dated Avesnes, June 14, and marked with the rapidity, the abruptness, and the greatness of mind peculiar to the Emperor: each division and regiment being duly drawn up, it was read at the head of each as follows:

"Soldiers! Behold the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which has twice decided the destinies of Europe. It was then as at Austerlitz, as at Wagram. We gave our easy faith to the protestations and oaths of those princes to whom we left our thrones. These same princes having leagued among themselves, are now in arms against the independence of France. Let us march to give them the meeting; both they and we are still the same. Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, we were one against three; and at Montmirail, one against six.

"As many of you as have been prisoners amongst the English, relate to your comrades what you suffered in their prisons and hulks.

"The Saxons, the Belgians, and Hanoverians, and soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that unhappy force which compels to obey those princes who are the enemies of justice and liberty. They know the insatiable cupidity of this coalition. They know that these princes have already devoured twelve millions of

Poles, a million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians; and thus all the German states of the second order are their next destined prey. Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power; if they enter France they will find in it only their grave.

"Soldiers! we have marches to make, battles to give, and dangers to incur; but with constancy, discipline, and a resolution to conquer, the victory will be ours, and the glory and liberty of France will be re-conquered. For all Frenchmen who have a heart, the moment is come to conquer or die."

In the evening it appeared from the roll-call, that the force of the army amounted to an hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

On the same night the army, the movements of which the Emperor had taken care to conceal, commenced its march; there was no appearance that the enemy had foreseen this event, and every thing promised fair, when he was informed that General Bourmont, Colonels Clouet and Villoutreys, and two other officers, had just gone over to the enemy. Napoleon afterwards speaking to Marshal Ney upon this subject, said, "Ah, well! your protége Bourmont, on whose account you reproached me so much, and who I should never have placed any confidence in, if it had not been for you, is gone over to the enemy." The marshal endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying that this general appeared to be so devoted to the cause, that he would have answered for him as for himself. Napoleon interrupted him—"Go, Monsieur Marshal," said he; "those who are *blues* will remain blues; those who are *whites* will still continue to be whites.'

A drum-major, who deserted from the French ranks some hours before General Bourmont and his two com-

BATTLES of WATERLOO and LIGNY.

fought 16th & 18th June 1815.

panions, was conducted under an escort to the head-quarters of Field-marshal Blucher at Namur, where he gave the first intelligence of Napoleon's intended attack. This was confirmed by M. M. de Bourmont, Clouet, and Villoutreys, who added details with which the drum-major could not possibly be acquainted. Thus treachery, or disaffection to Napoleon, was not confined to Paris.

To obviate the ill effects which these desertions were calculated to produce, Napoleon immediately made such alterations as he thought necessary, and then continued his march.

On the 15th he was at Jumiguan on the Eure: at three his army moved in three columns, suddenly debouching at Beaumont, Maubege, and Philippeville. Having arrived at the Sambre, the Prussians that disputed the passage were driven to Charleroi, where the inhabitants saluted the French with continued shouts of, "France for ever! Long live the Emperor!" During this time the second corps passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, where the Prussians were again beaten and dispersed, and eventually retired to the heights of Fleurus, where they were broken and annihilated: but they, sold the victory dear.

The affairs of Quatre-Bras and Ligny soon followed. Marshal Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny would be highly advantageous to the French, commenced a battle, one of the most obstinate mentioned in history. For five hours two hundred pieces of cannon deluged the field with slaughter. All this time the French and Prussians, alternately the vanquished and the victors, disputed this ensanguined post hand to hand, which was taken and retaken seven times in succession. The smoking ruins of Ligny and St. Amand were heaped with the dead and dying; the ravine before Ligny resembled a river of blood, on which carcasses were floating. At

Quatre-Bras there was a similar spectacle: a hollow way that skirted the wood, was filled up with the bleeding corpses of the brave Scotch and French cuirassiers. The Imperial guard fought with shouts of the Emperor for ever! No quarter! General Gerard's corps having expended all their ammunition, called out for more cartridges and more Prussians. The loss of the Prussians was estimated at 25,000 men, occasioned by the tremendous fire of the French artillery. Blucher, unhorsed by the cuirassiers, escaped them only by a miracle. The Prince of Brunswick himself, and a number of officers of distinction, were killed. The French lost near 5000 men and several generals. Prince Jerome, previously wounded at the passage of the Sambre, had his hand slightly grazed by a musket-shot. He remained constantly at the head of his division.

At Ligny the French General Gerard was mortally wounded, and they lost six thousand five hundred men. The victory of Ligny did not quite satisfy the Emperor: he said, "If Marshal Ney had attacked the English with all his forces, he would have crushed them, and he might have come to have given the Prussians the finishing blow; and besides, if he had not prevented the movement of Count Erlon, the intervention of the first corps would have shortened the resistance of Blucher." However, the English army was separated from the Prussians; and Napoleon, without losing time, was for attacking the English at day-break; but so many objections were made to his plan, that he consented to let the army repose.

On the 17th he divided his troops into two columns; one of sixty-five thousand men, led by Napoleon, followed the English. The light artillery, the lancers of General Colbert and Colonel Sourd, kept close after them to the entrance of the forest of Soignes, where the

Duke of Wellington took up his position. The other, thirty-six thousand strong, under Marshal Grouchy, was detached to observe and pursue the Prussians.

The night of the 17th was dreadful, and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. The violent and incessant rain did not allow of a moment's rest to the army. The bad state of the roads hindered the arrival of provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food. The Emperor thought that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, would not venture to maintain his position in the forest, and next morning was surprised that the English had not quitted their positions, but on the contrary, were disposed to accept battle. He made several generals reconnoitre the English, and from one of them he learned, that they were defended "by an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry." Napoleon immediately ordered General Grouchy to push the Prussians briskly, and to approach the main army as speedily as possible, as he was probably about to engage in a grand battle. In the meanwhile Blucher had escaped Grouchy, and opened a communication with Wellington through Ohaim. The French officer who carried the Emperor's letter to Grouchy, thought proper to take an immense circuit. In the interval, the officers consulted by the Emperor were of different sentiments. Some of the most brave, but more prudent than others, remonstrated that the ground was deluged by rain; that the troops, the cavalry in particular, could not manœuvre, whilst the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting the French on firm ground in its intrenchments, and that it would be better to endeavour to turn these. The Emperor having heard all, determined to attack the English in front.

During the preceding night the Emperor had given all the necessary orders for the battle of the next day, although many things indicated that it would not take

place. During the four days that hostilities had commenced, by a brilliant victory he had surprised and separated the two armies, the English and the Prussians. This was much for his glory, but not enough for the situation in which he was placed. Had it not been for three hours delay which his left under Marshal Ney had occasioned in the afternoon of the 17th, he would have attacked Wellington and the allies on that day, which might have crowned the success of the campaign. As it was, the Emperor went out on foot about one in the morning, accompanied by his grand marshal. He visited the whole line of main guards. The forest of Soignes, occupied by the British, appeared like one continued blaze: the horizon between that spot and the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte, was brightened with the fires of numerous bivouacks; the most profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapped in sleep, owing to the fatigues it had undergone on the four preceding days. Arriving near the wood of Hougoumont, he heard the noise of a column in march, which soon ceased, and the rain fell in torrents. Several officers sent to reconnoitre, and others who returned to head-quarters at half-past three, confirmed the opinion that the British had made no movement. At four o'clock the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which went to take a position on the left, at the village of Ohaim. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiments, reported that their army were preparing for battle, and that no retrograde movement had taken place; that Belgium prayed for the success of the Emperor, while the English and the Prussians were equally unpopular there.

The French troops bivouacked in the midst of a deep mud, and the officers thought it impossible to give battle on the following day; the grounds were so moistened, that the artillery and the cavalry could not possibly

manœuvre in them, and it would require twelve hours of fine weather to dry them. The dawn having begun to appear, the Emperor returned to his head-quarters, full of satisfaction at the great fault committed by Wellington; though very apprehensive that the bad weather would prevent him from profiting by it. But the atmosphere became clearer: at five o'clock some feeble rays of the sun appeared. The forces shewn by the enemy were estimated differently; but the French officers most accustomed to these calculations, considered them, including the corps of flankers, to amount to ninety thousand men, which agreed with the general accounts that were given. The French army was now only sixty-nine thousand strong, but still victory appeared to be certain. These sixty-nine thousand men were good troops; whereas in the enemy's army, the English only, amounting to forty thousand at most, could be reckoned as such.

At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was served up: to this many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to ours by nearly a fourth; there are, notwithstanding, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us."—"Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the Duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your Majesty; but I come to announce that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes."—"You have seen badly," replied the Emperor; "it is too late: he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step: he has thrown the dice—they are now for us." At this moment some officers of artillery, who had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, though with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished in another hour. The Emperor mounted immediately, and went to the skirmishers opposite La Haye Sainte; again reconnoitred the enemy's

line, and directed Haxo, the general of engineers, a confidential officer, to approach it nearer, in order to ascertain whether any redoubts were thrown up, or intrenchments made; and who soon returned, saying he had not observed the least trace of any fortifications. After some moments' reflection, the Emperor dictated the order of battle, which was taken down by two generals seated on the ground. The aides-de-camp took it to the different corps already under arms. The army now moved forward, marching in eleven columns, which formed with so much precision, that no confusion whatever arose. The Emperor now went through the ranks: it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiers; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets on their sabres. Meanwhile the Emperor gave his last orders, and proceeded at the head of his guard to the summit of the six W 's, on the heights of Rossomme. From this spot he had a complete view of the two armies, the prospect extending far to the right and left of the field of battle. Marshal Ney obtained the honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre. He sent one of his aides-de-camp to say that every thing was ready. Before giving his final orders, the Emperor wished to cast another glance over the whole, and perceived in the direction of St. Lambert a dark mass, which appeared to him like troops. Upon this he asked the adjutant-general what he saw near St. Lambert? "I think I see five or six thousand men," replied the general. "It is probably Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were now fixed in that direction. The weather was rather foggy. Some maintained there were no troops, but merely trees which were perceived; while others said, columns were in position there. This state of uncertainty was ended by the order for three thousand light cavalry to effect a junction, if they belonged to Marshal

Grouchy, or to keep them in check if they were enemies. In a quarter of an hour a Prussian black hussar was brought in, who was the bearer of a letter, was very intelligent, and gave all the information required. It then appeared that the column at St. Lambert was the advanced guard of the Prussian General Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand men. The Duke of Dalmatia immediately dispatched the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar, to Marshal Grouchy, to whom he reiterated the order to march without delay on St. Lambert, and to take General Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock: the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues to reach Marshal Grouchy, and he promised to be with that officer in an hour. A short time after General Daumont sent to say, that some well-mounted scouts that preceded him, had met patroles of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambert; and that he had sent chosen patroles in various directions to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, for the purpose of conveying orders and reports. The Emperor immediately ordered Count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, and to support the light cavalry towards St. Lambert; choosing a good intermediate position, where he might with ten thousand men check thirty thousand Prussians if necessary, or to attack them briskly the moment he should hear the first cannon-shots of the troops which it was supposed Marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. These events caused some change in the Emperor's first plan of the battle: he was already deprived of ten thousand men, whom he was thus obliged to send against General Bulow. He no longer had any more than fifty-nine thousand men against ninety thousand of the enemy, who had just been augmented by thirty thousand men, and already ranged in the field of battle. "We had ninety chances for us in the morning," said he to the Duke of Dalmatia—"the arrival of Bulow makes

us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty; and if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault he has committed, by amusing himself at Gembloux, the victory will be thereby the more decisive; for the corps of Bulow must in that case be entirely lost."

It was now noon; the skirmishers were engaged on all the line; but there was no severe action, except on the left in the wood, and at the castle of Hougoumont. The Emperor sent an order to Marshal Ney to commence the fire of his batteries; take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, occupy the village, and thus intercept all communication between the enemy and Bulow's corps. Eighty guns soon made an immense havock over all the left of the English line: one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case-shot. In the meanwhile the Emperor perceived that the English general was preparing a grand charge of cavalry on the left, and he galloped to the spot; the charge had been made, and repulsed a column of infantry which advanced on the low ground, taken two eagles, and disorganized seven pieces of cannon. A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers being ordered to charge the enemy's horse, they were broken in their turn, and the greatest part of them remained on the field; the guns were retaken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of infantry and cavalry followed; and after three hours fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry. The fifth and sixth English divisions were destroyed. General Picton remained dead on the field. During this combat the Emperor rode through the line of the cuirassiers and that of the guard, in the middle of the discharges of the enemy's musketry and artillery: the brave General Devaux was killed by his side: General Lallemand succeeded him, and was wounded soon after.

Disorder at this time began to prevail in the English

army: the baggage, waggon-train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest, hastened to effect their retreat: all the English, Belgians, and Germans who had been sabred by the cavalry, precipitated themselves on Brussels. It was now four o'clock, and victory might then have decided for Napoleon, had not General Bulow's corps effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock the Emperor learned from Gembloux, that Marshal Grouchy, instead of setting out from that place at dawn of day, had not quitted his camp there at ten o'clock.

As the Prussians now approached, the fire from their field-pieces fell on the causeway in front and rear of La Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was standing with his guard; and the Prussian case-shot ploughed up the ground. The Emperor then ordered General Duhesme to advance with the young guard; in a quarter of an hour their formidable artillery commenced its fire, and soon acquired the superiority; undulations were observed in the Prussian lines; but they still continued outflanking the French right, till opposed by Lieut.-General Morand with four battalions of the old guard, and sixteen pieces of cannon. General Bulow was repulsed, and by degrees his whole line fell back. It was now seven o'clock.

Two hours had elapsed since the Count Saint d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye Sainte, outflanked all the English left, and the right of General Bulow. The English cavalry being repulsed by the cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard, abandoned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mount St. Jean, which the whole of their left had occupied, and were deprived of all means of retreat on the right. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field, upon which the Emperor said, "It is too soon by an hour; but we must support what is done." He then

sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellerman, who were on the left, to move briskly to support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this moment General Bulow threatened the flank and rear of the army; it was important not to make any retrograde motion, and to maintain this position, though prematurely taken. At this critical moment the rapid advance of three thousand cuirassiers, defiling under the cannonade of the Prussians, and shouting "Live the Emperor!" made a happy diversion. The cavalry advanced as if in pursuit of the English army; but the army of General Bulow still made some progress on the French flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine in the look of the chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger, while he breathed nothing but confidence. It was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the mean time the division of the heavy cavalry of the guard, in the second line, under General Guyot, behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot to the low ground. On perceiving this movement the Emperor sent Count Bertrand to recal it; *for it was his reserve;* but it was too late, and a retrograde movement was still dangerous. Thus was the Emperor deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock. This reserve, if properly applied, might have given him the victory; while these twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valour; overthrowing all the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, broke through many squares of infantry, disorganized their ranks, took possession of sixty pieces of cannon, and seized six stands of colours in the midst of the squares. These trophies were presented to the Emperor at Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard and three cuirassiers. The English believed the battle lost a second time. Ponsonby's brigade being charged by the red lancers of the guard, commanded by General Colbert, was broken through, and its general overthrown

by several lance wounds. The Prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken; but the brave cavalry not being supported, as a strong mass of infantry was still necessary to repel General Bulow's attack, they were obliged to confine themselves to the preservation of the field of battle, which had been conquered.

About seven o'clock, when Bulow's division was repulsed, the cavalry still keeping its ground, the victory was gained; sixty-nine thousand French had beaten one hundred and twenty thousand men: joy was in every countenance, and hope in every heart.

But this state of exultation was not to continue: the Prussian Marshal Blucher was rapidly approaching the scene of action with thirty-one thousand fresh troops. Wellington, who was in full retreat, now halted. This general had been in the utmost despair, often wishing "that either night or the Prussians would come;" but now, instead of defeat, he saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry which was at Ohaim also joined him; while the French saw the victory snatched out of their hands by the arrival of Marshal Blucher, with 36,600 fresh troops, which increased the allied army in line to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men; that is to say, in a proportion of two and a half against one. Perceiving these numerous columns arrive, some regiments made a retrograde movement: the Emperor perceived this: it was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and seeing that it would take him a quarter of an hour more to rally his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left in front of La Haye Sainte, sending aides-de-camp along the whole line to cheer the troops, by pretending that Marshal Grouchy had arrived, and that with a little firmness victory would be restored. But in a word, all the efforts of the French were useless; the plain of which they had been in possession was soon inundated by the

enemy; La Haye was retaken, and two thousand English cavalry penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder now became dreadful throughout the field of battle. The Emperor put himself under the protection of one of the squares of his troops. The night greatly augmented the disorder. If the troops could have seen the Emperor, they might have rallied, whereas nothing could be done with certainty. The guard retreated, the fire of the enemy was only four hundred toises in the rear of the army, and the causeways cut off. Four pieces of cannon which were planted there, kept up a brisk fire upon the plain; the last discharge wounded Lord Uxbridge. The Emperor could not retreat except through the fields; there was no time to be lost: cavalry, artillery, infantry, were all confusedly mingled together. The staff only, gained the little town of Gemappe, hoping to be able to rally a rear-guard there: but the disorder was horrible, all its efforts were made in vain. It was now eleven o'clock.

Never did the French army fight better than on this occasion; it performed prodigies of valour, and the superiority of the troops, infantry, cavalry and artillery, over the English and their allies, was such, that had not Blucher arrived with his second corps of Prussians, the victory over the Anglo-Belgian army would have been complete; though aided by Bulow's thirty thousand Prussians; that is to say, it would have been gained by sixty-nine thousand men opposed to nearly double their number; for as before stated, the British and Belgians in the field, before Blucher's arrival, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The allies, according to their own accounts, lost sixty thousand men, viz. eleven thousand three hundred English; three thousand five hundred Hanoverians; eight thousand Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, &c.: those of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to twenty-

two thousand eight hundred; to which add thirty-eight thousand Prussians; this makes a general total of sixty thousand eight hundred men. The losses of the French, including those during the route, and till their arrival at Paris, were nearly forty thousand.

The Imperial guard supported its former reputation, but at length found itself under the most unfavourable circumstances, being outflanked on the right, whilst the left was inundated with enemies, and those who fled from the field when the guard began to enter into line. Lieut.-General Duhesme, a brave old soldier, covered with wounds, was made prisoner, whilst attempting to rally a rear-guard. The Count de Lobau was taken under similar circumstances. General Cambron remained on the field, severely wounded. Out of twenty-four English generals, twelve were killed or badly wounded; and the Dutch lost three generals.

Independent of the faults on the part of Grouchy, in not coming up to the field of battle, the French accounts allow "that many other causes had great influence upon the fortunes of that day. In other times, the French, though so inferior in number, would have gained the victory; which indeed the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops *alone* prevented them from obtaining."

At the most critical juncture of this battle, when the irresistible firmness of the British had been put to the severest test, those who with the general himself had begun to doubt the fortune of the day, the army, as one of our own writers observed, "were suddenly and unexpectedly cheered by hearing the sound of the Prussian cannon." It was also remarked, that the French had retired from the last attack in confusion, and therefore the Duke of Wellington immediately advanced with the whole line of his infantry and cavalry, and attacking the enemy in his turn, succeeded in forcing him from the heights before in his possession, while the Prussians under Marshal

Blucher were equally active and successful on the enemy's flank. About nine o'clock the French gave up the field, leaving behind them, as far as Lord Wellington could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with ammunition, &c.

The appearance of the field of battle next day was dreadful; it was so much covered with blood, that it appeared to have been completely flooded: dead horses seemed innumerable; and the peasantry employed in burying the dead, generally stripped the bodies first.

The road to Waterloo from Brussels, lies through the little village of Ixelles; ascending thence, we enter the deep shades of the forest of Soignes, enlightened at intervals with white cottages and little villages. At almost every step were to be seen the remains of tattered clothes, shattered wheels and carriages, shoes, belts and scabbards, infantry caps battered to pieces, highland bonnets, &c. covered with dirt, strewn along the road-side, or thrown among the trees. These mournful relics had mostly belonged to the wounded, who had crawled from the fatal field; but unable to proceed further, had laid down and died; those also who died in the waggons on the way to Brussels, were hastily interred here.

The smell the whole way was extremely offensive; besides, deep stagnant pools of red putrid water, mingled with the remains of the dead, marked several spots, especially those nearest Waterloo.

Upon the field itself, the graves a few days after appeared innumerable. In some parts of it, fire had been used to consume the bodies, and left behind it heaps of black dust. Here, whilst strangers mused with the most serious concern, the native peasantry, women, old men and boys, were clamouring for the sale of the articles they were possessed of. From the complete cuirass, the valuable sabre, carbine, and case of pistols, down

to the buttons torn from the jackets of the slain, and letters taken from the pockets of the dead, were readily purchased. But if any thing could possibly add to the splendour of this victory, it was the distinguished modesty of the victor, who acknowledged, in writing to a near relative, "that he had never been so near being beaten in his life, and that his antagonist (Napoleon) had fought the battle with infinite skill and courage."

Of the devotedness of the French soldiery to Bonaparte individually, many instances might be brought forward. One of those who, just after the battle of Waterloo, had suffered the amputation of his left arm in the hospital, requested that the limb should be given him; on which, seizing it with his remaining hand, he threw it up into the air, exclaiming to his comrades, *"Vive l'Empereur!"*

Another, upon whom a surgical experiment was making for the purpose of extracting a musket-ball that had lodged in his side, advised the surgeon to cut a little nearer to the heart, "for there he would find the Emperor."

A French author relates, that at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by Napoleon had failed, and the English charged in their turn, some of their cavalry, with some tiralleurs, approached within a hundred and fifty toises of where the Emperor was standing, with only Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and himself. Close to them was a small French battalion, drawn up in a square. Some shots from two or three field-pieces, discharged to drive away the English cavalry which still continued to approach, carried away the Marquis of Anglesea's leg. Napoleon then placed himself with the column, and wanted to charge, exclaiming, *"Il faut mourir ici; il faut mourir sur le champ de battaille*—We must die here; we must die on the field of battle!"—The English were still firing at them, and they expected every moment to be charged.

Soult, laying hold of Napoleon's bridle, exclaimed, that he would not be killed, but taken prisoner; and finally with the others compelled him to leave the field. Napoleon was so fatigued, that on the road to Gemappe he would have frequently fallen from his horse, had he not been supported by General Gorgaud and two other persons, who were his only attendants for some time.

Of the melancholy catastrophe of this battle, we have also the following account: "One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and unfortunate remains of the granite column of Marengo, had remained unshaken. The Emperor retired into the ranks of these brave men, still commanded by Cambron. He formed them into a square, and advanced at their head to meet the enemy. All his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, Flahaut, Labedoyére, Gorgaud, &c. drew their swords, and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, conjured the Emperor to withdraw: "Retire," said one of them; "Death shuns you." The officers around him seized his bridle and dragged him away. Cambron and his brave men crowded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu. The English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender. "No," said Cambron; "the guard can die, but not yield." At the same time they all rushed on the enemy with shouts of, "Long live the Emperor!"—The English and Prussians, from whom they still detained the palm of victory, united against this band of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground weltering in their blood; others, more fortunate, were killed outright; in fine, those whose hopes were not answered by death, shot one another, that they might not survive their companions in arms, or die by the hands of their enemies."

The cessation of the firing, and the precipitate retreat

of the army, too powerfully confirms the fatal issue of this contest. The capture and plundering the French baggage, in some degree retarded the pursuit; but the pursuers came up with the French at Quatre-Bras. Here were taken the Emperor's clothes; the superb diamond necklace that the Princess Borghese had given him, and his landau, that in 1813 had escaped the disasters of Moscow. Those unfortunate fugitives which the Prussians overtook, they treated with the utmost barbarity. Those who had thrown away their arms, were massacred without remorse. Four Prussians killed a French general after they had taken his arms from him. Another general, who had surrendered to a Prussian officer, was, notwithstanding, run through the body. Several French officers blew out their own brains.

Still pursued and harassed, the French arrived at Charleroi; and here they were obliged to abandon the military chest. The gold in it was distributed among the Emperor's domestics, all of whom faithfully delivered it to him.

At Philipville, M. M. Bassano and de Fleury found the Emperor: when he saw the latter gentleman he offered him his hand: "I," said he, "bathed it with my tears." The Emperor could not suppress his emotion: a large tear escaping from his eyes, betrayed the efforts of his soul. Still he talked of raising three hundred thousand men; adding, that if Grouchy were not taken, he might have fifty thousand men in three days, which would be sufficient to keep the enemy employed, and give time to Paris and France to do their duty. Almost at the next moment, only two or three hundred fugitives were assembled with some difficulty to form his escort. He set off with General Bertrand in a calash.

At Rocroi, where Napoleon stopped to take refreshment, his attendants appeared in a pitiable state; their clothes covered with blood or dust; haggard looks, and

eyes swelled with tears. Labedoyére had persuaded himself that all parties would now unite, and that the chambers would display a grand and salutary energy. Others more justly supposed they would accuse Napoleon of having ruined France. "Heaven preserve us from such a misfortune," exclaimed Labedoyére. "If the chambers separate themselves from the Emperor, all is over with us: the next day we shall see the Bourbons. *As for me, my fate is not doubtful—I shall be the first man shot.*" The Emperor said, "M. de Flahaut is a lost man if he set his foot in Paris." It is added, that M. de Flahaut saw truly; for it appeared certain that Marshal Grouchy *had held parleys with the allies,* and that an arrangement, on the plan of the Duke of Ragusa, was about to be signed, when General Excelmans arrested the Prussian colonel who was sent to conclude the treaty already agreed upon! When Napoleon and his small suite arrived at Laon, a detachment of the national guard came to meet him, and to offer their services. The Emperor thanked the commanding officer.

The French admitted that their loss in the battle of Waterloo amounted to more than 37,000 men, and that it would have been greater, but for the generous care taken of them by the inhabitants of Belgium. After the victory of Fleurus and of Ligny, they hastened to the field of battle, to console the wounded, and give them assistance. Nothing could be more affecting than the sight of a number of women and girls, endeavouring with cordials to revive the soldiers that had fainted; whilst their husbands and brothers supported others in their arms, staunched the blood, and closed their wounds.

Conveyances and field hospitals had not been allowed, in consequence of the rapid movements previous to the late battles. The good and feeling inhabitants of Belgium supplied this deficiency with ardour: they carried the French from the field of battle; and braving the rage

of the Prussians, quitted their houses to shew them the paths that would favour their escape. The number of French that remained prisoners, also shared their consolation and assistance. The Prince of Orange likewise became the protector of several of these unfortunate men, who had invoked his support. It is not less true, that when persecution, exile, and death compelled so many Frenchmen to flee from their native country, the Belgians, always benevolent, opened their doors to these unhappy fugitives, and preserved some of them from the fury of enemies more implacable than foreigners.

Respecting Marshal Grouchy, it appears that conformably to the first orders given him, he confined himself to observing the Prussians. On the 18th at nine in the morning he quitted his cantonments to march to Wavres. When he reached Walhain he heard the cannonading at Mont St. Jean. Its continually increasing briskness, left no doubt that it was an extremely serious affair. General Excelmans proposed to march towards the guns by the right bank of the Dyle. "Do you not feel," said he to the marshal, "that the firing makes the ground tremble under our feet? Let us march straight towards where they are fighting." But the marshal continued his slow movements, and at two o'clock arrived before Wavres. At seven o'clock he received, according to his own account, the order from the major-general to march to St. Lambert and attack Bulow, which step ought to have been suggested to him before that time by the tremendous cannonading at Waterloo, and by the order given in the first dispatch received in the morning, to draw near to the grand army. On the 22d the whole of Grouchy's corps was assembled at Rocroi; on the 24th it formed a junction with the wreck of the army of Waterloo, and on the 25th it marched from Rheims to the capital.

Of the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon observed to Dr.

O'Meara at St. Helena—"If you had lost the battle of Waterloo, what a state would England have been in? The flower of your youth would have been destroyed; for not a man, not even Lord Wellington, would have escaped."—I observed here, that Lord Wellington had determined never to leave the field. Napoleon replied, "He could not retreat: he would have been destroyed with his army, if, instead of the Prussians, Grouchy had come up."—I asked him, if he had not believed for some time, that the Prussians who had shewn themselves were not a part of Grouchy's corps? He replied, "Certainly; and I can now scarcely comprehend why it was a Prussian division, and not that of Grouchy."—I then took the liberty of asking whether, if neither Grouchy nor the Prussians had arrived, it would not have been a drawn battle? Napoleon answered, "The English army would have been destroyed: they were defeated at midday; but accident, or more likely destiny, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it. I could scarcely believe that he would have given me battle; because, if he had retreated to Antwerp, as he ought to have done, I must have been overwhelmed by the armies of three or four hundred thousand men that were coming against me. It was the greatest folly to disunite the English and Prussian armies. They ought to have been united: and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was folly in Wellington to give me battle in a place where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat. There was a wood in the rear, and but one road to gain it. He would have been destroyed. Moreover, he allowed himself to be surprised by me. This was a great fault. He ought to have been encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I intended to attack him. He might have lost every thing; but he has been fortunate; his destiny has prevailed—and every thing he did will meet with applause."

Another time, speaking of the results of this battle, Napoleon said, "The opening of the campaign was well managed, and proved most successful. I should have surprised the enemy in detail, but that a deserter from among our generals gave him timely notice of my plans. —I gained the brilliant victory of Ligny; but my lieutenant (Ney) robbed me of its fruits. Finally, I triumphed even at Waterloo, and was immediately hurled into the abyss. On my right, the extraordinary manœuvres of Grouchy, instead of securing victory, completed my ruin. Yet I must confess, that all the strokes of fate distressed me more than they surprised me. I felt the presentiment of an unfortunate result."—That such was really Napoleon's state of feeling about this period, is evident from the following anecdote. When on the banks of the Sambre, the Emperor early one morning approached a bivouack fire, accompanied only by his aide-de-camp on duty. Some potatoes were boiling on the fire, and the Emperor asked for one, and began to eat it. Then, with a meditative, and somewhat melancholy expression, he uttered the following broken sentences: "Man may live in any place, and in any way—The moment perhaps is not far remote—Themistocles!"—The aide-de-camp, who related this to M. Las Cases, observed, that had the Emperor been successful, these words would have passed away without leaving any impression on him; but that after his fall, and particularly after reading Napoleon's celebrated letter to the Prince Regent, he had been struck with the recollection of the bivouack of the Sambre; and Napoleon's manner, tone, and expression so haunted his mind, that he could never banish the circumstance from his memory.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Arrival of Napoleon at Paris—His Embarrassment and Despondency—His Enemies among the Deputies—The Chamber declares itself in a state of permanence—Hostility between the Emperor and the Chambers—Vacillating Conduct of Napoleon—Agrees to Abdicate—Declaration to the French People, proclaiming Napoleon II. Emperor of the French—Marshal Grouchy's Army enters France—Napoleon removes to Malmaison—Arrives at Rochfort—Goes on board the Bellerophon—Arrives at Plymouth—His Protest against the violation of his liberty—Writes to the Prince Regent—Goes on board the Northumberland—His Conduct and Conversation—Reasons for giving himself up to England—Affection of the Empress Marie Louise.

On Napoleon's arrival at Paris he went to the Elyseum, where he was received by the Duke of Vicenza, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity. He appeared sinking under grief and fatigue: his breast was affected; his respiration difficult. After a painful sigh, he said to the duke, "The army performed prodigies; a panic terror seized it; all was lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me. I can say no more—I must have two hours rest, to enable me to set about business: I am choaking here;" and he laid his hand upon his heart. After having ordered a bath, and a few moments' silence, he said, "My intention is to assemble the two chambers in an Imperial sitting, and demand from them the means of saving the country." The Duke of Vicenza informed him that the deputies appeared more hostile than ever; that he was sorry to see him in Paris; that it would have been better

not to have separated from the army.—"I have no longer an army," said the Emperor. "I have nothing but fugitives. I shall find men, but I have no muskets left. I think you have formed a wrong judgment of the deputies; the majority is good; only Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Flauguerge, and a few others, are against me."—The arrival of the Princes Joseph and Lucien interrupted the Emperor. They confirmed the Duke of Vicenza's opinion of the disaffection of the chamber, and advised Napoleon to postpone the assembling of an Imperial session.

Whilst he was in the bath, the ministers and great officers of state hastened to the Elysium, anxiously questioning the aides-de-camp and officers who had returned with Napoleon. They told the whole truth; said that it was all over with the Emperor, and that France could only be saved by his abdication.

Soon after assembling his council, he said to Count Regnault, "Speak plainly; it is my abdication they want, is it not?"—"I believe so, Sire: painful as it is to me, it is my duty to open your Majesty's eyes to your true situation. It is even possible, that if you should not resolve to offer it of your own accord, the chamber would venture to demand your abdication."

Prince Lucien proposed dispensing with the chamber, and that Napoleon should declare himself dictator, in which he was seconded by Carnot. The Emperor interposing, said he did not fear the deputies: do what they might, he would still be the idol of the people and the army. A single word from him would cause all the deputies to be knocked on the head. "But while I fear nothing on my own account, I fear every thing for France."

Whilst Napoleon was thus flattering himself that the opinions of his ministers, previously divided, were upon the point of coming to a favourable issue, the council was interrupted by a message from the chamber of re-

presentatives, declaring that the independence of the nation is threatened; that the chamber is in a state of permanence, and that any attempt to dissolve it is a crime of high treason; that the army of the line and national guard, who have fought and still fight, have deserved well of their country. The ministers of war, of foreign affairs, and of the interior, were also desired to repair immediately to the assembly. It was evident that the whole of these articles were an usurpation of the sovereign authority. The Emperor now for the first time saw his error—"I was right," said he, "in thinking that I ought to dismiss those fellows before I departed; it is all over; they are upon the point of ruining France." He broke up the sitting, saying, "I see Regnault did not deceive me. *If it must be so, I will abdicate.*"

This premature avowal, which Napoleon wished to recal, only increased the boldness of the disaffected deputies. In vain was M. Regnault and M. Carnot dispatched to the chambers, to endeavour to calm the rising storm. Their communications, which were an apology for the loss of the battle of Waterloo, were listened to in the peers with calmness; but nothing could assuage the impatience of the other chamber; they imperiously called upon ministers by a second message to appear before them. This arrogance offended the Emperor so highly, that he forbade the ministers to stir; and the deputies finding they did not come, considered their conduct as *a contempt for the nation.* In the mean time they were evidently alarmed at their own proceedings; and one of them moved that the national guard should be summoned to protect the chambers, and that the command of it should be taken from the Emperor and General Durosnel, and given to General Lafayette.

The Emperor, weary of these interruptions, authorized

his ministers to inform the president that they should soon be with him. At six the ministers, with Prince Lucien at their head, were introduced into the chamber. The prince announced himself as commissioner extraordinary, bearing the Emperor's message, which contained a brief sketch of the disasters experienced at Mont St. Jean, and suggested the formation of a committee of five members from each of the chambers, to concert with ministers the proper measures for securing the public safety, and treating for a peace with the combined powers. The ministers were overwhelmed with questions from all the deputies that had risen, as absurd as they were arrogant. At length, M. Henry Lacoste was able to make himself heard—"The veil then is torn," said he; "our misfortunes are made known. You talk to us of peace; but what new basis will you give to your negotiations? You know as well as we, that Europe has declared war against Napoleon alone. Will you henceforth separate the nation from Napoleon? For my part, I declare I see but one man between us and peace. Let him speak, and the country will be saved." This was plain enough for the abdication, and called up Prince Lucien and others, who accused the allies of endeavouring to separate the nation from Napoleon, in order to vanquish and subdue it. The friends of Napoleon seemed as if they would gain a majority in his favour, when M. de Lafayette, obtaining a hearing—"You accuse us," said he, "of failing in our duties towards Napoleon. Have you forgotten all that we have done for him: that we followed him in the sands of Africa, and in the deserts of Russia; and that the bones of our sons and brothers every where attest our fidelity?"—A number of voices were now heard together in confusion, accusing or defending Napoleon; but at length it was agreed, that a committee of five members should be formed, to concert measures with ministers. Prince Lucien afterwards

obtained the same concession from the chamber of peers. It is sufficient to add, that after Napoleon had said, the chambers "dare not" compel him to abdicate, he sent them word, "that if he were an obstacle to the nation's being admitted to treat of its independence, he should always be ready to make the sacrifice required of him."

Still, when he heard that the chamber of deputies appeared disposed to pronounce his deposition if he did not abdicate immediately, he said, "If this is the case I will not abdicate: the chamber is composed of Jacobins, fanatics, and ambitious men." His agitation was extreme; he walked up and down muttering broken phrases. At length, among other reasons, M. Regnault conjured him not to give the nation room to accuse him of having prevented it from making peace: "In 1814," said he, "you sacrificed yourself for the common safety; repeat to-day, this great, this generous sacrifice."—Napoleon pettishly replied, "I was a soldier; I will become one again; but I want to be allowed to think of it calmly, with a view to the interests of France and my son: tell the chambers to wait."

The chamber was all this while extremely agitated, and seemed so unwilling even to leave Napoleon the merit of sacrificing himself, that after some more tumultuous discussion, they agreed to grant him an hour's grace, and the sitting was suspended.

Fresh importunities on this subject now immediately assailed the Emperor from all his friends. Prince Lucien, who had never ceased to advise him to make head against the storm, was now joined by Prince Joseph, and both agreed that the time was past, and that it was necessary to submit. The resistance of the Emperor was now overcome, and with an ironical smile he said to the Duke of Otranto, "Write to those gentlemen to make themselves easy: they shall soon be satisfied."

Prince Lucien then took up the pen, and wrote from the dictation of his brother, the following

DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE:

"In commencing a war to maintain the independence of the nation, I reckoned on the joint efforts of all, the unanimity of all, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. From these I had reason to hope for success, and I set at defiance all the declarations of the foreign powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to be changed: I offer up myself as a sacrifice to the animosity of the enemies of France: may they prove themselves sincere in their declarations, and that they really aimed at me personally alone! My political life is at an end: and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will form provisionally the council of government. The interest I feel in what concerns my son, induces me to desire the chambers to form a new regency without delay by a law.

"Unite, all of you, for the public safety, and to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"*Palace of the Elyseum,*
"*June the* 22*d,* 1815."

When this declaration was sent to the chambers, Fouché, the Duke of Otranto, who had been one of the greatest intriguers, recommended Napoleon to their attention and protection. In return, they sent him a deputation, expressing the respect and gratitude with which they accepted the noble sacrifice he had made to the independence and happiness of the French people. These congratulations were coldly received. The chamber of peers followed the example of the deputies; and

the Emperor recommended to them not to forget that he had abdicated only in favour of his son. From the free scope which had been given by this event, almost every one of the representatives thought himself called upon to offer the plan of a new government. The republicans hoped to introduce the federal scheme; the Bonapartists wished to place the crown on the young Napoleon, and to put Marie Louise at the head of the regency; the partisans of the Duke of Orleans flattered themselves with the idea of seating him on the throne.

Just after the abdication had been made known, the army of Marshal Grouchy, which was supposed to have been destroyed, entered France; and it appeared that Prince Jerome, Marshal Soult, Generals Morand, Colbert, and others, had succeeded in rallying the wreck of Waterloo, and formed a body of fifty or sixty thousand men, whose sentiments in favour of Napoleon had undergone no alteration.

Whilst the chamber of deputies continued to discuss a number of questions, without coming to any specific conclusions, Fouché began to be uneasy at Napoleon's residence being so near them as the Elyseum. His party first requested that the chamber should require the Ex-Emperor, in the name of the country, to remove from the capital; but this having no effect, endeavours were made to frighten him, by suggestions that attempts were making against his life. It is acknowledged that nothing could have been more easy than to carry off or assassinate Napoleon. His palace, which a few days before could scarcely contain the crowd of ambitious men and servile courtiers, soon became a vast solitude. Even his guard had been reduced to a few old grenadiers, whilst a single sentinel, scarcely in uniform, watched his gate. But lest his residing in an Imperial palace might cause the sincerity of his abdication to be called in question, Napoleon himself determined to remove.

On the 25th at noon, Napoleon set off for Malmaison, where he was received by the Princess Hortensia. Her situation and that of her brother must have wounded her to the heart, yet she found sufficient strength of mind to suppress her sorrows, and console Napoleon's attendants. "Restraining her own tears," said M. Fleury, "she reminded us, with the wisdom of a philosopher and the sweetness of an angel, that we should submit with docility to the decrees of Providence."

At Malmaison Napoleon in a great measure recovered his spirits, activity, and energy, and he could not suppress his desire of sending an address to the brave soldiers of the army before Paris, dated Malmaison, June 25, 1815, and concluding—"Yet a few efforts, and the coalition is dissolved." This address the government would not allow to be published in the Moniteur.

The complaints, the regrets, the threats that escaped Napoleon every day, alarmed the promoters of his fall more and more. Upon reflection, they turned pale at the name of Napoleon, and solicited the government night and day to make him embark as soon as possible. His first intention was to come to England, and there place himself under the protection of hospitality and the laws. The advice of others induced him to incline to the United States. An American captain at Havre had been completely gained; and several Americans at Paris wrote to him of their own accord, to offer their services, and assure him in the name of their fellow-citizens, that he would be received at Washington with the sentiments of respect, admiration, and devotion that were his due; but Napoleon refused these offers; though he would have accepted of two frigates from the French government, to have conveyed him to America, provided they would place them at his disposal, with necessary passports and safe conducts from Lord Wellington; but it seems the French government was not desirous at bot-

tom of letting Napoleon depart. In fact, he was a prisoner at Malmaison, from the time that General Count Beker, a member of the chamber of deputies, was named commander of the Emperor's guard, and directed to Malmaison to watch over the conservation of the person of Napoleon, and to prevent ill-disposed persons from making use of his name to excite disturbances. When Count Beker first came there, it was supposed he had orders to arrest Napoleon; and Gorgaud and some officers swore no one should lay a hand on him. However, this officer had already explained the nature of his mission; and the Emperor ordered his attendants to pay General Beker a proper respect. It is said he knew perfectly well how to reconcile his duty with the attentions that were due to Napoleon. Still the Princess Hortensia was so affected by this circumstance, that she exclaimed, "O, my God!" lifting her eyes to Heaven, "was I born to see the Emperor a prisoner to the French at Malmaison?" It seems that M. Fouché had appointed General Beker to the unthankful office of guarding Napoleon, because he knew the general had a private pique against him; but so far from gratifying so dishonourable a feeling, the latter constantly shewed a degree of respect towards the Emperor highly laudable.

M. Fouché and his party, who pretended that the Emperor might still form plots, deprived him by degrees, under one pretence or another, of all the officers on whose attachment he could depend.

Thus Napoleon remained at Malmaison almost alone, till the minister of marine came to inform him that the enemy were at Compeigne, and that the committee, apprehensive for his safety, requested him to depart *incog.* He promised to depart; but when he heard the distant sound of cannon, his whole body thrilled, and he lamented in a tone of despair, that he was condemned to remain far from the field of battle. He ordered General

Beker to be called, and prevailed on him to go to Paris, and convey a letter to the government, offering to take the command of the army and beat the enemy; not that he intended to seize the sovereign power, but to pursue his journey as soon as victory should have given a favourable turn to the negotiations with foreign powers. The Duke of Otranto read the letter of Napoleon aloud, and exclained, "Is he laughing at us!" His proposal was rejected; though it is clear he had different expectations, having ordered his chargers to be saddled immediately after Beker's departure. When he returned to Malmaison, the Emperor snatched the answer of the committee out of his hand, and after reading it, exclaimed, "I was sure of it; these people have no energy. Well, General, since it is so, let us be gone." He then dispatched M. de Flahaut to Paris, to concert measures for his departure. The Prince of Echmuhl was at the Tuileries when M. de Flahaut arrived. "This Bonaparte of yours," said he in a tone of anger and contempt, "will not depart: but we must get rid of him. Tell him from me, that he must go, and that if he do not depart immediately, I will arrest him myself."—M. de Flahaut, fired with indignation, answered, "I could not have believed, M. Marshal, that a man who was at the knees of Napoleon a week ago, could to-day hold such language. I have too much respect for the person and misfortunes of the Emperor, to report to him your words:—go yourself, M. Marshal." When de Flahaut returned, the Emperor easily divined that something had cut him to the quick; Napoleon being told with some reluctance all that passed, he said, "Remain in the army, and like me, forget the Prince of Echmuhl and his dastardly menaces."

After Napoleon had spent several days in listening to the various proposals of his friends, as to where he should go, he at length resolved to entrust his fate "to

fortune and to the winds." But the committee, advised by a dispatch from the French plenipotentiaries, "that the escape of Napoleon before the conclusion of the negotiations would be considered as an act of bad faith," informed him that he must await anew the arrival of the safe conduct. Thus he was obliged to remain.

M. Fleury then went to Paris, and learned that the Prussians designed to carry off the Emperor; that Blucher had said, "if I can catch Bonaparte, I will hang him up at the head of my army;" and that Wellington had strenously opposed this cowardly design. The Emperor after this, took some measures to secure himself against a surprise; but they were needless, the friends that were about his person, would have shed their last drop of blood in his defence.

At half after three in the morning, he was informed that Lord Wellington had refused the safe conducts, and he was consequently ordered to depart immediately. When all was ready, he pressed the Princess Hortensia to his bosom, tenderly embraced his friends, melting into tears; but his demeanour was firm, his voice calm, and his countenance serene.

On the 29th of June, at five in the afternoon, he threw himself into a carriage prepared for his suite, and made General Gorgaud and his orderly officers, take that intended for himself. His eyes were several times turned to that last abode, so long the witness of his happiness and power.

When they left Malmaison, Las Cases and part of the Emperor's suite took the road to Rochefort by Tours. On the first of July they passed through Limoges; and on the second dined at Rochefaucault, and reached Jarnac about seven, at which place they were detained all night and part of the next day, by the ill will and misconduct of the postmaster, so that they were obliged to proceed full speed to Cognac. On reaching Saintes,

towards eleven o'clock they were dreadfully annoyed by some furious miscreants collected by an officer of the royal guard, whom Napoleon's return from Elba had displaced. This person had prepared an ambuscade, and it was understood would have assassinated Napoleon or his attendants, had they not been rescued by a part of the national guard, who conducted them as prisoners to an inn. Here some of the most distinguished inhabitants, and above all, the women, were the most outrageous in calling out for vengeance. In the evening the face of affairs had changed almost to the opposite extreme. Prince Joseph arriving at Saintes, increased the agitation: he was arrested, and conducted to the prefecture, but otherwise very respectfully treated.

On the 3d in the evening, the Emperor reached Rochefort, where he no longer wore a military dress; but lived at the prefect's house, about which numbers of people were constantly assembled. He appeared two or three times at the balcony; and numerous proposals were made to him by generals who came in person, and others who sent emissaries. On the 8th in the evening, the Emperor proceeded to Fourras, followed by the acclamations of the people wherever he appeared.

It must be allowed, that in the negotiations between the ministers of the allies and the French committee, the latter had done every thing in their power to soften the fate of the Ex-Emperor; but their propositions on this head and others were evaded, as the object of the foreign powers was again to see their armies in possession of Paris.

The soldiers, discouraged by Napoleon's abdication, and the reports of the return of the Bourbons, were no longer formidable. The generals were intimidated; whilst Marshal Grouchy, now considered as their leader, openly avowed that he considered the national cause as lost, and awaited only a favourable opportunity to pacify the

Bourbons and their allies, by a prompt and complete submission. The committee, however, still suspecting Grouchy, obtained an account of the state of the army from General Corbineau; but prohibited Marshal Grouchy from negotiating any armistice, or commencing any negotiation, and ordered him to lead his army to Paris. The Prince of Echmuhl, imitating the conduct of Grouchy, declared to the government that there was no time to be lost in recalling the Bourbons.

Marshal Grouchy, dissatisfied, gave in his resignation on the score of ill health, and the Prince of Echmuhl was appointed to succeed him.

On the 30th of June the chambers were informed that the enemy was within sight of the capital; and a suspension of arms requested from Lord Wellington, was refused, under the pretext that Napoleon Bonaparte was in Paris, and at *liberty*. After Lord Wellington had been informed of the departure of Bonaparte, he excused the granting of an armistice till he had conferred with Prince Blucher.

The armistice still being refused, it was stated that it was resolved the allies should enter Paris, to secure the honest people there from plunder. Fouché had previously caused a letter to be conveyed to Lord Wellington, informing him that the enthusiasm of the federates and Bonapartists was at the height, and that it would be impossible to restrain them, if the Duke of Wellington did not come, and put an end to their disputes by the occupation of Paris. The Prince of Essling being consulted about the safety of their city, said, "it would be impregnable, if the inhabitants would make it a second Saragossa; but as there was not a sufficient harmony in their sentiments, the most prudent part would be to obtain a suspension of hostilities at any price.

On the 2d of July a council having been called to decide peremptorily upon the defence or surrender of Paris,

it was agreed unanimously to deliver it into the hands of the allies, since the allies would not suspend hostilities upon any other condition. After all, this was not granted without some humiliating terms. The army, as agreed upon, began its march beyond the banks of the Loire; but as it had not ceased to call upon Napoleon, the French government, fearful lest he should come and put himself at the head of patriots and soldiers, sent to General Beker to hasten the Emperor's departure; "and, without departing from the respect due to him, to employ all the means necessary to get him embarked." But it appears that on the preceding day, when the French plenipotentiaries received their dismissal from the head-quarters of the allies at Hagenau, the note that conveyed it to them contained the following passage: "The three powers consider it as an essential condition of peace and real tranquillity, that Napoleon Bonaparte shall be incapable of disturbing the repose of France and of Europe for the future; and in consequence of the events that occurred in the month of March last, *the powers must insist that Napoleon Bonaparte be placed in their custody.*"

On the 7th of July, at five in the afternoon, several Prussian battalions surrounded the palace where the government was sitting, and they were compelled to separate. And on the 8th of July Louis XVIII. in triumph took possession of his capital and his throne. On the same day the Emperor, who had been some time at Rochefort, went on board the frigate La Saale, prepared to receive him. His suite was put on board the Medusa; and on the 9th the two vessels anchored at the Isle of Aix. Napoleon, who could not leave off acting the Emperor, ordered the garrison under arms, and praised or blamed, as if he had still been sovereign master of the state.

On the 10th an English fleet of eleven vessels were cruising within sight of the port. On the 11th Napoleon sent to inquire of the English admiral, whether he was authorized to allow him liberty to repair to England, or to the United States? the answer was, "that he was ready to receive Napoleon, and convey him to England.' Unsatisfied with this answer, Napoleon had some idea of going on board an American vessel at the mouth of the Gironde, whose captain would have been happy and proud to have received him; he also refused the proffered assistance of some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, who with two barks, swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New-York. On the 14th of July, having given up the idea of attempting the passage to America, he caused the English admiral to be informed, that on the following day he would come on board his vessel. On the 15th in the morning he went off in the brig L'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon with the honours due to his rank. Yet when General Beker came alongside with him, he could not help saying, "Withdraw, General: I would not have it believed that a Frenchman is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies." On the 16th the Bellerophon set sail for England.

The Emperor had prepared a letter to the Prince Regent, which General Gorgaud was directed to carry to him immediately. It was as follows:

"*Rochefort, July* 13, 1815.

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"Exposed to the factions that distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come like Themistocles to seat myself on the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws,

which I claim of your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

General Gorgaud had orders to make known to the Prince, that it was Napoleon's intention to retire into any of the counties of England, and live peaceably and unknown, under the name of Colonel Duroc.

When he arrived at Plymouth he was not permitted to land, but was soon informed that the allied powers had decided that he should be treated as a prisoner of war, and confined at St. Helena. He protested in vain against this violation of his most sacred rights, his liberty, and his person, but finally submitted with calm and majestic resignation.

On the 24th of July the Bellerophon arrived at Torbay, and on the 26th Napoleon sailed to Plymouth, preparatory to his embarkation on board the Northumberland, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, destined to sail to St. Helena, from which vessel he dispatched the following protest to Lord Keith, against his removal to that island:

"I solemnly protest in the face of Heaven and of all men, against the violation of every sacred right towards me, since it is by force that my person and my liberty are disposed of. I voluntarily delivered myself up to the Bellerophon; I am therefore no prisoner, but the guest of England.

"Once embarked on board the Bellerophon, I was under the safeguard of the English people. If the government, when issuing orders to the commander of the vessel to receive me, with all my retinue, only sought to entrap me, it has broken the ties of honour, and disgraced the British flag.

"If this order is to be put into effect, in vain will the English henceforth proclaim their integrity, their laws, and their liberty to Europe: hospitality thus violated on

board the Bellerophon, must for ever compromise the good faith of England.

"I appeal therefore to history, which will record that an enemy, who for twenty years made war upon the British nation, came freely in his misfortune to demand an asylum under the safeguard of their laws. What proof more striking could be given of his esteem and his confidence? But in what manner have the English replied?—They tendered the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and when he delivered himself up, they sacrificed him!!!

"*On board the Bellerophon at Sea,*
4th of August, 1815.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

During the passage from the French coast to Torbay, the officers and crew of the Bellerophon treated Napoleon with all the respect they would have shewn a sovereign prince; and although orders were soon after issued by the British government, to consider, and treat him merely as a general officer, yet so completely had he ingratiated himself into the favour of all on board, that these orders were but very imperfectly obeyed. His suite treated him with the most profound respect. They never approached him, nor entered into any conversation with him, but at his invitation, and always uncovered; but he conversed frequently and familiarly with the officers, and even with the seamen and marines. He said to Captain Maitland at first coming on board, "I am come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws." He then declared he would have perished, rather than have delivered himself to Russia, Austria, or Prussia. The sovereigns of these countries, he said, were despotic, and might have violated with impunity all justice and good faith, by his imprisonment or death. But in surrendering himself to the British nation, he threw himself upon

the generosity and on the protection of the laws. Politics he had for ever abandoned; and to the invitation of the French army of the Loire to place himself at their head, he had, before he left Rochefort, returned a decided negative. Speaking of the battle of Waterloo, he gave a similar account of the cause of the disaster, to that in his bulletin; adding, that he was *betrayed* by some of his generals, and that he had no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided. Speaking of his former achievements, he said, "I ought to have died when I entered Moscow; then I had attained the pinnacle of my glory; but from that hour reverses and disgraces have perpetually pursued me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy: I would have made peace at Dresden; I would have made peace at Chatillon, had not the Duke of Bassano, with well-meant, but fatal zeal, dissuaded me."

Whilst the British cabinet was probably deliberating upon the proper method to be pursued in disposing of their fallen enemy, Napoleon yielded to the illusory hope that he should be permitted to reside in England, under some strict but not oppressive *surveillance*. Cherished by this expectation, he seemed to forget his misfortunes, in the contemplation of the novel and impressive scene exhibited by upwards of a thousand boats, occupied at least by more than ten thousand spectators, which floated round the Bellerophon, to catch a sight of its Imperial guest. On his appearance on deck, the officers and seamen by a simultaneous movement uncovered, without orders; a compliment always returned by the spectators in the bay, which then resounded with acclamations. During several days these scenes were repeated, whilst the sensation created along the coast by this unexpected visitor was undescribable.

His person was then described as about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well-proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned, with great symmetry and strength; a small round and handsome foot; his eyes the most piercing imaginable; his hair dark brown, no appearance of grey; his features handsome; and his step and demeanour altogether commanding. Napoleon heard of the decision of the British council respecting him through the medium of the newspapers, before it was officially announced to him; and at first his rage and mortification were extreme. The official communication was made to him by Sir Henry Bunbury on the 2d of August; and at the same time he was informed, that four of his friends (with their families), to be chosen by himself, and twelve of his domestics, would be allowed to attend him into exile. In vain he protested against these measures in the most emphatic manner. On Friday the 4th of August the Bellerophon sailed from Torbay, to meet the Northumberland off Berry-head; and on the Sunday following, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship, to settle with Napoleon the exact period of his intended removal. The ceremony with which the fallen Emperor had hitherto been treated, was now to be discontinued; and the admiral, in approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, and said, "How do you do, *General* Bonaparte?" Surprised at being thus saluted, Napoleon hesitated an instant, and then replied to the inquiry in a slight and laconic manner.

After a long expostulation against the perfidy and injustice practised against him, he concluded by a peremptory refusal to quit the ship. Lord Keith in reply observed, that he acted under the orders of his government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of using coercive measures.—"No, no," replied Napoleon—"You command: I must obey. You may

take me; but remember, I do not go with my own free will." He then presented to his lordship a formal protest in writing, in the presence of several witnesses, and appointed the hour of ten next morning to be taken on board the Northumberland. About half-past eleven on Monday morning Lord Keith and his attendants came alongside the Bellerophon in the barge. As soon as the baggage was removed the parting scene commenced; and the separation was truly affecting. All wept; but Marshal Savary and a Polish colonel appeared most deeply affected. The Pole had accompanied Bonaparte through many of his campaigns, and had received seventeen wounds in his service. He clung to his knees, and requested Lord Keith's permission to attend his master, even in the most menial capacity; but the orders of government were peremptory, and this brave officer's request could not possibly be complied with.

Count Bertrand, his wife, and three children; the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cases, and General Gorgaud, with nine men and three women servants, remained with Bonaparte. Marshal Savary and General L'Allemand were left behind in the Bellerophon, to be sent to Malta; and the remainder of his suite were put on board the Eurotas frigate. M. Maingault, the surgeon of Napoleon, was the only one of his attendants who refused to accompany him, and his place was most fortunately supplied by Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the Bellerophon. During the transhipment from the barge, Napoleon exhibited no symptoms of despondency, but on the contrary, appeared more cheerful than usual. He mounted the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, and advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said, "Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country;" and soon after joined in a kind of general conversation.

According to Bonaparte's own account, the giving

himself up to England was not so simple a matter on his part as some may have imagined. Before he went to Elba in May 1814, he said Lord Castlereagh offered him an asylum in England, where he would be well treated, and much better off than in Elba. Bonaparte mentioned a report spread by Castlereagh, that he had applied for an asylum in England, but that it was not thought proper to grant it. The real fact, said Napoleon, is, "that he first proposed it. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh said to Caulincourt, 'Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? Let him come to England. He will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, as that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us without making any conditions.' "This," Napoleon added, "had much influence with me afterwards."

Whilst on board the Northumberland, it was observed, he stamped the usual impression on every one there, as elsewhere, of his being an extraordinary man. Nothing escaped his notice; his eyes were in every place, and on every object, from the greatest to the most minute. All the general regulations of the service, from the lord high admiral to the seamen—their duties, views, expectations, pay, rank, and comforts, were scanned with characteristic keenness and rapidity. The machinery of the ship, blocks, masts, yards, ropes, rigging, and every thing else, underwent similar scrutiny. He sent for the boatswain, who in the French service usually fits out the ship, to learn the minutest particulars. By his desire the marines passed in review on the quarter-deck. He examined their arms, dress, and evolutions, with attention, and expressed himself highly satisfied. The grog, tobacco, clothes, food, pay, prize-money, and routine of duty of the seamen, were equally inquired into. When informed that the necessaries were supplied

by a purser or commissary, he jocularly remarked they were sometimes sad rogues.

The ill-fated Marie Louise remained devotedly attached to Napoleon. When he had surrendered himself to England, she applied to learning the English language, with the apparent hope of passing her days with him in this country. Disappointed in that expectation, after he had sailed from Plymouth, she cherished his remembrance by frequent visits to a romantic valley in the neighbourhood of Vienna, called by the same name as the place of his deportation, St. Helena. In November, 1815, she made a voyage on board an English vessel to Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. After having announced that the only motive that induced her to come to the island, was the desire to visit the house which had been occupied by her husband, Napoleon, she landed with all her suite, and proceeded directly to the place of her pilgrimage, which she visited with a sort of religious attention and devotion, observing every thing in the minutest detail, and particularly Napoleon's chamber. Arrived in the saloon, she perceived his portrait, and stopping before it, she said, "Napoleon, I salute thee; I have had, and shall preserve all my life, the greatest esteem for thee." The illustrious lady then passed into the billiard-room, and some one having presented to her the cue with which he used to play, she signified her desire to have it, and to inclose it in a box as a precious memento. The next day she returned and dined at his habitation, where she passed the night. At her departure she appeared satisfied with all that she had seen, and very contented with her voyage.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Napoleon on his Voyage to St. Helena—Arrival—Behaviour of the Crew of the Northumberland—Reflections—Descriptions of the Emperor's Residence at the Briars, at Longwood, &c.—Complaints against Sir Hudson Lowe—Treatment of Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe—Letters from Count Montholon, Marshal Bertrand, &c.—M. Santini's Arrival in England—Lord Holland's Motion in the House of Lords—Reply to it by Lord Bathurst—Visit of Lord Amherst to Napoleon at St. Helena—Napoleon's great reliance on the Justice of the Prince Regent—Letters from Count Bertrand to Las Cases, on the Conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, and the Treatment of the Emperor's Attendants—Letter from Count Montholon to the Emperor's Sister—Note written by Napoleon in the Margin of Sir Thomas Read's Letter—Marshal Bertrand's Letter to Lord Liverpool.

THE course of the Northumberland was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair though light, and for a long time nothing could be more dull or monotonous than the time passed by Napoleon and his attendants. The Emperor breakfasted in his own cabin at any hour, but his suite took theirs at ten in the French style, while the English continued to breakfast in their own way at eight.

The Emperor sent for one of his suite every morning, to know what was going on; as the distance the ship had run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with the ship's progress. He read a great deal, dressed at four o'clock, and then came into the general cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party. About five, it was generally announced from the admiral that dinner

was ready. Napoleon's two valets stood behind his chair. At first the admiral was in the habit of offering to help the Emperor, but the acknowledgment of Napoleon was expressed so coldly, that this practice was discontinued. The admiral still remained attentive, but afterwards only pointed out to the servants what was preferable: they alone were employed in these matters. Napoleon was generally silent; and even when French was spoken, he seemed as if unacquainted with it: if he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, and to address a few words to persons whom the admiral occasionally asked to dinner. Count Las Cases was mostly employed to translate Napoleon's questions into English.

The long dinner time of the English occupied by the dessert, drinking, and conversing, was so disagreeable to the Emperor, that after the first day he rose immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went out on deck, followed by Marshal Bertrand and Count Las Cases. This disconcerted the admiral, who took occasion to express his surprize to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal tongue was English, rather warmly replied, "Do not forget, admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world; and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table."—"Very true," rejoined the admiral; and this officer, whom Napoleon often praised for his humanity and good sense, did his utmost ever after to accommodate the Emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and his suite, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee he left the cabin; upon which every one stood up till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour.

The Emperor after dinner would remain walking upon

deck with one or two attendants: this became a regular practice. Whilst Las Cases was walking with the Emperor at the usual hour one day in the stern gallery, Napoleon drew from under his waistcoat, still conversing on a totally different subject, a kind of girdle, which he handed to Las Cases, saying, "Take care of that for me." Without interrupting him, Las Cases placed it under his own waistcoat. The Emperor told him soon after, that it contained a diamond necklace worth two hundred thousand francs, which Queen Hortensia forced him to accept when he left Malmaison in 1815. After they arrived at St. Helena, Las Cases frequently spoke to Napoleon of returning the necklace, but never received any reply. Having mentioned the subject again at Longwood, Napoleon drily asked, "Does it annoy you?" "No, Sire," was the reply. "Keep it then," said he. From wearing the girdle so long, Las Cases thought so little about it, that it was not till some days after he had been torn from Longwood that it recurred to his memory. He could not bear the idea of depriving the Emperor of such a resource: still he was in the most rigorous confinement, surrounded by goalers and sentinels. He knew not whom to trust. At last an Englishman to whom he had often spoken, came to the prison on a particular errand, and Las Cases being determined to run all risks, addressing this Englishman, said he thought he was a man of principle, and added, "I am going to put it to the test, though nothing injurious, or contrary to your honour —merely a rich deposit to be restored to Napoleon. If you accept the charge, my son will put it into your pocket." He answered only by slackening his pace, and the necklace was transferred to this man, almost in sight of military attendants. Before Las Cases quitted the island, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of knowing that the necklace had reached the hands of the Emperor. How generous such a trait on the part of an enemy.

and this under such circumstances! On returning to the after cabin, the Emperor would sit down to play *vingt et un*, but generally retired in half an hour.

Having doubled Cape Finisterre, and passed Cape St. Vincent, the heat became so excessive, that Napoleon only wore a very slight dress, and as he could not sleep, frequently rose in the night. After the preliminary remarks on the weather, the ship's progress, and the winds, Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of the preceding, or some former day; and having taken eight or nine turns the whole length of the deck, would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed his habitual predilection, so that this cannon was thenceforth called the Emperor's gun: there the Emperor would often converse for hours together. The midshipmen on board the Northumberland behaved with marked respect and attention to the Emperor. There was always a bustle when the sailors, upon a given signal in the evening, fetched down their hammocks which had been placed in the ship's nettings in the morning. These officers, either by signs or words, constantly directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. The Emperor frequently remarked this conduct, and observed, "that youthful hearts were always inclined to enthusiasm."

On passing the Line, when the crew and others, if strangers, are christened, or otherwise ducked, the Emperor was scrupulously respected during the whole of this saturnalian festivity, when regard is seldom paid to any one. In return for this consideration, the Emperor ordered a hundred Napoleons to be distributed to the grotesque Neptune and his crew. But independent of Napoleon's bounty towards the crew of the Northumberland, there were other reasons by which their opinion of him was wonderfully changed: when he first came on board, they regarded him as an *ogre*, a kind of

raw-head and bloody-bones. On a better acquaintance, and a narrower inspection into his manner and conduct, both officers and men equally felt the power of truth. The son of M. Las Cases, a youth who was much among the young officers, one of whom was son to Sir Robert Wilson, was one of the first that observed the change that took place amongst his companions in favour of the French. His father's accusations against Bonaparte many years before, had been freely canvassed and condemned. This change, however, was at the expence of young Wilson, who for some time was *scouted* by his companions, by way of expiation for the stories which his father had circulated.

At length, about seventy days after the Northumberland's departure from England, the ship cast anchor at St. Helena, about noon on the 15th of October, 1815. The Emperor, contrary to custom, dressed early, and went on deck to view the island.

"We beheld," says Las Cases, "a kind of village, surrounded by numerous naked and barren hills towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, was planted with cannon." The precise instructions of ministers were, that the Emperor and his suite should be detained on board till a place on shore was ready for their reception; but Admiral Cockburn was incapable of such barbarity, and they were informed that he would take upon himself the responsibility of putting them on shore the following day.

Thus the 16th of October terminated the voyage to St. Helena. After dining on board the Northumberland, the Emperor, accompanied by the grand Marshal Bertrand, got into a boat to go ashore. By a remarkable and irresistible impulse, the officers all assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. This was not the effect of curiosity, which an acquaintance of three months duration could not fail to

have removed, and which was now succeeded by the liveliest interest. The Emperor, before he stept into the boat, sent for the Captain of the ship, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce a great sensation on all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of the Emperor's suite landed about eight o'clock. They were accompanied by several of the officers, and every one on board appeared to be sincerely affected at their departure.

When Napoleon was thus safely imprisoned on this secluded island, such a transition in his mighty fortunes seemed for a short time to have impeded the grand political machinery of Europe, of which he appeared to have been the main spring. People had been so accustomed to hear of his ordinances and bulletins, his rapid marchings and more electric victories, together with treaties renewed and potentates confounded, that a vacuum succeeded in the human intellect, and a sort of stupefied gaze was sent around in search of that blazing comet whose erratic and eccentric light had lately astounded the beholders, but was now seen no more.

Thus, in the course of a few weeks the Emperor of the West, the dispenser of crowns and sceptres, found himself immured for life in a small volcanic island, measuring ten miles in length and seven in breadth, at a distance of six thousand miles from the scenes of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.

Count Las Cases found the Emperor in the apartment assigned to him; a few minutes after their arrival he went up stairs to his chamber, where his followers were called to attend him. His situation here was no better than it had been on board the vessel; they found themselves lodged in a sort of inn, or hotel.

At six in the morning the day after, the Emperor, the grand marshal, and the admiral, rode to visit Longwood, the house chosen for Napoleon's residence. Napoleon was extremely unwilling to return to the place where he had passed the preceding night, as the sentinels who guarded his doors, and the crowds that curiosity had attracted beneath his windows, were very disagreeable. A small pavilion attached to the place, however, pleased him, and Admiral Cockburn thought he would be more agreeably situated there than in the town. The pavilion, or summer-house, Napoleon had chosen, was about thirty or forty paces from Mr. Balcombe's dwelling-house, called *the Briars;* and here the family used to retire in fine weather, to take tea and amuse themselves. In no situation of his past life had the Emperor been so wretchedly lodged. The windows had neither curtains nor shutters, and there was scarcely a seat in the room. Whilst the two valets-de-chambre were bustling about to prepare Napoleon's bed, he took a fancy to walk out a little, but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion. Las Cases's bed-room, above his, was about seven feet square; there was only a bed and a single chair. Young Las Cases had a mattress spread on the floor, and Napoleon's valets slept on the ground at his door, wrapped up in their cloaks. Such was the situation of the Emperor the first night he passed at the Briars.

At first Napoleon's dinner was sent him ready cooked from James Town, about a mile and a half distant; but afterwards Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use.

Mr. Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropt in to play a rubber of whist or hold a little *conversazione*. On one occasion he indulged them by partici-

playing in a game of blind-man's-buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone by this worthy family, that could contribute to lessen the inconveniences of his situation.

He occasionally received some visitors, who came to pay their respects to him on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some who had received that permission, were presented to him when at Mr. Balcombe's in the evening. He frequently walked for hours in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of these walks, he stopped and pointed out to me the frightful precipices which environed us, and said, "Behold your country's generosity; *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour unsuspectingly confided himself to them. I once thought that you were free: I now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the powerful whenever your government has any object in view."

By Napoleon's subsequent removal to the house at Longwood, his situation was by no means improved. His bed-room here was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surface. Two small windows, without pullies, looking towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which

was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right, hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cypher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old book-case, with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire-place, an old-fashioned sofa, covered with white long-cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning-gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one; a chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt-collar open, without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those he had already perused; and at the foot of the sofa facing him, was suspended a portrait of the Empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin and a water jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much depending upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was in general a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock; in which case he read or wrote till six or seven; at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to rest for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closure of every cranny through which a ray of light might pass; although I have sometimes seen him fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad day-light. When ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast-time; or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he breakfasted in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten; when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven: in either case, *à la fourchette*. After breakfast, he generally dictated to some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock received such visitors as, by previous appointment, had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback or in the carriage, accompanied by all his suite, for an hour or two; then returned, and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally played a game at chess; at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes or half an hour in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high-seasoned or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which I have seen him sometimes pare the outside brown part off; he was also partial to mutton-chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner, which was generally much diluted with water. After dinner, when the ser-

vants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess or at whist, but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or chatted with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bed-room at ten or eleven, and to rest, immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in private in his own apartment, he sometimes sent for one of his suite to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day, nor ever took more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time.

While dressing, he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of them holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, *eau de Cologne*, &c. When he has gone over one side of his face with a razor, he asks St. Denis or Novarre, is it done? and after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of his attendants by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good-humoured manner, crying, 'Ah, *coquin*, why did you tell me it was done?' This, probably, has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some *eau de Cologne* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh-brush, changes his linen and flannel waistcoat, and dresses in white kerseymere (or brown nankeen) breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat with white buttons, black stock, with none

of the white shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small cocked hat, with a little tri-coloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little *bonbonnière*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief scented with *eau de Cologne*, are handed to him by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber.

In 1817, the numerous loose and contradictory reports that had been circulated about the ill-treatment that Napoleon Bonaparte received, were confirmed in a manner beyond doubt or contradiction, by a kind of official communication brought to England by M. Santini, one of Napoleon's suite. M. Santini landed at Portsmouth on the 25th of February, 1817; he affirmed that Napoleon, on his arrival at St. Helena, was treated by Sir George Cockburn with respect and delicacy. He was afterwards transferred to Longwood, once a farm belonging to the East India Company. In this wretched asylum he still remains. His sleeping chamber is scarcely large enough to contain a bed and a few chairs. The roof of this hovel consists of paper coated with pitch, which is beginning to rot, and through which the rain-water and dew penetrate. In addition to all these inconveniences, the house is infested by rats, who devour every thing that they can reach. All the Emperor's linen, even that which was lately sent from England, has been gnawed and completely destroyed by them. For want of closets, the linen is necessarily exposed upon the floor. When the Emperor is at dinner, the rats run about the apartment, and even creep between his feet. The report of a house having been sent from England is false. The new governor has introduced into the house of the Emperor absolute want. The provisions he furnished were always in too small a quantity, and also very often of bad quality, and in the latter case, when sent back, were never replaced by others more fit for use. Often being without butcher's meat for the

Emperor's table, the steward has sent to purchase a sheep for four guineas, and sometimes could only procure pork for making soup. Captain Poppleton, of the 53d regiment, has often lent candles, as well as bread, butter, poultry, and even salt. M. Santini was, even from necessity, in the habit of repairing secretly to the English camp to purchase butter, eggs, and bread, of the soldiers' wives, otherwise the Emperor would often have been without breakfast, and even without dinner. The governor sent seven servants to Longwood, but the Emperor was obliged to dismiss four of them, from inability to supply them with food! The Emperor is limited to a bottle of wine per day! Marshal and Madame Bertrand, General Montholon and his lady, General Gorgaud, and Count De Las Cases, have also each their bottle. Marshal Bertrand has three children, M. de. Montholon two; and M. de Las Cases one, about fifteen or sixteen years of age; and for all these mouths the governor allows no rations.

In this state of things, in the course of the year 1816, the Emperor was compelled to sell all his plate to procure the first necessaries of life. M. Santini broke it in pieces before it was sent to the market. The produce was deposited, by order of the governor, in the hands of Mr. Balcombe. When the house-steward, wishing to supply the deficiency of the provisions furnished by the governor, makes purchases himself (which happens every day), he can only pay them by orders upon Mr. Balcombe. When M. Santini did not succeed in shooting a few pigeons in the neighbourhood of their dwelling, the Emperor frequently had nothing for breakfast. Provisions did not reach Longwood until two or three o'clock in the afternoon.

There is no water fit for cooking at Longwood. Very good water may, however, be procured at a distance of 1200 yards, which might be conveyed to the Emperor's barracks at an expence of from 12 to 1500 francs. The

house is only supplied by the water brought from this fountain; it is open only once during the day, at all other times it is locked. It is guarded by an English officer, who is scarcely ever present when water is wanted. There is a conduit for conveying water to the English camp; but it was thought unnecessary to do as much for the unfortunate Napoleon. M. Santini was also the bearer of a letter, or memorial, written to Sir Hudson Lowe by Count Montholon, in the name of Napoleon, in which, besides protesting against the right of England to detain him a prisoner at St. Helena, he confirms the reports of his ill treatment there, and states other particulars before unknown.

Though the delicacy of Count Las Cases prevented him from mentioning to Sir Hudson Lowe the illegal misapplication of the wearing apparel and other necessaries, conveyed from England to St. Helena for the express use of Napoleon, it has been solemnly asserted, that various articles of furniture, and other necessaries, sent out from this country at the public expence for the residents at Longwood, not even excepting the shirts made for the personal wear of Napoleon, were appropriated to the use of persons for whom they were never intended. Immediately after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in the island, the scanty supply of fresh butter was discontinued, which till then had been sent to Longwood; the milk from which it was produced, being thenceforward taken to Plantation-house.

In March 1817, Lord Holland made a motion in the House of Lords, to inquire into the necessity and policy of keeping Bonaparte confined at St. Helena, at the enormous expence of 200,000*l.* annually, and whether Bonaparte had not been treated with unnecessary rigour; and he complained of the stoppage of a letter by Sir Hudson Lowe, which had been written by Napoleon to the Prince Regent of England; and of the small allow-

ance of 8000*l.* a year for Bonaparte and his suite, on such a spot. He contrasted the treatment of Bonaparte by the present ministers, with that which the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scotland, received from Queen Elizabeth, which had stained the annals of our history; and concluded by moving for copies of all instructions issued by government to the governor of St. Helena, relative to the person of Bonaparte; 2dly, For all accounts relative to the expences of Bonaparte; 3dly, Copies of letters written by Bonaparte; 4thly, Copies of letters written by persons attached to Bonaparte's person, and various other papers connected with Bonaparte, and the persons at St. Helena with him.

It is unnecessary to say, that this motion, being replied to by Lord Bathurst, was negatived. In the course of his lordship's answer to Lord Holland, he affirmed, that none of the Emperor's relations, with the exception of his brother Joseph, had written to him at St. Helena. In answer to this, Count Las Cases had delivered to the Emperor three or four letters forwarded by Earl Bathurst himself to Napoleon. They were from Madame Mère, the Princess of Borghese, and his brother Lucien.

It was to be expected, that when the report of the debate on Lord Holland's motion should come to the knowledge of Bonaparte, he would either be ashamed or angry at finding his veracity so pointedly impugned by a British minister. He undertook to vindicate himself, and to retort the charge of misrepresentation on those who alleged it against him. A manuscript found its way to this country from St. Helena, entitled, "Observations on Lord Bathurst's Speech in the House of Peers, on the 18th of March, 1817," signed "Napoleon," in which he approves of these observations, and desires that they may be seen by the sovereign and the people of England. A large appendix of official papers were subjoined, con-

taining copies of the restrictions made by the governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, and some letters of a correspondence between that officer and the persons acting as secretaries to Bonaparte.

The observations are written in the manner of those comments on the speeches from the British throne, which occasionally appeared in the Moniteur while Bonaparte was ruler of France. They are desultory and abrupt, like most of his proclamations and harangues. He takes occasion in the outset, to protest against the bill in parliament of the 16th of April, 1816, which he calls an act of proscription similar to those of Scylla. He denies the authority of the parliament to place him at the disposal of ministers, and to invest them with the right of placing him under restrictions. He denies their power of delegating that right, and then proceeds to argue against the restrictions themselves, namely, the detention at St. Helena; the name imposed, of *General* Bonaparte; the prohibition of going abroad on the island, unless accompanied by a British officer; and lastly, the obligation of having all letters which he may write or receive, opened and examined by the British authorities. He quotes, in succession, the principal statements in Lord Bathurst's speech, respecting the treatment to which he is subjected at St. Helena, and severally contradicts them in very round terms, entering much into detail occasionally, and execrating the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, as capricious and cruel in the extreme degree. These arguments and declamations are strangely mixed up with certain domestic disclosures respecting his personal condition, from which it appears that he found himself very ill accommodated at Longwood-house, which he described as having been originally a barn, and as situated on the most unhealthy and exposed spot on the island, destitute of water, trees, shade, and verdure. The governor, whom he continually

styles the commandant, having reduced the range originally allowed him; having forbidden him to hold conversations with the inhabitants, or go into any house; and having also insisted that an English officer must accompany him when he rides out; he had discontinued his favourite exercise, not having been on horseback for eighteen months. Under the conditions prescribed for his correspondence, he will not write or receive any letter. Such was the dearness of living at St. Helena, that the stipulated allowance of 8000*l.* a-year, divided by the number of individuals in his establishment, would scarcely amount to 10*d.* per head per diem, or "soldier's pay." The flour was so bad, that he did not taste bread for three months. He has betaken himself to a sedentary life; his legs began to swell, and the scurvy had attacked his gums. He declared that an intention existed to terminate his life by agonies so protracted, as to make it appear that he died a natural death.

The Cæsar, which brought Lord Amherst over from China in 1817, having occasion to touch at St. Helena, his lordship expressed his desire to be introduced to Napoleon, and in spite of some obstacles, he was allowed to wait upon him, accompanied by Mr. Lynn, surgeon of the Alceste. On the 3d of July Lord Amherst was ushered into Bonaparte's presence at Longwood, whilst Captain Maxwell and the surgeon waited in an ante-chamber. It was not long before these officers were desired to join. In his conversation with the party, his questions were put with his usual rapidity; indeed they followed each other in such quick succession, that answers could only be given to those which appeared most marked and important. With his general curiosity, Bonaparte inquired of the officers what stations they filled on board the ship; and on learning Mr. Lynn was the surgeon, he inquired what system of pharmacy he pursued. "That depends upon circumstances," re-

plied the surgeon. "I hope," rejoined Bonaparte, "it is any other than that practised on this island, for here we have the same thing over and over again—bleeding and calomel for ever."

The conversation taking a turn on the mission of Lord Amherst to China, his lordship related the cause of its failure, which he ascribed to the necessity imposed upon him by the Emperor, of smiting the ground nine times with his forehead; an indignity which his lordship intimated could not be submitted to. Here Bonaparte's answer shewed the man—"Indeed! Now had it suited my policy to send an ambassador to the Emperor of China, I should have instructed him to kiss his great toe; and if that would not do, he might, if required, have saluted a more offensive part, provided my object could be attained."—In the course of conversation, Bonaparte said he knew of no law which gave the powers of Europe the right of detaining him a prisoner at St. Helena or elsewhere; and strongly urged the propriety of his present situation being taken into consideration by the crowned heads of Europe. Notwithstanding his disappointments, he still affects great reliance on the justice of the Prince Regent of England, when unconnected with national policy, and the influence of ministers; and, with this impression on his mind, he expressed an anxious wish that Lord Amherst would be the bearer of a letter from him to his Royal Highness, which had been prepared some time, with the intention of forwarding it to England.

The treatment which Napoleon experienced in the years 1817 and 1818, is detailed, with much simplicity, in the letters written by Count Bertrand to Count Las Cases, detailing the recent occurrences at St. Helena:

"Things," said M. Bertrand, "are materially altered since your departure. In the year 1817 and this of 1818, the vexations practised against the Emperor are increased

to that degree, that they can only be considered as an attempt upon his life. You shall judge of this by the detail. You cannot but have read in the newspapers of the month of March, certain observations of Lord Bathurst's; but since then, things have got much worse, and the hatred of the governor has no longer had any limits.

"When you left us, the Emperor gave up riding on horseback, to avoid the snares and the insults prepared for him, by exposing him to the insolence of the sentinels; to avoid similar inconveniences, he has been since obliged to debar himself even from the exercise of walking. During the months of March and April, the Emperor occasionally went out to call on my wife, and sometimes too, he used to seat himself fifty paces from the house, upon the bench near it, where he would remain half an hour or an hour; they devised means to prevent this, and to oblige him to confine himself closely to his room. They were aware that was no difficult task. They appointed a soldier of the 66th for the gardener, and they stationed at my house a sergeant, or overseer of the workmen, both very useful at the house, either to remove any noxious weeds which might infect the air, (for it is an impossibility to have a garden on such a spot as this), or to repair the house, which is in ruins, and admits the water upon every shower. All this appeared very reasonable; but the governor invested these two soldiers with the power of stopping whomsoever they pleased, at the very doors and under the windows of the Emperor. From that moment he has never been out, and it is now upwards of three months since he has put his head out of the windows.

"The climate, an entire deprivation of exercise, and this miserable habitation, have impaired his health so much, that you would not know him again. Ever since the end of 1817, he has felt the first symptoms of the chronic hepathesis, which you are aware, is mortal in

this country. The good O'Meara attended him, in whom, you know, he had confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of April, when this doctor was most necessary to him, reduced him to the necessity of giving in his resignation, and wanted to foist Mr. Baxter upon the Emperor, who refusing to see any other medical attendant, was without a doctor from the 10th of April to the 10th of May. At last the Russian and Austrian commissioners here, being indignant at this treatment, gave the governor to understand, that if the Emperor should die in that situation, they themselves would be at a loss what to say, if the opinion should prevail in Europe that he had been assassinated. It appears this decided the governor to reinstate Dr. O'Meara; but there was no species of ill-treatment they did not make him suffer. They wanted to get him driven from the table of the officers of the 66th, but these brave soldiers disdained to participate in so arbitrary an act. The Emperor is now very ill: he rises at eleven in the morning, and retires again at two. You are not aware of the situation we are in now; it can in no instance be compared with our situation in your time, and even then it was bad enough; and you sufficiently know our master, to induce you to use your influence to prevent any of the Emperor's family from coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, the hatred he is a prey to, would be utterly insupportable, were his mother, or any of his brothers to come and share them. Even Count de Montholon and myself, who are now the only persons with him, have been repeatedly pressed by him to go and release ourselves from the like treatment, and to leave him to himself. You remember the officers have not visited me for a long time, but whenever they met us on the road, they had the civility to stop and speak with my wife. They have now been forbidden to do that, not in

writing, but by insinuation, so that it has frequently happened that these officers, on perceiving us, have turned out of the way.

"Things have now come to such a pitch, that the foul linen remains several days to be searched by the orderly captain, and sometimes by the *etat major*. This scene is not only highly indecent, but very humiliating to them: its only purport is insult and outrage.

"In the month of June, 1816, a store-ship brought out a marble bust of young Napoleon. Sir Hudson Lowe directed that it should be thrown into the sea; he afterwards denied it, but we have a judicial attestation of it, for this act disgusted both Lady Malcolm, who was still here, and all the commanders of the store-ships who were then here.

"After this, in the month of February last, the captain of the store-ship Cambridge brought out two engravings or prints of young Napoleon, which he had purchased in London. Sir Hudson Lowe had them bought, stating, he intended them as a present to the father; and when, a month afterwards, the officers of that ship learnt the contrary to be the fact, (viz. in order to keep them for himself), they were no longer able to dissemble their indignation at such an act being committed by an Englishman.

"All this conduct on the part of the governor, cannot be disguised or withheld from the British government. If what the Emperor told Lord Amherst were repeated in London; if they inquired of Captain Poppleton, who was the orderly officer for two years; if they asked Colonel Fehrzen of the 53d, and many others, they must be aware of the base conduct pursued here."

Conformably with the condition of Bonaparte, as here described, we have other letters on the progress which his disease was making upon him, one of which Count de Montholon contrived to convey to the Emperor's

sister, the Princess Borghese, at Rome, early in the year 1820, as follows:

"MADAME,

"Napoleon has charged me to give you an account of his health. The malady in his liver, which attacked him many years ago, and which is mortal in this climate, has, in the course of six weeks, made a frightful progress. The amelioration produced by the care of Dr. Antomarchi has not continued, and many relapses took place during the concluding six months of last year, and the disease renders him weaker every day. Napoleon is extremely feeble, and can scarce support half an hour's ride in a carriage with the horses walking. He can just walk in his chamber without assistance. To his liver complaint is added another disorder which belongs to this climate—his intestines are strongly attacked; his digestive organs no longer fulfil their functions, and his stomach rejects all which it receives. For some time Napoleon has eaten neither meat, nor bread, nor vegetables: he lives but upon potted meats and ices. Count Bertrand wrote in September last to Lord Liverpool, to demand the removal of the Emperor to a more favourable climate, and to convince him of the necessity of its being in the neighbourhood of mineral waters. I have given M. Bonavita a copy of this letter. The governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, refused to transmit it to his government, under the vain pretext that it gave to Napoleon the title of Emperor. M. Bonavita departs to-day for Rome; he has experienced the cruel influence of the climate of St. Helena: one year's residence in this island will cost him six of his existence. The letter which M. Antomarchi has written to Cardinal Fesch, will give your Highness the circumstantial details of the Emperor's disease. The journals of London constantly publish letters under the head of St. Helena, which abound with lies, and which

are fabricated to deceive Europe. Napoleon hopes that your Highness will endeavour to make known the real state of his malady. He dies, without succour, on a frightful rock; his agony is terrible. Receive, Madam, &c.

(Signed) "MONTHOLON."

The following note was written by Napoleon in the margin of Sir Thomas Read's letter to Count Bertrand, dated 25th April, 1818.

"1. I gave you to understand yesterday, when you presented this letter to me, that I would not condescend to notice it; and that you need not translate it to me, since it is not in the form which has been observed for three years.

"2. This fresh outrage only dishonours this coxcomb. The King of England alone is entitled to treat with me upon an equality.

"3. This crafty proceeding has one object: to prevent your exposing the criminal plot they have been contriving against my life for these two years past.

"4. Thus it is, that affecting to open the doors to claims and complaints, they shut them the closer.

"5. Thus it is, that affecting a willingness to provide me a lodging, and build a house for me, I have been kept for three years in this unhealthy barn, and no building has yet been commenced.

"6. Thus it is, that affecting to allow me the liberty of riding on horseback, they prevent me from so doing, and from taking exercise, by indirect means: hence the primary cause of my illness.

"7. They employ the same means to debar me from receiving any visits. They have need of obscurity.

"8. Thus it is, that after having made attempts upon my physician, having forced him to give in his resignation, rather than remain a passive instrument void of all

moral feeling, they nevertheless keep him under arrest at Longwood, wishing it to be believed that I have his assistance, when they well know I cannot see him, that I have not seen him for a fortnight, and that I never shall see him unless he be set at liberty, relieved from his oppressive situation, and restored to his moral independence in what concerns the exercise of his functions.

"9. Thus it is they are guilty of a characteristic falsehood, in causing bulletins to be issued by a physician who has never seen me, and who is ignorant both of my constitution and my disorder; but that is well calculated to deceive the prince and people of England, and Europe.

"10. They indulge in a ferocious smile at the fresh sufferings this deprivation of the assistance of art adds to this tedious agony.

"11. Desire this note to be sent to Lord Liverpool, and also your letter of yesterday, with those of the 13th and 24th of April, that the Prince Regent may know who my ——— is, and be able to publicly punish him.

"12. If he does not, I bequeath the opprobrium of my death to the reigning House of England.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"*Longwood, 27th April*, 1818."

On the 3d of September, 1820, Marshal Bertrand wrote as under to Lord Liverpool:

"MY LORD,

"I had the honour of writing to you on the 25th of June, 1819, to inform you of the situation of the health of the Emperor, who, since the month of October, 1817, has been attacked by a chronical complaint in the liver. Dr. Antomarchi arrived here in September last; he dedicated all his care to Napoleon, who obtained from it

some relief; but since his physician has declared, as appears from his notes and bulletins, that the disease had reached a point at which the aid of medicine could do nothing against the pernicious effects of the climate; that mineral waters appeared to him to become necessary; that so long as he remained at St. Helena, his life would only be a continued agony, and that he could hope for no relief but by returning to Europe; his strength being entirely worn out by a residence of five years in the dreadful climate of St. Helena, by the privation of every necessary, and by the bad treatment of which he has been the object. In consequence, the Emperor commands me, my Lord, to demand, as the only means of preservation which remains to him, to be transferred to Europe.

(Signed) "BERTRAND."

CHAP. XXXV.

Dismissal of Count Las Cases from Longwood—Letter to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, intercepted by Sir Hudson Lowe—Letter from Napoleon to Count Las Cases—Napoleon's apprehensions for the fate of his Manuscripts—His Reflections upon the Governor—His Sentiments of Lord Cornwallis, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and others—Napoleon's Bed-room—Proposed Visit of the Princess Borghese to St. Helena—Decline of Napoleon's Health—Etiquette observed by his Attendants—Remarks on his Bodily Constitution—His mode of preserving Health—Testimony of Dr. Arnott—Napoleon's predilection for Professor Antomarchi—Progress of his Disease, and Death—Scene of Sorrow at Longwood—Effects of

Napoleon's Decease in Europe—His Interment—Testament of Napoleon—Invalidity of this Document decided in the French Chamber of Peers in 1822—*Remarks upon his Character.*

ONE of the most mortifying inconveniences inflicted upon Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe, appears to have been the removal of Count Las Cases from the Emperor's service at the latter end of the year 1816. Ever since the count had attended him at Longwood, he kept, as a servant, a free mulatto. After some months had elapsed, Sir Hudson Lowe expressed his doubts as to the propriety of the count's being attended by a native of the island, and signified his intention of removing this servant, and sending one of his own choosing: the latter proposal was promptly and decidedly rejected; but the man was withdrawn.

Some months after this, the mulatto, who still remained in the island, found an opportunity of visiting his old master's residence: being favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the localities of the island, he had surmounted every obstacle, avoided sentinels, and scaled precipices, to come and see the count, in order to tell him that he had got a situation with a person who was going to set off for London in a few days, and to offer him his services without reserve. Not seeing the count the first time he came, he returned the next evening, and renewed the unreserved offer of his services, saying he would take charge of any thing that might be entrusted to him, and would call for it on the eve of his sailing. Accordingly a letter was written upon a piece of satin, to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, which the young mulatto, having some knowledge of the business of a tailor, sewed into his clothes, and took his leave. Las Cases went to bed with a light heart, and a feeling of satisfaction from the contemplation of a day well em-

ployed, and marked by a fortunate event, little thinking that he had just cut with his own hands, the thread of his destiny at Longwood, from which in less than twenty-four hours he was snatched away, never to return. The bearer of the letter, it is supposed, confided the affair to his mother, who could not conceal it from her husband, by which publicity it came to the ears of Sir Hudson Lowe, who issued his orders accordingly.

This separation occasioned Napoleon to write the following letter:

"My dear Count De Las Cases—My heart is deeply affected by what you now experience. Torn from me a fortnight ago, you have been ever since closely confined, without the possibility of my receiving any news from you, or sending you any; without having had any communication with any person, either French or English; deprived even of the attendance of a servant of your own choice. Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like that of your whole life, honourable and irreproachable. I have pleasure in giving you this testimony.

"Your letter to one of your friends in London, contains nothing reprehensible; you merely unburden your heart in the bosom of friendship. This letter is similar to eight or ten others which you have written to the same person, and which you have sent unsealed. The governor having had the indelicacy to pry into the expressions which you confide to friendship, has latterly reproached you with them, threatening to send you out of the island, if your letters continued to be the bearers of complaints against him. He has thus violated the first duty of his situation, the first article of his instructions, the first sentiment of honour: he has thus authorized you to seek for means to open your heart to your friends, and inform them of the guilty conduct of this governor. But you have been very simple; your confidence has been easily beguiled. Your company was

necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights have you watched over me during my illnesses! However, I advise you, and if necessary, I order you, to demand of the governor to send you to the Continent; he cannot refuse, since he has no power over you but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. It will be a great source of consolation to me, to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes. If you should some day or other see my wife and son, embrace them for me: for the last two years I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly. In the mean time be comforted, and console my friends. My body, it is true, is exposed to the hatred of my enemies; they omit nothing that can contribute to satisfy their vengeance; they make me suffer the protracted tortures of a slow death; but Providence is too just to allow these sufferings to last much longer. The insalubrity of this dreadful climate, the want of every thing that tends to support life, will soon, I feel, put an end to my existence; the last moments of which will be an opprobrium to the English name; and Europe will one day stigmatize with horror, that perfidious wicked man; all true Englishmen will disown him as a Briton.

"As there is every reason to suppose that you will not be allowed to come and see me before your departure, receive my embrace, and the assurance of my friendship. May you be happy."

Napoleon was frequently under great apprehensions for the fate of his manuscripts: this was occasioned by the treatment which Las Cases had suffered from Sir Hudson Lowe, and the detention of his own papers. He said, "it was contrary to all law, to detain papers belonging to him (Napoleon). Perhaps," said he, "he will come up here some day, and say that he has received intimation that a plot is in agitation to effect my

escape. What guarantee have I, that when I have nearly finished my history, he will not seize the whole of it? It is true, that I can keep my manuscripts in my own room, and with a couple of brace of pistols I can dispatch the first who enters. I must burn the whole of what I have written. It served as an amusement to me in this dismal abode, and might, perhaps, have been interesting to the world—but with this *Sbirro-Siciliano* there is no guarantee nor security. He violates every law, and tramples decency, politeness, and the common forms of society, under foot. He came up (here to Longwood) with a savage joy beaming from his eyes, because he had an opportunity of insulting and tormenting us. While surrounding the house with his staff, he reminded me of the savages of the South-sea islands dancing round the prisoners whom they were about to devour: he desired Mr. O'Meara to repeat what he had then said to Sir Hudson Lowe, and which, of course, brought on much crimination and recrimination; which it is not within our province to repeat."

While looking over a number of papers, (chiefly Portsmouth), "Ah," said Napoleon, "some of my money has gone to pay for these estates. After the abdication at Fontainebleau, upwards of forty millions of francs, my private property, was seized and taken from my treasurer at Orleans. Of this money, about five-and-twenty millions were divided amongst T***, M**, and C**. The money thus seized, included the marriage-portion of the Empress Marie Louise, which had been paid in sovereigns of gold —an old German coin. The remainder was placed in the French treasury. The whole of these sums had been guaranteed to me by the treaty of Fontainebleau. The share which C** obtained was very large, and the exact amount of it is known to me."

In acknowledging a repulse at Acre from Sir Sydney Smith, Napoleon spoke of him in terms of commenda-

tion, and said "he liked his character."—Of Lord Cornwallis his sentiments were quite enthusiastic.—Mr. Fox, he said, was so great and so good a man, that every member of his family seemed to have taken a tinge from his virtues.—Speaking of Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, he said, "his countenance bespeaks his heart, and I am sure he is a good man; I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine, soldier-like old man: there is the face of an Englishman; a countenance pleasing, open, intelligent, frank, sincere."—Of Sir George Cockburn, also, he spoke in terms of commendation.

A short time before the death of Napoleon, it appears that a disposition to soften the rigour with which he had been treated, began to show itself in the British cabinet; as it transpired by way of France, that his sister, the Princess Borghese, who had long solicited the British government for leave to join her brother at St. Helena, obtained their permission so to do, and was making the necessary preparations for the voyage, when she heard of Napoleon's decease.

We now approach the concluding scene in the exhibition of this great character. The health of Napoleon, during the six months preceding his establishment at Longwood, did not seem to undergo any change, notwithstanding his regimen was so completely altered. Neither his hours nor his food were any longer the same; his former habits, in fact, were totally deranged. Formerly he had been used to much exercise; but now he had been long confined to a room. He had been continually in the habit of bathing; but for this indulgence he had no opportunity till after his arrival at Longwood. Here, when he began to ride on horseback, and returned to the use of the bath, his attendants first began to perceive a sensible alteration in his health.

It was also remarked as a singular circumstance, that

whilst he was inconveniently situated at Mr. Balcombe's, &c. he suffered nothing; but when his establishment was improved, he was first seen to be in pain. Soon after his arrival at Longwood, contrary to his natural temperament, he very frequently felt himself indisposed. Upon one occasion he was confined to his room for six days running, without going out in the least. A secret melancholy, which he endeavoured to conceal from every eye, and perhaps from his own, began to take possession of him. His circle of movements and diversions, already so confined, he began to contract every day. He first gave up riding on horseback, and inviting strangers to dinner; and for some time, the dictations, which he had previously taken so much pleasure in, were at a stand, and it was with difficulty that he could muster courage enough to resume them.

In the autumn of 1817 he had a smart attack of fever, &c. and was several days obliged to retire occasionally to his bed. Whilst he was well, the etiquette observed by his attendants, prevented any of them from entering his apartment without being sent for; and if any thing of importance was to be communicated to him, he was previously made acquainted with it. If he walked separately with any of them, no other presumed to intrude. At first his attendants constantly remained uncovered near his person, which appeared strange to the English, who had been ordered to put on their hats after the first salute. The contrast between them seemed ridiculous to Napoleon, and he ordered his servants, once for all, to behave like the English. No one except the two ladies, took a seat in his presence. He was never spoken to but at his own peculiar instance, and when the conversation became general, which was always and in all cases under his own controul and guidance. It is scarcely needful to add, that the long period of his declining health nearly put an end to the ceremonials previously observed.

Upon the score of the Emperor's general health, M. Las Cases observes: "Contrary to the common opinion, in which I myself once participated, the Emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed; with a very expanded chest, he is constantly labouring under the effects of cold. His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a very severe effect upon him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as has been supposed; all his strength is in his mind; although no sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue.

"The most remarkable instance of the Emperor's activity and exertion, was his ride without stirrups from Valladolid to Burgos, at the rate of more than seven Spanish leagues an hour, in five hours and a half. He had set out accompanied by a numerous escort, in case of danger from the guerillas; but at every yard he left some of his attendants behind him, and arrived at Burgos with but few followers. His ride from Vienna to the Simmering, a distance of eighteen or twenty leagues, is frequently talked of. The Emperor rode to breakfast to the Simmering, and returned to Vienna immediately after. He often hunted to the distance of thirty-eight leagues, and never less than fifteen. One day a Russian officer, who had come as a courier from St. Petersburgh in the space of twelve or thirteen days, arrived at Fontainebleau at the moment the Emperor was about to set out on a hunt. The officer had the honour to be invited to join the hunting party. He, of course, accepted the invitation, but he dropped down in the forest, overcome by fatigue, and was not found until after a considerable search had been made for him.

"I have known the Emperor," continues Las Cases, "to be engaged in business in the council of state for

eight or nine hours successively, and afterwards rise with his ideas as clear as when he sat down. I have seen him at St. Helena peruse books for ten or twelve hours in succession, on the most abstruse subjects, without appearing the least fatigued. He has suffered, unmoved, the greatest shocks that ever man experienced. On his return from Moscow or Leipsig, after he had communicated the disastrous event in the council of state, he said, 'It has been reported in Paris, that this misfortune turned my hair grey; but you see it is not so, (pointing to his head), and I hope I shall be able to support many other reverses.' But these prodigious exertions were made only, as it were, in despite of his physical powers, which never appear less susceptible that when his mind is in full activity.

"The Emperor eats very irregularly, but generally very little. He often says, that a man may hurt himself by eating too much, but never by eating too little. He will remain four and twenty hours without eating, only to get an appetite for the ensuing day. But if he eats little, he drinks still less. A single glass of Madeira or Champagne is sufficient to restore his strength, and to produce cheerfulness of spirits. He sleeps very little, and very irregularly, generally rising at day-break to read or write, and afterwards lying down to sleep again. The Emperor has no faith in medicine, and never takes any. He had adopted a peculiar mode of treatment for himself. Whenever he found himself unwell, his plan was to run into an extreme, the opposite of what happened to be his habit at the time. This he calls restoring the equilibrium of nature. For instance, if he had been inactive for a length of time he would suddenly ride about sixty miles, or hunt the whole day. If, on the contrary, he had been harassed by great fatigues, he would resign himself to absolute rest for twenty-four

hours. These unexpected shocks he thought infallibly brought about an internal crisis, instantly producing the desired effect, and which as a remedy never failed."

He continued to remark, that "the Emperor's lymphatic system was deranged, and that his blood circulated with difficulty. Nature," he said, "had endowed him with two important advantages; the one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour or at any place; another was, that he was constitutionally incapable of committing any injurious excess, either in eating or in drinking." If he went the least beyond his mark, his stomach instantly revolted. Very slight causes would excite a nausea in him; and a mere tickling cough was sufficient to produce that disagreeable effect.

It appears from the testimony of surgeon Arnott, of the 20th regiment, that no other English medical person saw him in his death-bed sickness in April and May 1821; for although every medical aid the island of St. Helena afforded was offered by Sir Hudson Lowe, and recommended by Dr. Arnott when he observed the disease to put on alarming symptoms, Napoleon uniformly refused it, and even required from his attendants a promise that, in the event of his ever becoming insensible, no other medical person than Professor Antomarchi and Mr. Arnott should see him.

Before the latter visited Napoleon, he was consulted upon his case on the 25th of March, 1821, by Professor Antomarchi, who stated, that his illustrious patient had long been labouring under some great derangement of function in the digestive organs, characterized by nausea and vomiting, especially after taking food, very obstinate costiveness, and great wanting of flesh and strength. On the 17th of that month he had a febrile attack; and though an emetic had been administered, with cathartics and antimonials in small doses, the symptoms on the

25th were still urgent, viz. increased heat, great prostration of strength, pain in the epigastric region, most distressing vomiting, and constipated bowels.

On the evening of the 1st of April, at half-past ten o'clock, Professor Antomarchi called on Dr. Arnott, saying he had just come from the Emperor, who wished to see him directly. He accordingly accompanied M. Antomarchi, and was led by him through a labyrinth of passages and rooms dimly lighted. When they reached Napoleon's bed-room, there was no light whatever in it; it was perfectly dark. Count Montholon, whose voice was known, met Dr. Arnott at the door, and led him up to Napoleon's bed-side, and introduced him. He inquired into the Emperor's complaints, but could not see him, as he would not permit a light to be brought. His pulse being felt by Dr. Arnott, he found it tranquil, heat moderate, and the moisture on the skin rather more than natural. He complained much of his belly, which was examined; but it was without tension or hardness: the bowels were slow, and the appetite bad. His voice was strong, and he had some cough. Several severe fits of vomiting followed, notwithstanding some purgative medicines had occasionally given him much relief. What he vomited on the night of the 11th of April was a black mucous matter. After this he became quite exhausted, and signified to Dr. Arnott that medical aid could be of no avail to him, and that he was labouring under a fatal disease. At the doctor's request he took a little jelly and warm wine, which rested on his stomach. Napoleon asked the Doctor on the same day, how a person died of debility, and how long one could live, eating as little as he did?

In fact, he continued alternately better and worse till the hiccuping attacked him at the latter end of April; after this there was an aggravation of all the symptoms. At length, on the 4th of May, there was a total loss of

muscular motion, the under jaw had dropped; the eyes were fixed, and the pulse varied from 102 to 110 in the minute, was small and weak, and was easily compressed.

That nothing should be left undone, although the patient was *moribundus* (dying), sinapisms were applied to the feet; blisters to the legs, and one to the *sternum*, but none of them took effect; and all the symptoms increased till eleven minutes before six o'clock in the evening of the 21st of May, 1821, when he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age.

On opening the body and exposing the stomach, that organ was found the seat of extensive disease. Nearly the whole of its internal surface was a mass of cancerous disease, or schirrous portions advancing to cancer. The stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid, resembling coffee-grounds, or a black grumous matter, mixed with some small specks of blood, which he had been in the habit of vomiting. The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state.

Dr. Arnott concludes his account of Napoleon's last illness in these words: "I conceive it would be an injustice to those distinguished personages who composed Napoleon Bonaparte's family, Count and Countess Bertrand, and Count Montholon, as well as to M. Marchand, his first valet, if I were not to mention here, their unremitting care and attention to him in his last illness; no language of mine can sufficiently express the solicitude they evinced for his recovery, and how eagerly they vied with each other in administering those little attentions, more easily conceived than described, but so essential and soothing on a sick bed. The scene of sorrow Longwood-house presented on the evening that great and extraordinary man breathed his last, will never be erased from my memory."

When the report of the death of Napoleon reached the Continent, Count Las Cases observed, "there was but

one single cry, the same sentiment in the streets, in the shops, in the public places; even the saloons shewed some feeling; the cabinets alone shewed themselves insensible: shall I say insensible? But after all, it was natural—at length they breathed at their ease.

"During his life, in the time of his power, he had been assailed with pamphlets and libels; at the period of his death, we were suddenly inundated with productions in his praise. There were every where, and from all parts, compositions in prose and in verse; paintings, portraits, pictures, lithographics, and a thousand little things, more or less ingenious, proving much better than all that could be effected by the pomp of kings, the sincerity, the extent, the vivacity of the sentiments he had left behind him. A curé, at a place on the banks of the Rhine, who had received some particular favours from Napoleon, assembled his parishioners, and made them pray for their old benefactor. In a large city of Belgium, a great number of citizens subscribed for a solemn funeral service, but from mere *etiquette*, abstained from the performance of it. Then these words of Napoleon, which I had so often heard him repeat, were verified—'In course of time, nothing will be thought so fine, nor seize the attention so much, as the doing of justice to me. I shall gain ground every day on the minds of the people. My name will become the star of their rights; it will be the expression of their regrets.'—And all these circumstances are verified in every country and every where. A peer of Great Britain, shortly after said in open parliament, 'That the very persons who detested this great man, have acknowledged that for ten centuries there had not appeared upon earth a more extraordinary character. All Europe,' added he, 'has worn mourning for the hero; and those who have contributed to that great sacrifice, are devoted to the execrations of the present generation, as well as to those of posterity.'"

Two German professors, whether they ha[redacted] known his real character, or that they had l[redacted] of their national prejudices, have erected [redacted] grounds a monument to his memory, with s[redacted] tions indicating that with him, fell a funer[redacted] the rights of the people, and *the ascendant* [redacted] civilization.

In Great Britain, the general impressions mad[redacted] intelligence of his death during his exile, were th[redacted] indignation and shame. Where contrary feelings p[redacted] vailed amongst a few isolated beings, the cause was easily accounted for: Napoleon had been our enemy, and was no more; this was sufficient with the majority.

Shortly before he expired, it is said he was habited, at his own request, in his uniform of field-marshal, with his boots and spurs placed on a camp-bed on which he used to sleep when in health, and preferred to every other. His dissolution was so calm and serene, that not a sigh escaped him, or any intimation to the attendants that it was so near. The proposed conveyance of his immortal remains to Europe, was over-ruled; but they were permitted to rest in a beautiful valley, under the pendant branches of several flourishing weeping willows, near his favourite spring, and not far distant from the place of his residence. The grave was ten feet long, ten deep, and five wide. The bottom is a solid rock; the sides and ends are walled in with Portland stone; the top of the grave is elevated about eight inches above the surface of the ground, and covered over with three rough slate stones, taken from the kitchen floor of the new house that had been constructed for his residence. The tomb was railed round with green railing, and a sentinel walked round it day and night, to prevent the too near approach of any person. There was no inscription upon the tomb. Persons, however, contrive to pluck the

[redacted]he willows that grow over it, some of which [redacted]rought to England, and preserved as sacred

[redacted]ery of Napoleon, it has been observed, is a [redacted]ptation to the character of the individual [redacted]—a vast rock rising out of the ocean, alone, [redacted]ishaken, and magnificent; a perfect emblem [redacted]enius of the man, such as he must appear in [redacted]history.

[redacted]pon the authenticity of the following last Will and Testament of the Emperor Napoleon, who during so many years decided the fate of empires, the fullest reliance may be placed, as well as upon the correctness of the translation from the French text of the original Will, save and except the suppression of one word, which it is unnecessary to explain. Only two days before Napoleon's death, he dictated to Count Montholon the letter to be delivered to Sir Hudson Lowe, announcing his decease, leaving a space for the insertion of the day and the hour of his dissolution.

NAPOLEON.

This 15th April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena.
This is my Testament, or act of my last Will.

I.

1. I DIE in the apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born, more than fifty years since.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Marie Louise. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments—I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

4. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe; he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto—"*Every thing for the French people.*"

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its * * *. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette.

I forgive them—may the posterity of France forgive them like me!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catarine, Eugène, for the interest which they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel which he published in 1820: it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the "Manuscript of St. Helena," and other works, under the title of Maxims, Sayings, &c., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. These are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I would act in the same way.

II.

1. I bequeath to my son, the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel plate, books, linen, which I have been accustomed

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II.

1. I bequeath to my son, the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel plate, books, linen, which I have been accustomed

to wear and use, according to the list annexed(A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father, of whom the universe will discourse to him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique Cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction with the filial attentions which he has paid to me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses which his residence at St. Helena have occasioned.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs.

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet de chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services which he has rendered to me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter of an officer of my old guard.

6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre, one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Pieron, one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Cursor, twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandellier, item.

12. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte novo di Costino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavalette one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon in chief, one hundred thousand francs.—He is the most virtuous man I have known.

16. Item. To General Brayher, one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Le Fevre Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labedoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Marchand, one hundred thousand francs.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travost, one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item. To Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Basilica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Menevalle, one hundred thousand francs.

30. Item. To Arnault, the author of Marius, one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs. I engage him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs. I engage him to write the history of French diplomacy, from 1792 to 1815.

33. Item. To Poggi de Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

34. Item. To surgeon Emmery, one hundred thousand francs.

35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815; and from the interest, at the rate of five per cent., since July 1815. The account will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand.

36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five million six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, and the surgeon Larrey.

37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children, and in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.

1. My private domain being my property, of which no French law deprives me, that I am aware of, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof: it ought to amount to more than 200,000,000 of francs; namely, 1. The portfolio containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which amounted to more than 12,000,000 per annum, if my memory be good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with moneys accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts will be rendered by Prince Eugene, and the steward of the crown, Campagnoni.

NAPOLEON.

2. I bequeath my private domain, one half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who have fought since 1792 to 1815, for the glory and the independence of the nation. The distribution shall be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service. One half to the towns and districts of Alsace, of Lorraine, of Franche Compté, of Burgundy, of the Isle of France, of Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previviously deducted from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Méri. I appoint Counts Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed, and sealed with my own arms.

(L. S.) NAPOLEON.

List (A).

Affixed to my Will.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena, this 15th April, 1821.

I.

1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I enjoin the Abbé Vignali to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son, when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.

1. My arms, that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobiesky, my dagger, my broad sword, my hanger, my two pair of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold travelling box, that of which I made use on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the island of Lobau, of Moscow,

of Monmirail. In this point of view, it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son, when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

III.

1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes, or comfit-boxes; the second, twelve boxes with the Imperial arms, two small eye-glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Thuilleries, on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals according to the custom of the Emperor; and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the lists numbered I., II., III.

2. My field-beds, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field telescope.

4. My dressing-box, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of every thing used in my toilet.

5. My wash-hand stand.

6. A small clock which is in my chamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I charge Marchand, my principal valet de chambre, to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son, when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.

1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate, and my Sevres china, which I used at St. Helena. (List B and C.)

3. I charge Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son, when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.

1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs, which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my huntsman, Novarre, to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son, when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.

1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library, which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I charge St. Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son, when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

List (A).

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold: the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Marie Louise, to my mother, and to each of my brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the cardinal, and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jerome.

List (A).

Inventory of my Effects, which Marchand will take care of, and convey to my Son.

1. My silver dressing-box, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, &c.

2. My alarm-clock: it is the alarm-clock of Frederic II. which I took at Potsdam (in box No. III).

3. My two watches, with the chain of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch: Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one French, contained in box No. III.)

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

6. My wash-stand, its water-jug, and foot-bath, &c.

7. My night-table, that which I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver decanters, which held my eau de vie, which my chasseurs carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pair.

12. Three mahogany boxes, No. I., II., III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming pan.

Body Linen.

6 Shirts.
6 Handkerchiefs.
6 Cravats.
6 Napkins.
6 Pair of silk stockings.
6 Black stocks.
6 Pair of under stockings.
2 Pair of cambric sheets.
2 Pillow-cases.
2 Dressing-gowns.
2 Pair of night drawers.
1 Pair of braces.
4 Pair of white kerseymere breeches and vests.
6 Madras.
6 Flannel waistcoats.
6 Pair of drawers.

6 Pair of gaiters.
1 Small box filled with my snuff.
1 Gold neck-buckle.
1 Pair gold knee-buckles.
1 Pair gold shoe-buckles.
} Contained in the little box, No. III.

Clothes.

1 Uniform of the Chasseurs.
1 Ditto Grenadiers.
1 Ditto National Guard.
2 Hats.
1 Green-and-grey great coat.
1 Blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo).
1 Sable green pelisse.
2 Pair of shoes.
2 Pair of boots.
2 Pair of slippers.
6 Belts.

NAPOLEON.

LIST (B).

Inventory of the Effects which I left in the possession of Monsieur the Count de Turenne.

1 Sabre of Sobieski. (It is, by mistake, inserted in List A. It is the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, which is in the hands of the Count Bertrand.)
1 Grand collar of the legion of honour.
1 Sword, of silver gilt.
1 Consular sword.
1 Sword, of steel.
1 Velvet belt.
1 Collar of the golden fleece.
1 Small travelling box, of steel.
1 Do. of silver.
1 Handle of an antique sabre.
1 Hat of Henry IV. and a cap. The lace of the Emperor.

1 Small cabinet of medals.

2 Turkey carpets.

2 Mantles, of crimson velvet, embroidered, with vests, and small clothes.

I give to my Son the sabre of Sobieski.

Do. the collar of the legion of honour.

Do. the sword, silver gilt.

Do. the consular sword.

Do. the steel sword.

Do. the collar of the golden fleece.

Do. the hat of Henry IV. and the cap.

Do. the golden dressing-box, for the teeth, which is in the hands of the dentist.

To the Empress Marie Louise, my lace.

To Madame, the silver night-lamp.

To the Cardinal, the small steel travelling box.

To Prince Eugene, the wax-candlestick, silver gilt.

To the Princess Pauline, the small travelling box.

To the Queen of Naples, a small Turkey carpet.

To the Queen Hortense, a small Turkey carpet.

To Prince Jerome, the handle of the antique sabre.

To Prince Joseph, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

To Prince Lucien, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

April 16th, 1821. *Longwood.*

This is a Codicil to my Will.

1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I loved so well.

2. I bequeath to Count Bertrand, Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally every thing that belongs to me in the island of St. Helena.

This codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed, and sealed with my own arms.

NAPOLEON.

(L. S.)

This 24th April, 1821. *Longwood.*

This is my Codicil, or Note of my last Will.

Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money, jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the Viceroy is the depository, and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without acting upon the credit of any account, my son Eugene Napoleon will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

1. Out of these two millions, I bequeath to Count Bertrand 300,000 francs, of which he will deposit 100,000 in the treasurer's chest, to be disposed of according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon, 200,000 francs, of which he will deposit 100,000 in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases, 200,000, of which he will deposit 100,000 in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

4. To Marchand, 100,000, of which he will deposit 50,000 in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. To Count La Valette, 100,000.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my aide-de-camp, who has retired to the Brazils, 100,000.

7. To my aide-de-camp, Corbineau, 50,000.

8. To my aide-de-camp, General Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my aide-de-camp, Dejean, 50,000.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, 50,000.

11. 50,000, that is to say, 10,000 to Pieron, my maître d'hotel; 10,000 to St. Denis, my head chasseur; 10,000 to Novarre; 10,000 to Cursor, my clerk of the kitchen; 10,000 to Archambaud, my overseer.

12. To Baron Mainevalle, 50,000.

13. To the Duke d'Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.

14. To the daughter of Duroc, fifty thousand francs.

15. To the children of Labedoyère, 50,000.

16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet, 50,000.

17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travost, 50,000.

18. To the children of Chartrand, 50,000.

19. To General Cambrone, 50,000.

20. To General Lefevre Desnouettes, 50,000.

21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they may be French, or Italian, or Belgians, or Dutch, or Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, at the disposal of my executors, 100,000.

22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny, or Waterloo, who may be still living, according to lists drawn up by my executors, to whom shall be added, Cambrone, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The guard shall be paid double; those of the island of Elba, quadruple; two hundred thousand francs.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms. NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, *at Longwood.*

This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 16th of April.

1. Amongst the diamonds of the crown which were delivered up in 1814, there were some to the value of five or six hundred thousand francs not belonging to it, but

which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them, in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred thousand francs, the product of my revenues of the island of Elba, since 1815. The Sieur De la Perouse, although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any character, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to restore it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the duke be dead at the payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc, two hundred thousand francs: should she be dead at the payment of this legacy, none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud, (to him who was proscribed), one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the intendant commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort, who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as if inserted at the end of Article 36 of my testament, which will make the legacies which I have disposed of by my will, amount to the sum of six million four hundred thousand francs, without comprising the donations which I have made by my second codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

(L. S.) NAPOLEON.

[On the outside, nearly at the centre, is written:]

This is my third codicil to my will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

[The words are intermixed with the signatures of Bertrand, Montholon, Marchand, Vignali, with their respective seals, and a piece of green silk runs through the centre. On the upper left corner are the following directions:]

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my will.

NAPOLEON.

[With some fragments of the signatures of the above-named witnesses.]

This 24th April, 1821. *Longwood.*

This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.

By the dispositions which we have heretofore made, we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, lieutenant-general of artillery, and formerly lord of St. André, who commanded the school of Auxonne before the revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave general took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We under his orders directed that siege, and commanded the artillery: it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, of affection, and of friendship, which that brave and intrepid general gave to us.

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs

to the son or grandson of the deputy of the Convention, Gasparin, representative of the people at the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority, the plan which we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the Committee of Public Safety. Gasparin placed us, by his protection, under shelter, from the persecution and ignorance of the general officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson, of our aide-de-camp Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer Cantillon, who has undergone a trial, upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify himself by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have excused himself, and have been justified by the same motives, the interest of France, to get rid of a general, who, moreover, had violated the capitulation of Paris, and by that had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labedoyère, &c.; and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.

6. These four hundred thousand francs shall be added to the six million four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six million eight hundred and ten thousand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our testament, article 36; and to follow in every thing the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand pounds sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon, should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given to him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife, is annulled. Count Montholon is charged to pay it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expences of offices, of journeys, of missions, of consultations, and of law-suits, we expect that our testamentary executors shall retain three per cent. upon all the legacies, as well upon the six million eight hundred thousand francs, as upon the sums contained in the codicils, and upon the two millions of the private domain.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained, shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. If the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions be not sufficient to defray the expences, provision shall be made to that effect, at the expence of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in proportion to the legacy which we have bequeathed to them in our will and codicils.

12. Should the sums arising from the before-mentioned subtractions be more than necessary, the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him, his son, and in default of the latter, General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. *Longwood.*

This is my Codicil or act of my last Will.

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Marie Louise, my very dear and well beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom moreover I recommend to the protection of my dear Marie Louise.

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs, which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont Napoleon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who are always dear to me: she knows them.

3. Out of the above-mentioned two millions, I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.

4. I bequeath two hundred thousand to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. Item. Two hundred thousand to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

6. Item. To Marchand one hundred thousand, of which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

7. To Jean Jerome Levie, the mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the revolution, or to his widow, children, or grand-children, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter, one hundred thousand.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand.

10. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand.

11. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand.

12. Item. One hundred thousand; that is to say, twenty-five thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel; twenty-five thousand to Novarre, my huntsman; twenty-five thousand to St. Denis, the keeper of my books; twenty-five thousand to Santini, my former door-keeper.

13. Item. One hundred thousand; that is to say, forty thousand to Planat, my orderly officer; twenty thousand to Hébert, lately housekeeper of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt; twenty thousand to Lavigné, who was lately keeper of one of my stables, and who was my jockey in Egypt; twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served in Egypt with me.

14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brienne-le-Château, who have suffered most.

15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining, shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of my guard at the island of Elba, who may be now alive, or to their widows or children, in proportion to their appointments and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors: those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate of it to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

[On the back of the codicil is written:]

This is my codicil, or act of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my dearest wife, the Empress Marie Louise.

(L. S.) NAPOLEON.

[Attested by the following witnesses, whose seals are respectively affixed:]

Montholon,
Bertrand,
Marchand,
Vignali.
} A piece of green silk.

6th Codicil.

Monsieur Lafitte, I remitted to you, in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of near six millions, for which you have given me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I charge Count Montholon to present to you the other receipt, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of five per cent., from the 1st of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

It is my wish that the settlement of your account may be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and this settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box, containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will give it to Count Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena, the 25th April, 1821.

7th Codicil.

Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, treasurer of my private domain, I beg you to deliver the account and the balance, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my will.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, to have you in his holy and good keeping. NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena, the 25th April, 1821.

This testament was presented on the 10th of December, 1821, to the Prerogative Court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, deposited and registered, according to the affidavit, in the hands of Mr. Fox, notary and attorney of the court.

The affair of Napoleon's Will came before the tribunal of the Chambers of Paris, with closed doors, at the latter end of April, 1822, when the cause was adjourned, to hear the king's attorney-general. It was then presumed, that Bonaparte, having been proclaimed a rebel and a traitor, he could have no property to assign over, or devise, at the time when he placed the funds under dispute in the hands of M. Lafitte the banker; and it was ultimately determined, that the documents brought forward by the plaintiffs to prove their right to the litigated fund, either as attornies, or the executors of Bonaparte, were null and void.

The funeral of Napoleon was attended with as much of "the pomp and circumstance of war," as the place where he died would admit of. Slanes, or Haines Valley,

was the spot to which his remains were conducted with the full military honours paid to a general of the first rank. His coffin was carried by grenadiers. Counts Montholon and Bertrand were pall-bearers. Madame Bertrand followed with her family. Next came Lady Lowe and her daughters in deep mourning; then the junior officers of the Navy, and the Army staff; lastly, Sir Hudson Lowe and the Admiral closed the procession. The 20th and 66th regiments, with arms reversed, with the artillery, volunteers and marines, amounting to about 3000, were stationed on the surrounding hills, about half way up. The body being lowered into the grave, three rounds of eleven guns were fired by the artillery.

The last words he is known to have uttered, were "*tete armée.*" What their connexion in his mind were, could not be ascertained; but they were distinctly heard about five o'clock in the morning of the day he died. His countenance after death was described as placid and serene, and as having in it something very commanding and noble.

Though some attempts at comparison have been made, in order to illustrate the character of Napoleon, yet, upon mature and impartial reflection, we cannot find one in the records of history to whom we can liken him. The greatest resemblances are to be found in the exploits of Hannibal and Cæsar. He was as prompt as Hannibal, as decided as Cæsar, and, like the Roman warrior, he has written his own immortal commentaries, and he was as brave and more generous than either. He commenced his military career as a lieutenant of engineers; he reduced the chaos of the French revolution to order, assuaged the bloody fury of the parties in the interior of France, and fought her battles when she was assailed by a combination of kings. He conquered the enemies of his country, and victory succeeded to victory, till he was dignified with the consulate, and left the great Mo-

reau only admiration and applause. Under Napoleon it cannot be denied the arts flourished, and merit emerged from degradation and obscurity; and he seemed to be one of those men intended by fate to exalt the human character to the highest pitch of grandeur and sublimity. He united in himself all those qualities which we reverence and admire even in an enemy. As a soldier and conqueror he had no equal: fortune for a considerable time continued to shape events to his will; and contradictions the most apparent, yielded to his genius; but at last, as if jealous of the way in which he used her favours, she made him feel her power, and hurled him, as it were, from a throne to a prison.

It is not true, that he was devoid of social qualities, or insensible to pleasure; his attendants, and the companions of his captivity, both English and French, were living witnesses of the contrary. Numerous anecdotes, that cannot be questioned, exhibit him as capable of the finest and best feelings of human nature, and will remain the most lasting testimonies of his kindness and generosity, especially during the period of his dreadful exile in St. Helena. Never was a master so loved and adored, even by his followers and attendants, whose sufferings, on his account, were nearly equal to his own. Never did any monarch attract so many friends, known and unknown, and who would have willingly shed their blood for his sake.

But his greatness was obscured by his ambition, and his love of absolute power. To a natural impetuosity, he united a decision of character, whose conceptions and executions commonly followed each other quick as heaven's thunder succeeds the lightning. In fact, he confessed during his exile at St. Helena, that "before his thirtieth year he had made all his conquests. He had laid the revolutionary storm, amalgamated hostile parties, rallied a nation, established a government and an

empire; in short, he only wanted the name of Emperor."

He owned "he had been the spoiled child of fortune. From his first entrance into life he had been accustomed to command, and circumstances and the force of his own character were such, that as soon as he became possessed of power, he acknowledged no master, and obeyed no laws except those of his own creation."

The love, or rather the necessity of war, was so deeply rooted in the breast of France when Napoleon came into power, that his first and last attempts were all directed to the perfection and completion of its art. The tactics that he followed were new to Europe, and singularly his own. Dispatch, surprise, and promptitude, were their prominent features. Schools were every where formed to train his youth to travail and to labour; to mathematics and to gunnery; schools of swimming, engineering; in fine, schools of every nature that could mould the growing man to arms, to labour and fatigue, were all erected and endowed by him; whilst hospitals were enriched and considerably enlarged in every department, and to aid his sickly or disabled warriors. Hence their patience under privations almost unheard of; and hence they frequently died glorying in the wounds inflicted by a valiant or defeated enemy.

After his career of victory, distinctions of rank began to multiply, and scarcely a trace was left of *revolutionary liberty and equality*. The vast fabric which Napoleon had raised, he saw could only be maintained by success; and that the loss of a single battle might become the signal for revolution, or for deserting him, as the event has proved. Repeated victories, however, could not satisfy his insatiable appetite for glory. He never foresaw any reverses, or if he did, he never made any provision against them. He depended too much upon his "high destinies" and tributary kings; he expected too much from his

newly-created marshals. These kings felt themselves as only instruments in his hands; and the marshals saw no end to his arduous campaigns. Notwithstanding the immense height to which France was raised during his Imperial sway, and the rapid succession of his splendid victories, there was at length much disaffection at heart, though latent, and unperceived; the Jacobins, sworn enemies to crowned heads, were always numerous, and many of them powerful. The Empress Josephine well knew this, and by the distribution of 400,000*l.* a year, contributed to keep down the unruly spirits. Her manners conciliated and her bounty relieved—her conduct and her address changed even her husband's enemies into friends. But from the moment that the Empress Marie Louise occupied her place, she ceased in this work of peace, and Napoleon soon found, that on venturing upon this connection, he had approached a dangerous precipice, the brink of which had only been concealed by a bed of flowers.

"Cradled in the camp, however, he was to the last hour the darling of the army. Of all his soldiers, not one forsook him till affection was useless, and even then their first stipulation was for his safety. They knew well, that if he was lavish of them, he was prodigal of himself; and that if he exposed them to peril, he repaid them with riches. The victorious veteran glittered with his gains, and the capital of France, gorgeous with the spoils of art, became the miniature metropolis of the universe."

But he is no more; and nothing but a simple stone marks the place that contains all that is earthly of Napoleon Bonaparte; yet his dread remains were not allowed to be transmitted to Europe, as if it had been believed, that

"Even in his ashes glow'd their wonted fires."

To bring into one view the alike extraordinary rise and fall of Napoleon, it may only be necessary to cast an

eye over the subjoined epitome of events, from his birth to his decease: to depict the causes which led to them has already been the task of the editor and translator.

Born	August 15,	1769
Entered the Military School of Brienne		1779
Transferred to the School of Paris		1783
Lieutenant in the first artillery regiment of la Fère	Sept. 1,	1785
Captain	Feb. 6,	1792
Chief of Battalion	Oct. 19,	1793
General of Brigade	Feb. 6,	1794
General of Division	Oct. 16,	1795
General-in-chief of the Army of the Interior	Oct. 26,	1795
General-in-chief of the Army of Italy	Feb. 23,	1796
First Consul	Dec. 13,	1799
Consul for life	Aug. 2,	1802
Emperor	May 18,	1804
Crowned	Dec. 2,	1804
Invaded Russia	June 22,	1812
First Abdication at Fontainebleau	April 11,	1814
Resumed the reins of Government	March 20,	1815
Second Abdication at l'Elysée	June 21,	1815
Departed for St. Helena	August 7,	1815
Deceased in that island	May 5,	1821

SUPPLEMENT.

CHAP. I.

Feelings of Napoleon's Marshals and Grandees on the Russian War; their Objections, and the Emperor's Replies.

THE invasion of Russia, and the almost triumphant march of the French armies, with all the "pomp and circumstances of war," from the Niemen to Moscow, have been already detailed in the preceding sheets of this work.—We shall now proceed to a reverse of the picture, too carefully concealed till General Philip Count Segur, breaking through the trammels of national pride, exposed the personal weakness of the great Chief, who had been idolized, even whilst thousands of Frenchmen were daily sacrificed at the shrine of his ambition.

We begin with a retrospect of the feelings of his Marshals and Grandees at the outset of the Russian Campaign, and their arguments against the war.

Prince Poniatowski was amongst those who, from the very first outset of the invasion of Russia, endeavoured to persuade Napoleon to forego his object. He depicted Lithuania as an impracticable desert; its nobility already become half Russian, and the character of its inhabitants as cold and backward; but Napoleon impatiently interrupted him: he wanted information for the sake of conducting the expedition, and not to be deterred from it.

In this spirit, he once more addressed himself to three of his great officers: the Duke of Frioul, the Count de Segur, and the Duke of Vicenza, all of whom, as mi-

nisters, envoys, and ambassadors, were well acquainted with Russia at different epochs. The latter frequently interrupted him, and at length exclaimed, "that it was useless to deceive himself, or pretend to deceive others: that after possessing himself of the Continent, and even of the estates belonging to the family of his ally, that ally could not be accused of having abandoned the continental system.

"While the French armies covered all Europe, how could the Russians be reproached for increasing their army?—Did it become the ambition of Napoleon to denounce that of Alexander? That in addition to this, that prince had determined, that, Russia once invaded, no peace could be expected whilst a single Frenchman remained upon her soil; and the national and obstinate pride of the Russians harmonized completely with that of their Emperor. That the weakness or firmness of Alexander's mind was not now to be judged of by his complacency at Tilsit and at Erfurt; and that he would incur more danger by making a disgraceful peace, than by sustaining an unfortunate war."

It was also asked, how it was possible to avoid seeing that in this war, the French had every thing to fear, even their own allies? The discontented Kings of his making already murmured, saying, they were merely his Prefects, and only waited a suitable opportunity to turn against him. That the plunder of his army since 1805, had sown the seeds of hatred throughout the whole of Germany, which the Emperor now designed to traverse. How then could he call upon Prussia to be one of his *points d'appui*, whom for five years they had been devouring? and how could he trace the longest line of military operations ever drawn, through countries whose fear was taciturn, supple, and perfidious?

To sum up all, what would be the results of so many conquests? To substitute lieutenants for kings, who,

more ambitious than those of Alexander the Great, might imitate their example without even waiting for the death of their sovereign; a death moreover which he might meet among so many fields of battle.

Did he wish to know the opinion of the army? That opinion pronounced, that his best soldiers were then in Spain; that the regiments being too often recruited, wanted unity; that in case of danger, each was uncertain whether it could depend upon the other; that the front rank vainly concealed the weakness of the two others; and that already, from youth and weakness, many of them dropped in their first march, beneath the single burthen of their knapsacks and their arms.

That the climate of Lithuania was most unfit for military occupation, consisting of level plains, where they could never halt, and divested of every species of position fortified by nature or art. That such an extension of territory was never made without proportionate exhaustion; that it was blotting out France to merge it in Europe; for in fact, when France should become Europe, it would be France no longer. Would not the Emperor's meditated departure leave her solitary, deserted, and without a ruler, accessible to every diversion? Who then was there to defend her?—"My renown!" exclaimed the Emperor: "*I leave my name behind me, and the fear inspired by a nation in arms.*"

Then without appearing in the least shaken by so many objections, he announced that he was about to organize the Empire into cohorts of *ban* and *arriere ban*, and without mistrust, to leave to Frenchmen the protection of France, of his crown, and his glory.

Prussia, he thought, he had secured, by the impossibility in which he had placed her of moving; that the Germans were a tardy and methodical kind of people; that he commanded all the fortresses of Prussia; that Dantzick was a second Gibraltar. This was incorrect, especially

in winter. That Russia ought to excite the apprehension of all Europe, by her military and conquering government, as well as by her savage population, already so numerous, and which augmented annually in the proportion of half a million.

Proceeding afterwards with more animation, he exclaimed, "Why threaten my absence with the different parties in the interior of the Empire? Where are they? I see only a few Royalists, the principal part of the ancient *noblesse*, superannuated and inexperienced. But they dread my downfall more than they desire it. This is what I told them in Normandy. I am cried up as a great captain, as an able politician, but I am scarcely mentioned as an administrator: the stemming the revolutionary torrent that would otherwise have swallowed up every thing, was the most difficult, and the most beneficial. I have united the most opposite parties, and yet there exists among you some obstinate nobles, who resist, and refuse my places. Do you not see that it is necessary to put an end to the struggle between *the third estate* and the nobles, by a complete fusion of all that is best worth preservation in the two classes?"

As to the ambition of his Generals, he said it was diverted by war, and never would be sanctioned in its excesses by French soldiers. That if war was dangerous, peace also had its dangers; and he concluded thus: "Do you dread the war as endangering my life? It was thus that, in the times of the conspiracy, attempts were made to frighten me about Georges: he was said to be every where upon my track; that wretched being was to fire at me. Well! suppose he had! he would at the utmost have killed my *aide-de-camp*, but to kill me was impossible! Had I at that time accomplished the decrees of fate? I still feel myself impelled towards a goal of which I am ignorant. As soon as I have reached it, so soon shall I no longer be of service—an atom will then suffice

to put one down, but till then, all human efforts can avail nothing against me. Whether I am in Paris or with the army, is quite indifferent. When my hour comes, a fever, or a fall from my horse in hunting, will kill me as effectually as a bullet: our days are numbered."

In this manner Napoleon replied to all the objections, and in fact, when he wanted to persuade, there was a kind of charm in his deportment, which it was impossible to resist; as most persons found themselves overpowered by his superior strength, or fascinated by his influence. To a minister of high rank under the ancient *regime*, who was filled with dismay at the idea of so much blood being shed, he said, "that it was a war of policy exclusively; that it was the English alone whom he meant to attack through Russia; that the campaign would be short; that it was the fifth act of the drama, the *denouement*."

Whilst the army was marching through Lithuania, Napoleon issued a threatening proclamation to restrain the plunderers: he directed moveable columns of French and Lithuanians to pursue and punish them; but when the latter had stripped the offenders of the bread or the cattle they had stolen, and when they saw them slowly retiring with looks of condensed despair, sometimes bursting into tears, and when they heard them murmuring, "that not content with giving them nothing, we wrested every thing from them," we then in our turn, accusing ourselves of barbarity to our own people, frequently called them back, and restored their prey to them.—When some of these famished parties arrived near any habitations, at first they asked for food; but either for want of being understood, or from positive refusal, altercations generally arose; then exasperated with hunger, they became furious, and after demolishing houses or cottages, and not finding any thing, they would revenge themselves on the proprietors, by destroying their property.

Some of these plunderers actually destroyed themselves

rather than proceed to such extremities. They placed their foreheads on their muskets, and blew out their brains in the middle of the high road, whilst many vagabonds became hardened, and avenged their distresses upon the persons who fell in their way.

Being necessitated to make forced marches to escape their distresses, the soldiers, at night, when they halted, thronged into the houses; there, worn out with disease and want, they threw themselves upon the first dirty straw they met with.

The most robust had barely spirits left to knead the flour which they found, and to light the ovens that were to be met with in all the wooden houses in that country. The officers, exhausted like themselves, feebly gave orders, but frequently neglected to see those orders obeyed. Sparks from the fires of the night-guards, or from these ovens, were often sufficient to set fire to many of the dwellings, and cause the death of many unfortunate soldiers who had taken refuge in them.

The Emperor Napoleon was not ignorant of these details, but he had committed himself too far. Even at Wilna, all these disorders had taken place: the Duke of Trevisa among others, informed him, "that he had seen from the Niemen to the Vilea, nothing but ruined habitations, and baggage and provision waggons abandoned, and dispersed on the highways and fields, overturned, broken open, and their contents scattered here and there, as if they had been taken by an enemy. He should have imagined himself following a defeated army. Ten thousand horses had been killed by the cold rains and unripe rye which had become their new food; their carcasses encumbered the road, whilst a mephitic smell rendered it almost impossible to breathe: several soldiers of the young guard had already perished of hunger."

Napoleon had hitherto listened with patience, but here he interrupted the speaker, exclaiming, "It is impossible!

Where are their twenty days' provisions? Soldiers well commanded never die of hunger." Thus, in fact, the Emperor grew angry at the account of evils which he considered irremediable; his policy imposing on him the necessity of a prompt and decisive victory.

At Wilna, M. Balachoff, a minister of the Russian Emperor, presented himself at the French advanced posts with a flag of truce, bringing this message from Alexander: "That it was not yet too late to negotiate; a war which the soil, the climate, and the character of Russia, rendered interminable, was begun; but all reconciliation was not yet impossible, and from one bank of the Niemen to the other, they might still come to an understanding." So far from listening to this language of moderation, in the warmth of conversation Napoleon asked Balachoff, "What had brought him to Wilna? What did the Emperor of Russia want with him? Did he pretend to resist him? He was only a parade general. As to himself, his head was his counsellor; from that every thing proceeded; but as to Alexander, who was there to advise him? He had only three generals, Kutusoff, whom he did not like because he was a Russian, Beningsen, superannuated six years ago,—Barclay the last, he said could certainly manœuvre, was brave, and understood war; but he was a general only fit for a retreat." And he added, "You all believe you understood the art of war, because you have read Jomini; but if his book could have taught you, do you think I would have allowed it to have been published?" In this conversation he added, "that however, the Emperor had friends even in the Imperial head-quarters." Then pointing out Caulaincourt to the Russian minister, "there," said he, "is a knight of your Emperor; he is a Russian in the French camp."

But as soon as Balachoff was gone, Caulaincourt advanced towards Napoleon, and in an angry tone, asked him why he had insulted him? exclaiming, "that he was

a Frenchman! a true Frenchman! that he had proved it already; and would prove it again, by repeating that this war was impolitic and dangerous; that it would destroy his army, France, and himself. That as to the rest, as he had just insulted him, he should quit him; that all that he asked of him was a division in Spain, where nobody wished to serve, and the farthest from his presence possible."—The Emperor attempted to appease him, but not being able to obtain a hearing, he withdrew, Caulaincourt still pursuing him with his reproaches. Berthier, who was present, interposed without effect. Bessieres, more in the back-ground, had vainly tried to detain Caulaincourt, by holding him by the coat.

The next day Napoleon was unable to bring him into his presence, without formal and repeated orders. At length he appeased him by caresses, and by the assurance of esteem and attachment which his offended equerry justly deserved.

Balachoff was dismissed with verbal and inadmissible proposals. The affair of Mohilef took place on the 23d of July, when the Russian General Bagration had 35,000 men opposed to 12,000 under Marshal Davoust. The Muscovites say, that in the middle of the contest they were seized with a panic at the idea of finding themselves in the presence of Napoleon; for each of the enemy's generals imagined him to be opposed to them: Bagration at Mohilef, and Barclay at Drissa. He was believed to be in all places at once, so greatly did renown magnify the man of genius, and convert him into a kind of supernatural being.

The wary conduct of the Russian generals, in refusing a battle at Witespk, quite disconcerted Napoleon. Much time had been lost in remaining at that place. Murat here grew tired of repose. Here, in a private interview with Napoleon, he gave way to all his natural impetuosity. He accused the Russian army of cowardice, and for fail-

ing in a *rendezvous* before that place, as if it had been an affair of a duel. It was, he said, a panic-struck army, which his light cavalry alone was sufficient to put to flight. This extorted a smile from Napoleon; but in order to moderate his fervour, he said, "Murat! the first campaign in Russia is finished; let us here plant our eagles. Two great rivers mark out our position; let us raise block-houses on that line; let our fires cross each other on all sides; let us form in square battalions; cannon at the angles and the exterior; let the interior contain our quarters and our magazines—1813 will see us at Moscow—1814 at Petersburgh. The Russian war is a war of three years!" On the very same day he loudly addressed a purveyor in the following words; "As for you, Sir, you must take care to provide subsistence for us in these quarters;" for, added he in a loud voice, and addressing himself to some of his officers, "We shall not repeat the folly of Charles the Twelfth." But his actions soon belied his words.

About this time the whole army was loaded with his favors. If he happened to meet with convoys of wounded, he stopped them, and never quitted them without consoling them by his words, or making them partakers of his bounty. On his guard he bestowed particular attention, lavishing commendations, and sometimes blame: this generally falling on the purveyors, pleased the soldiers, and diverted their complaints.

Every day he also visited the ovens, tasted the bread, and satisfied himself respecting the regularity of the distributions. He frequently sent wine from his table to the sentinel nearest him. These attentions were by some ascribed to his gratitude for the past; and by others to his exigency for the future.

Whilst at Witespk, Napoleon having long deliberated upon the practicability and possibility of proceeding to Smolensk and Moscow, he was anxious that his resolu-

tion should satisfy his friends; but all the officers of his household opposed his plan, each in the way that marked his peculiar character. Berthier exhibited a melancholy countenance, and even shed tears; Lobau, and Caulaincourt used a frankness, stamped with a cold and haughty roughness. The Emperor repelled their observations with some ill-humour, especially to his aide-de-camp and to Berthier. He said "he had enriched his Generals too much; that all they now aspired to was to follow the pleasures of the chase, and display their brilliant equipages in Paris; and that doubtless they had become disgusted with war." When their honour was thus attacked, they merely bowed, and remained silent. During one of his impatient fits, he said to a General of his guard, "You were born in a *bivouac*, and in a *bivouac* you will die."

When Count Daru found an opportunity to give his opinion upon the state of affairs, and when the great question of the march upon Moscow had occupied eight successive hours, Daru exclaimed, "It is not a national war. The introduction of some English merchandize into Russia, and even the restoration of the kingdom of Poland, are not sufficient reasons for engaging in so distant a war; neither your troops, nor ourselves, understand its necessity or its objects, and to say the least, all things recommend the policy of stopping where we now are."

The Emperor rejoined, "Did they take him for a madman? Did they imagine he made war from inclination? Had they not heard him say that the wars of Spain and Russia were two ulcers which ate into the vitals of France, and that she could not bear them both at once?" He added, that two persons were necessary in order to negotiate, and he was but one. He then asked whether a single letter from Alexander had yet reached him? "Russia," he added, "is too great to yield without fighting. Alexander can only negotiate after a great

battle. If it is necessary, I will even proceed to the holy city in search of that battle, and I will gain it. Peace waits for me at the gates of Moscow. But with his honour thus saved, if Alexander still persists, I will negotiate with the Boyards, or even with the population of that capital; it is numerous, united, and consequently enlightened. It will understand its own interests, and comprehend the value of liberty." He concluded by saying, that Moscow hated Petersburgh; that he would take advantage of their rivalry; and that the results of such a jealousy were incalculable.

In the course of this conversation Napoleon was asked, How could men be roused to insurrection for the sake of a liberty whose very name they did not understand? What influence could be obtained over a people almost savages without property? What could be taken from them? Their only property was their lives, which they carried with them into regions of almost infinite space.

Still dissatisfied, the Emperor summoned successively several of the Generals of his army; but his questions were such as indicated their answers: the greater part even signified their approbation, being perfectly convinced they would incur his displeasure by recommending him to stop; as in that case he would be the more certain to advance. They found it more convenient to be wrong with him, than to be right without him.

One individual alone, not only approved of his design, but encouraged it, and loudly took upon himself to vouch for the ardour of his soldiers, whose emaciated countenances but ill accorded with the flattery of their leader. The Emperor gave credit to his ardour, because it pleased him, and because he only saw the soldiers at reviews, when his presence, the military pomp, the mutual excitation produced by great assemblages, imparted fervour to the mind, and dictated an appearance of enthusiasm.

But it was principally with his guard that his attention

was occupied. In the army his soldiers complained of his non-appearance. They said, "they no longer saw him, except in days of battle, when they had to die for him: they were all there to serve him, but he seemed no longer to serve them."

Another source of discontent in the army, was the knowledge that the guard fared better than the rest. Several convoys of provisions belonging to other corps, were on their passage daringly detained at the Imperial head-quarters for their use, but by whose orders was not known.

Napoleon himself experienced great anxiety, from his knowledge that at Witespk alone, 3000 of his soldiers were suffering by the dysentery. The rye eaten in their soup, was the principal cause. Davoust having informed him that roasting the rye would deprive it of these noxious qualities, the Emperor se. d two of the grenadiers of his guard at a table before him; but the roasted rye did not agree with them, though he added to it some of his own wine, which he himself poured out for them.

Whilst at Krasnoe, about the middle of August, the anniversary of Napoleon's birth-day occurred, when Murat and Ney caused a salute of 100 guns to be fired. The Emperor remarked with some displeasure, "that in Russia it was necessary to be sparing of French powder." The answer was, that it was Russian powder, taken the preceding day: this drew a smile from Napoleon.

Prince Eugene considered it his duty to carry him his good wishes. The Emperor said, "every thing is preparing for a battle; I shall gain it, and we shall see Moscow." The Prince kept silence, but as he retired, in answer to the questions put to him by Marshal Mortier, he replied, "Moscow will be our ruin!" Duroc, the most reserved of all, but the friend and confidant of Napoleon, loudly declared, "he could not foresee the period of their return." Soon after this, Murat threw

himself at the feet of Napoleon, and conjured him to stop at Smolensk; but Napoleon saw nothing but Moscow; and that honour, glory, rest, and every thing for him, was there. The whole of this conversation was not heard; but when Murat quitted his brother-in-law, his face wore the expression of deep chagrin, his motions were abrupt, a gloomy and concentrated vehemence agitated him, and the name of Moscow escaped several times from his lips. Several circumstances occurred in the attack upon Smolensk, tending to gratify the personal feelings of Napoleon. Here every manœuvre succeeded at once, excepting Ney's attack, which ought to have been decisive. The Russians were driven back precipitately within their walls; but in mounting to the assault, the French columns left a long and wide track of blood, of wounded and of dead. One battalion which presented itself in flank to the Russian batteries, lost a whole rank of one of its platoons by a single bullet; twenty-two men fell by the same blow.

Meanwhile the army, from an amphitheatre of heights, contemplated with silent anxiety the conduct of their comrades; but when they saw them darting through a shower of balls and grape-shot with an ardour and regularity quite admirable, the soldiers, warmed with enthusiasm, began clapping their hands, the sound of which reaching the attacking columns, rewarded the devotion of these warriors. In Dalton's single brigade, and Reindre's artillery, five chiefs of battalion, 1500 men, and the general himself fell; still the survivors said, the enthusiastic ardour they excited, sufficiently rewarded them for all their sufferings. When night came on Napoleon retired to his tent; soon after this, shells being thrown into the city to dislodge the enemy, thick black columns of smoke were seen rising from several points, lighted at intervals by flickering flashes, then by sparks, and at last long spires of flame burst from all parts. It

was like a great number of distinct fires, which at length uniting, formed one vast blaze, that whirling about as it rose, covered Smolensk, and entirely consumed it with a dismal roaring. The Emperor in the meanwhile sitting in the front of his tent, contemplated in silence this awful spectacle. Some of Poniatowski's Poles had been the first to enter the city, which the Russian General Barclay had just evacuated.

When the French army entered the walls, it traversed the reeking and blood-stained ruins with its accustomed order, pomp, and martial music, triumphing over the deserted wreck, and having no other witness of its glory but itself. The next day, when Napoleon inspected the field of battle, he found it strewed with a great number of Russian dead, and but few French: most of the latter had been stripped; they were known by the whiteness of their skin, and by their forms, less bony and muscular than their enemies. Continuing his *reconnoissance*, he came to one of the gates of the citadel near the Borysthenes, still occupied by the Russians, where, amidst his marshals and generals, he sat down on some mats before a hut, not so much to observe the enemy, as to relieve his heart from the load that oppressed it. Disappointed of the decisive battle he had so long sought and expected, he amongst many incoherent sallies, exclaimed, "What a disgrace for Barclay to have given up without fighting, the key of old Russia! The Emperor Alexander," he said, "would soon cease to have an army. The rabble of peasants armed with pikes, whom he had just seen in their battalions, sufficiently demonstrated to what shifts their generals had been reduced!"

Whilst he was thus talking, the balls of the Russian riflemen were whizzing about his ears. No one answered him, as it was evident he was not asking advice, and was endeavouring not only to deceive himself, but to make other persons partakers in his illusions. After

thus talking to himself nearly an hour, seeing the heights on the right bank of the Borysthenes were nearly abandoned by the enemy, he concluded with exclaiming, that "the Russians were women, and acknowledged themselves beaten." At length he again mounted his horse.

Having met with an officer sent from Prince Schwartzenberg, announcing some advantages gained over a body of Russians under Tormasof, as if continuing his former conversation, he exclaimed, "there, you see, the poltroons! They allow themselves to be beaten, even by the Austrians!" Then casting round him a look of apprehension, "I hope," added he, "that none but Frenchmen hear me." At length returning, and entering Smolensk, in the passage through its massy walls, Count Lobau exclaimed, "What a fine head for cantonments!" This was the same thing as advising him to stop there; but the Emperor returned no other answer to this advice, but a stern look. This look, it was observed, soon changed its expression, when it had nothing to rest upon but ruins, amongst which the wounded French were crawling, and heaps of smoking ashes, where lay human skeletons dried and blackened by the fire. This great destruction seemed to confound him.

Here it is right to observe, that the sufferings of his army did not want for an interpreter. He knew that the soldiers had asked one another, "for what purpose they had been marched eight hundred leagues, to find nothing but muddy water, famine, and *bivouacs* upon heaps of ashes: for such were all their conquests!" Several of the generals also began to tire: some stopped on account of illness; others murmured: "What better were they for his having enriched them, if they could not enjoy their wealth? or for giving them wives, if he made them widowers, by a continual absence? for his bestowal of palaces, if he obliged them to lie abroad on the bare

ground? Europe," they said, "would soon be insufficient for him: he would want Asia too."

In an audience which Rapp had obtained with Napoleon, soon after the taking of Smolensk, this distinguished soldier, who had followed the track of the army, could not help observing, "they had advanced but a hundred leagues from the Niemen, and already it was completely altered." The officers who travelled post from the interior of France to join it, arrived dismayed; they could not imagine how a victorious army, without fighting, should have left behind it more wrecks than a defeated one. They had met with all who were marching to join their masses, and all who had separated from them. The appearance of each troop, according to its distance from home, excited anxiety or pity. In Germany, as far as the Oder, a thousand objects reminded these recruits of France, and not finding themselves entirely cut off from it, they continued jovial; but beyond the Oder, in Poland, where every thing wore a foreign aspect, and where nothing resembled a country which they regretted, they began to be dismayed at the distance they had traversed. The very idea of return was disheartening: how many steps they had taken, and how many more they had to take, was continually recurring to their recollection; and they justly complained, that their fatigues had been gradually increasing ever since they left France.

The fact is, that wine first failed them; then beer, even spirits; and lastly, they were reduced to wa[illegible] in its turn was frequently wanting. Hence depression of mind kept equal pace with debilitation of body. Still they marched on amidst the dull uniformity of the vast and silent monotony of forests and dark pines. They crept along these large trees, bare and stripped to their very tops; and frequently overcome by a silent horror, hesitated in penetrating farther into such vast deserts.

To these fatigues succeeded the dysentery and the typhus fever, and out of 22,000 Bavarians who passed the Oder, only 11,000 of them reached the Duna, and yet they had never been in action. This march cost the French one-fourth, and the allies, one-half of their army.

Whilst numbers of the sick dropped behind, many disgusted with the service, deserted, and forming themselves into bands, fixed their quarters in the mansions and villages near the military road, where they lived in abundance. Among them were fewer French than Germans; but it was remarked, that the leader of each of these bands was invariably a Frenchman. Rapp had witnessed all these disorders; his blunt honesty kept none of these details from his chief; but the Emperor silenced him by saying, "I am going to strike a great blow, and then all the stragglers will rally."

Sebastiani, like the others, laid great stress on the state of the army; he reminded the Emperor of his own words, when he declared to him at Wilna, "that he would not cross the Duna; for to proceed farther this year would be hurrying to infallible destruction." He now observed, that the army could not stop; as with its composition, and in its disorganization, motion alone kept it together. "One may advance at the head of it, but not stop or go back."

It was thus that he spoke to those immediately about him; but to the generals of divisions he held a different language; from these he carefully concealed his plans, and seemed to agree with them as to the necessity of stopping.

After the battle of Valontena, Smolensk was but one vast hospital; and the loud groans that issued from it, drowned the shout of glory which had just been raised.

The burning of Smolensk, Napoleon was convinced, was not the effect of an unforeseen accident, nor even the result of an act of despair; but that of cool deliberation.

The Russians had studied the time and means, and an event rather singular convinced Napoleon as to the extent of that blind fury excited against the French throughout the whole Russian territory. "A Pope or Priest being found in Smolensk, was with his interpreter conducted to the Emperor; the venerable priest first reproached him with firmness, for his alleged sacrilegious deeds: he knew not that it was the Russian general himself, who had caused the churches and the convents to be set on fire, and who had accused the French of these outrages, in order that the mercantile class and the peasantry might not separate their cause from that of the nobility."

The Emperor listened to him attentively; but said to him at last, "Has your church been burnt?"—"No, Sire," replied the pope; "God will be more powerful than you; he will protect it; for I have opened it to all the unfortunate people deprived of a home by the destruction of the city."—"You are right," rejoined Napoleon with emotion: "yes, God will watch over the innocent victims of war; he will reward you for your courage. Go, worthy priest, return to your post. Had all your popes followed your example, they would not have betrayed the mission of peace which they received from heaven; if they had not abandoned the temples which their presence alone renders sacred, my soldiers would have spared your holy edifices; for we are all Christians, and your God is our God."

This priest being conducted back to his church, with some succours, a heart-rending shriek arose from a crowd of terrified women and children, at the sight of the soldiers entering into that asylum; but the priest raising his voice, cried, "Be of good cheer: I have seen Napoleon; I have spoken to him. Oh! how have we been deceived, my children! the Emperor of France is not the man he has been represented to you. Learn that he and his soldiers worship the same God as we do. The war which he

wages is not religious, it is a political quarrel with our Emperor. His soldiers only fight our soldiers. They do not slaughter old men, women and children, as we have been assured. Cheer up then, and let us thank God for being relieved from the painful duty of hating them as heathen, impious wretches, and incendiaries!" He then commenced a hymn of thanks, in which they all joined with much feeling.

But these words plainly shewed them how much the nation had been deceived. The rest of the inhabitants had fled. Hence it appeared it was not the army alone but all Russia, that fled before the French; the Emperor felt that with this population, one of his most powerful engines of conquest was escaping from his hands. This priest, however, was a singular exception to the great majority. The rest, influenced by the nobles, still continued to persuade the peasants that the French were legions of Devils commanded by Antichrist, infernal spirits, whose look should excite horror, and whose touch would infect. Some prisoners remarked, that the poorest Russians would not use a vessel again after the French, but devote it to the vilest of purposes.

The Emperor now perceived the enormous magnitude of his enterprise. So long as he only encountered kings, to him who was greater than all of them, their defeats were but sport; but the kings being conquered, he had now to do with the people, and Russia was another Spain, but remote, barren, and placed at the extremity of Europe. Napoleon, however, persisted in his favourite idea of proceeding to Moscow, though his means for so doing were rapidly diminishing every day. The mere existence of his army was a prodigy renewed every day, by the active, industrious, and intelligent spirit of the French and Polish troops, by their habit of surmounting all difficulties, and their fondness of the hazards incident to this dreadful game of an adventurous life. Provision-carts and the

baggage-waggons were driven by the soldiers, who turned their hands to every thing. They were missed in the ranks, it is true; but necessity excused their absence; it required a second army, as it were, to carry or draw what was indispensable for the first.

Owing to the cattle which followed, there was less want of meat than of bread; but the length, and especially the rapidity of the marches, occasioned the loss of hundreds of these animals, suffocated by heat and dust; when therefore they came to water, many rushed into it, and were drowned, whilst others drank so immoderately as to swell till they were unable to walk.

At Dorogobouje, in order to advance fearless of the threatening consequences of the defection of the Swedes and Turks, Napoleon neglected the hostile armies of Essen at Riga, of Witgenstein before Polotsk, of Ertell before Bobruisk, of Tchitchakof in Volhynia, making a total of 120,000 men! He passed them, and suffered himself to be surrounded by them, and yet his column designed for the attack upon Moscow, 185,000 strong on his departure from Witespk, was then reduced to 157,000 men, half of whom occupied Witespk, Orcha, Mohilef and Smolensk. The rest had been killed or wounded, or were straggling and plundering in his rear.

Meanwhile Napoleon beheld Dorogobouje in ashes like Smolensk, especially the quarter of the merchants, those who had most to lose, whom their riches might have detained, or brought back again; but his hardihood increased with the prudence of the Russian generals in avoiding a battle; their circumspection he called pusillanimity. At Slawkowo there was so little order about Napoleon, that during the night his guard burned the bridge they were ordered to preserve.

On the 28th of August, when Wiasma was on fire, and Napoleon was ignorant which were the incendiaries, the Russians or his own troops, being exceedingly incensed,

he rode into the midst of the groups of soldiers, caused a suttler to be seized, and ordered him instantly to be tried and shot. The meaning of this phrase from his lips, was well understood; it was known also, that the most vehement fits of his anger, were the soonest followed by indulgence. A moment after, therefore, they placed in his way the unfortunate man on his knees, with a woman and several children beside him, whom they passed off for his family. The Emperor, already cooled, inquired what they wanted, and caused the man to be set at liberty.

The terrible battle of Borodino, or the Moskwa, had for several days preceding it been the source of the most poignant and conflicting sensations in the breast of Napoleon. He asked Rapp if he thought they should gain the victory? "No doubt," was the reply, "but it will be sanguinary." "I know it," replied the Emperor; "but I have 80,000 men; I shall lose 20,000; I shall enter Moscow with 60,000; the stragglers will there rejoin us, and afterwards the battalions on the march, and so we shall be stronger than we were before the battle." In this estimate he seemed to include neither his guard nor his cavalry.

But the marches and fatigues, with his anxious expectation, had nearly worn him out; he had been struck with the chillness of the atmosphere, which occasioned a dry fever, a dry cough, and excessive thirst; added to these, was his old complaint, a retention of urine. The internal disease which hastened the death of Napoleon, had long been undermining his constitution. As early as 1806, when at Warsaw, he was heard by Count Lobau to say, "that he carried about with him the germ of premature dissolution; and that he should die of the same malady as his father." After some interval of rest, of which the fever had deprived him, he rose up, sallied out, and exclaimed, "We have them at last! Forward!

Let us go and open the gates of Moscow."—It is well known that during this long contested action, Napoleon obstinately refused his guard, though strongly and repeatedly solicited by Murat himself and several of the best generals. His excuse was, "That the hour of his battle was not yet come; that it would begin in two hours." But it never began; and when it became the cry from all sides, "that the moment for sending the guard was now come," Napoleon replied, "and if there should be another battle to-morrow, where is my army?"

At length, about five in the afternoon, when the field was gained, he called Mortier to him, and ordered him to make the young guard advance; but on no account to pass the new ravine which separated the French from the enemy. He added, "that he gave him charge to guard the field of battle; that was all he required of him; that he was at liberty to do whatever he thought necessary for that purpose, and nothing more." He recalled him shortly after, to ask "if he had properly understood him; recommended him to make no attack; but merely to guard the field of battle." An hour afterwards he sent to him to reiterate the order, not to advance nor retreat, whatever might happen.

After Napoleon had retired to his tent, great mental anguish was added to his previous physical dejection. His losses had been immense, and out of all proportion to the advantages gained. Every one around him had to lament the loss of a friend, a relation, or a brother. Forty-three generals had been killed or wounded. What a triumph for his enemies! Even in his own tent, his nominal victory was silent, gloomy, isolated, and without flatterers.

It was now ten o'clock. Murat, whom twelve hours fighting had not exhausted, came to ask him for the cavalry of his guard; he wished to surprize and extinguish the enemy who was passing the Moskwa in haste and

disorder. The Emperor repelled this sally of immoderate ardour, and afterwards dictated the bulletin of the day, in which he seemed pleased in announcing, "that neither he nor his guard had been at all exposed." It seemed to be a sort of security to him against his allies in arms, as well as against his enemies; on this account he took so much pains to inform Europe of the preservation of that formidable reserve; and yet it scarcely amounted to 20,000 men, and more than a third of these were new recruits.

Even in the night after the battle, the Russians were insulting by their unseasonable clamours; and next morning there was an alert close to the Emperor's tent, when the old guard was actually obliged to run to arms. The army remained motionless till noon, excepting those dispersed over the field of battle to collect and carry off the wounded, 20,000 in number, to the great abbey of Kolotskoi, two leagues in the rear.

Napoleon then rode over the field of battle, which presented a horrible appearance, heightened by a cold rain, a violent wind, houses burnt to ashes, the ground ploughed up by the cannon shot; the sad and sombre verdure of the trees; soldiers roaming about in all directions, hunting for provisions, even in the haversacks of the dead; silent bivouacs, no singing or story-telling. The eagles were surrounded by the remaining officers and subalterns, and a few soldiers, scarcely enough to protect the colours; their clothes were torn, blackened with powder, or spotted with blood; yet they maintained a proud look; and at the sight of the Emperor they still uttered a few shouts of triumph. But what excited the greatest surprise in the reflecting part of the French army, was the small number of Russian prisoners, not exceeding 800; the numerous dead bodies of the latter were looked upon rather as a proof of the courage of the vanquished than the evidence of a victory.

Whilst passing over this sanguinary plain, Napoleon's attendants came very nearly in contact with a wounded soldier, who still exhibited some signs of life; this excited exclamations of pity from the Emperor, and some attentions of humanity. To pacify him, somebody said it was only a Russian; but he retorted warmly, "that after a victory there are no *enemies*, but *men*." He then dispatched the officers of his suite to succour the wounded, who were heard groaning in every direction. Great numbers of these were found at the bottom of ravines, where they had dragged themselves for protection from the enemy and the storm. Some begged the soldiers to kill them outright. Many of the youngest pronounced the names of their mothers: most of the elder ones waited the approach of death without deigning to implore for mercy, or even to complain. One of the most mutilated had only one arm and his trunk remaining; he was so full of hope, and even of gaiety, that an attempt was made to save him; but whilst bearing him along, it was remarked that he complained of suffering pain in the limbs which he no longer possessed.

During this melancholy review, the Emperor in vain sought to console himself, by having a second enumeration made of the few Russian prisoners; these, with twenty broken cannon, were all the trophies of this important victory.

When Napoleon arrived at the gates of Moscow in person, the discontented Marshals who had shunned him ever since the great battle, pressed around him, paying homage to his good fortune: struck with a result so little expected by them, they for a moment forgot their grievances, and seemed intoxicated with all the enthusiasm of glory.

But upon the first sight of Moscow, the Emperor's emotions were of short duration. His first exclamation was, "There, at last, is that famous city!" and the

second: "It was high time." He only now waited to see that deputation come forth, which he flattered himself would place its wealth, its population, its senate, and the principal of the Russian nobility, at his disposal. Vain wish! Murat with his scouts had reached the entrance of the suburbs, and yet no deputation appeared: an officer sent by Miloradowitch, came merely to declare that his general would set fire to the city, if his rear was not allowed time to evacuate it. Napoleon granted every demand; the front troops of the two armies were for a short time mingled together. Murat was known to the Cossacks, who thronged around him, and by their gestures and acclamations, strongly expressed their approbation of his valour. The King of Naples took the watches of his officers, and distributed them among these barbarous warriors. One of them called him his *Hettman*. This armistice having lasted two hours, day was now declining, and Moscow continued dull, silent, and as it were, inanimate; the anxiety of the Emperor increased, and the soldiers became restless: some officers ventured within the walls, and the city was found deserted!

At this intelligence, which he angrily refused to credit, Napoleon descended the Hill of Salvation, and approached the Moskwa, and the Dorogomilow gate. He paused once more, but in vain, at the entry of that barrier; but Murat urging him, "Well," replied he, "enter then, since they wish it." He recommended the strictest discipline. "Perhaps," said he, "these inhabitants do not know how to surrender; for here every thing is new; they to us, and we to them." At length he called Daru. "Moscow deserted!" exclaimed he; "what an improbable story! Go, bring me the Boyards." He imagined that those men, stiff with pride, or paralized with terror, were fixed motionless in their houses, waiting his award! Daru's mission was therefore fruitless; not

a Muscovite was to be seen; not the least smoke rose from a single chimney; not the slightest noise issued from this immense city; its three hundred thousand inhabitants seemed to be struck dumb and motionless, as by enchantment: it was the silence of a desert. Such was the incredulity of Napoleon, that he was not convinced, till at length an officer, resolved to satisfy him, entered the city, seized five or six vagabonds, drove them before his horse to the Emperor, who imagined he had brought him a deputation. From the first words they uttered, Napoleon discovered that these persons were only indigent labourers. He then shrugged his shoulders, and with that contemptuous look with which he met every thing that crossed his wishes, exclaimed, "Ah! the Russians know not yet the effect the taking of their capital will produce upon them!"

More than an hour after Murat and the long and close column of his cavalry had entered Moscow with a slow pace, the report of fire-arms was heard all at once; the column halted. Its last horses still covered the fields; its centre was in one of the longest streets of the city; its head had reached the Kremlin, the gates of which seemed to be closed. Ferocious cries issued from within; men and women of savage and disgusting aspect appeared in arms upon its walls, in a state of filthy inebriety: they uttered the most horrible imprecations; a friendly message was of no avail. It was necessary to employ cannon to force the gate.

When the French had entered, one of these wretches rushed close to the King of Naples, and endeavoured to kill an officer; the former was disarmed, but he again fell upon his victim, rolled him upon the ground, and endeavoured to suffocate him, and even after his arms were seized, held him, and strove to tear him with his teeth.

Murat having traversed this proud city, disdained to

halt in it; but pursuing the Russian rear-guard, he boldly and without hesitation took the road for Wladimir and Asia. Napoleon did not enter Moscow till after dark, when he stopped at one of the first houses in the Dorogomilow suburb, having appointed Marshal Mortier Governor of the city. During the night, that fire burst forth, which was never totally subdued till it had laid nearly the whole of this immense capital in ashes. By the light of the great bazaar, Napoleon dictated terms of peace, which were sent by a Russian officer of distinction to Alexander.

Eleven days had elapsed, and Alexander had sent no answer to the proposals of which Lauriston had been the bearer: this was an affront: Napoleon was exasperated. On the 3d of October, after having passed a restless night, he summoned his Marshals. "Come in," said he, "hear the new plan I have conceived." It was read by Prince Eugene: "We must burn the remains of Moscow, march by Twer to Petersburgh, where we shall be joined by Macdonald. Murat and Davoust will form the rear-guard." The Emperor, all animation, fixed his sparkling eyes on his Generals, whose frigid and silent countenances expressed nothing but astonishment. Then exalting himself in order to rouse them—"What!" said he, "and are *you* not inflamed by this idea? Was there ever so great a military achievement? Henceforth this conquest is the only one that is worthy of us! With what glory shall we be covered! and what will the whole world say, when it learns that in three months we have conquered the two great capitals of the north!" But Davoust and Daru objected to this project. "Why," said they, "go to meet winter, to provoke and defy it; and what was to become of the six thousand wounded still at Moscow?" He also told Caulaincourt that he was about to march to Petersburgh. Russia would rise against the Emperor Alexander; there would be a con-

spiracy against that monarch, and he would be assassinated. He esteemed that prince, and should regret him, but for his own sake and that of France. At first he thought of sending Caulaincourt with a letter to the Emperor of Russia; but he ultimately fixed upon Lauriston, saying to him: "I want peace; I must have peace; I absolutely will have peace; only save my honour."

The armistice that had now been agreed upon was a singular one. If either party wished to break it, three hours notice was to be sufficient. It was confined to the fronts of the two camps, but did not extend to their flanks; so that the French could not bring up a convoy, or send out a foraging party, without fighting. As for the Emperor, he had but a few moments of factitious joy: he complained that an annoying warfare of partisans was hovering round him, that bodies of Cossacks were prowling on his flanks and in his rear; and that 150 dragoons of his old guard had been surprised and routed by some of these barbarians only two days after the armistice, on his line of operation, and in fact, that two convoys had fallen into the enemy's hands on that road.

The peasantry took a part in this war, and punished any of their own body whom they knew had been allured to visit the French camp with provisions. Others set fire to their own villages, merely to drive the French foragers out of them. It was the peasantry also that took Verera, a town near Moscow, by a *coup de main*, under the conduct of one of their priests.

At this time it was remarked that Napoleon's daily excursions, always illumined by a brilliant sun, did not amuse him. To the sullen silence of Moscow, was superadded that of the surrounding deserts, and the still more menacing silence of Alexander. He then reviewed the different measures, the choice of which still remained to

him. "People," he said, "imagined that he had nothing to do but to march, without considering that it would take a month to refit his army and to evacuate his hospitals. He would appear to have fled; as if I did not know (added he), that in a military point of view, Moscow is of no value! Moscow is a political position: in politics, a person ought never to retrograde; never admit himself to have been wrong; he ought to persevere, in order to give the thing the appearance of being in the right."

Moscow, he said, being empty of inhabitants, was no doubt a misfortune, but not without its advantages: had it been otherwise, he would not have been able to overawe a population of three hundred thousand souls, and to sleep in the Kremlin without having his throat cut.

In the meanwhile the condition of his army was considerably reduced. Their shoes were in a bad state, from the length of the way, as was the rest of their apparel, from the actions in which they had been engaged; but in spite of all, their attitude was still lofty. They carefully concealed their wretched plight from the Emperor, and appeared before him with their arms bright, and in the best order.

During this time the Emperor complaisantly affected to know no better, when all at once the first snows fell, and with them all the illusions with which he had endeavoured to surround himself. From that moment he thought of nothing but retreat, and yet no positive order for it could be obtained from him: he merely said, that in twenty days the army must be in winter-quarters, and he urged the departure of the wounded. There was also a deficiency of horses for his artillery, and a proposal was made to leave part of it at Moscow. "No!" said he, "the enemy would make a trophy of it." In this desert country, he gave orders for the purchase of twenty thousand horses, and forage for two months, on a tract where the most dangerous excur-

sions were scarcely sufficient for the supply of the passing day. Some of his officers were astonished to hear orders which it was impossible to execute!

To Count Daru, who advised him to remain, and convert Moscow into one large camp, he replied, "This is a lion's counsel! But what would Paris say? What would they do there? A suspension of communication for six months! No! France would accustom itself to my absence, and Prussia and Austria would take advantage of it."

In the mean time the letter of which Lauriston was the bearer, dispatched on the 6th of October, could not probably be answered before the 20th; and yet in spite of all these demonstrations, the pride and the policy of Napoleon induced him to pursue the worst of all courses, that of waiting for this answer, and trusting to time, which was already destroying him. Still he did not decide either to stay or to depart; he deferred from day to day the avowal of his defeat; and amidst the dreadful storm of men and elements gathering round him, his ministers and aides-de-camp saw him pass whole days in discussing the merits of some new verses which he had received, or the regulations for the *Comédie Française* at Paris, which he took three evenings to finish. It was also remarked, that he prolonged his meals, before so simple and so short; as if he wished to stifle thought by repletion. He would then pass whole hours half reclined, as if torpid, and awaiting the catastrophe of his own terrible history. Kutusoff in the interval was improving that time which Napoleon had lost; in a word, the campaign, which was over for the French, was just beginning for the Russians.

Napoleon still continuing his almost daily review in the court of the Kremlin, heard of a sudden report of cannon towards Vinkowo. It was some time before any one durst communicate the intelligence received, but at length Duroc took courage. It appeared that Murat's first line had been surprised and overthrown; his left turned by

favour of the woods, his flank attacked, his retreat cut off; and that twelve pieces of cannon, twenty ammunition-waggons, and thirty others belonging to the train, were taken; two generals killed, three or four thousand men lost, and the baggage; and lastly, that Murat was wounded. He had only been able to rescue the relics of his advanced guard from the enemy by repeatedly charging their numerous troops, which already occupied the high road in his rear, his only retreat. At length, however, Claparade and Latour Maubourg cleared the defile of Spaskaplea, two leagues in the French rear, already occupied by Platoff; but Murat had no longer an advanced guard; and thus the war commenced on the 18th of October.

At these tidings Napoleon seemed to have recovered the energy of his early years; a thousand orders, general and particular, burst at once from his impetuous genius, and the whole army was already in motion for Woronowo; Broussier was sent in the direction of Fominskoe, and Poniatowski toward Medyn. The Emperor himself quitted Moscow before day-light on the 19th of October: "Let us march upon Kalouga," said he, "and woe be to those whom I meet with by the way!"

CHAP. II.

Napoleon at Moscow—Battle of Malo Jaroslawetz—Kutusoff and Sir Robert Wilson—Commencement of the Winter—Retreat of Napoleon.

Moscow was denominated by the Russian poets, *the city with the golden cupolas:* it was in fact a vast and motley assemblage of two hundred and ninety-five

churches, and fifteen hundred mansions with their gardens and dependencies. These palaces of brick and their parks, intermixed with neat houses of wood, and even thatched cottages, covered several square leagues of irregular ground; they were grouped round a lofty triangular fortress, the Kremlin, with a double enclosure half a league in circuit, containing several palaces, and several churches, and a bazaar of uncommon magnitude, resembling a town of merchants and shopkeepers. All these edifices, and even the shops, were covered with polished and painted iron: the churches, each surmounted by a terrace, several steeples that terminated in golden balls; then the crescent, and lastly, the cross, the last surmounting the former, reminded the spectator of the history of this semi-barbarous nation; and a single ray of sunshine caused this splendid city to glisten with a thousand varied colours.

After Alexander had arrived here, and accepted of the *all* that was offered him by the collected voice of the nobles, the merchants, and the inhabitants in general, the governor, General Count Rostopchin, told the *women*, in his proclamations, that "he should not detain them, but that their brothers and husbands must stay, or they would cover themselves with infamy." The French forces, he informed them, were reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand men, and already compelled to eat horseflesh; the Emperor of Russia, he said, would soon return to his capital, and eighty-three thousand Russians, both recruits and militia, were marching towards Borodino, with eighty pieces of cannon, to join Kutusoff.

At the same time a prodigious balloon was constructed by command of Alexander, by a German artist, designed to hover over the French army, single out its chief, and destroy him by a shower of balls and fire. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to raise it, the springs by which it was to be worked having been always broken.

After all, Moscow itself was intended to be the great

infernal machine, a plan conceived without effort, matured with care, and executed without hesitation. And yet Count Rostopchin has the character of a steady man, a good husband, and an excellent father; of a superior and cultivated mind, and in society his manners are mild and pleasing.

The Russian army in front of Moscow, numbered ninety-one thousand men, six thousand of whom were Cossacks, sixty-five thousand veteran troops (the relics of one hundred and twenty-one thousand engaged at the Moskwa) and twenty thousand recruits, half armed with muskets, and half with pikes. The French army, one hundred and thirty thousand strong the day before the great battle, had lost about forty thousand men at Borodino, and still consisted of ninety thousand. Some regiments on the march, and the divisions of Laborde and Pino, had just rejoined it; so that on its arrival before Moscow, it still amounted to nearly one hundred thousand men.

Rostopchin, who was governor of Moscow, was deceived by the old General Kutusoff to the very last moment. He even swore to him by his grey hair, "that he would perish with him before Moscow," when all at once Rostopchin was informed, that in a council of war held at night in the camp, it had been determined to abandon the capital without a battle.

At night, therefore, emissaries went round knocking at every door, and announcing the conflagration. Fusees were introduced at every favourable aperture, and especially into the shops covered with iron, in the tradesmen's quarter. The fire engines were carried off, and each individual was overwhelmed with distress. Most of those who were left, formed groupes in the public places; they crowded together, questioned each other, reciprocally asking advice. Many wandered about at random, some depressed with terror, and others in a frightful state of desperation. At length the army, the last hope of the

people, deserted them; the troops began to traverse the city, and in their retreat they hurried along with them the still considerable remnant of its population. They departed by the gate of Kolomna, surrounded by a multitude of women, children, and aged persons. The fields in all directions were covered with them. They were mostly without provisions; and some, for want of horses, had harnessed themselves to carts, and thus dragged along their infant children, a sick wife, or an infirm parent. The woods afforded them shelter, and they subsisted as well as they could by the charity of their countrymen.

The conquest of Moscow, for which Napoleon had sacrificed every other object, now vanished like a phantom, and which, at the moment when he imagined he had grasped it, dissolved in a mingled mass of smoke and flame. He was then seized with extreme agitation; he seemed to be consumed with the fires that surrounded him. He rose every moment, paced to and fro, and again sat down abruptly. He traversed his apartments with quick steps, which he quitted, resumed, and again quitted to hasten to the windows and watch the conflagration. Short and incoherent expressions burst from his labouring bosom, as "What a tremendous spectacle! It is their own work! What extraordinary resolution! What men! These are Scythians indeed!"

At this moment a rumour was spread, that the Kremlin was undermined. Some of his attendants were beside themselves with fear, while the military awaited unmoved what the orders of the Emperor and fate should decree.—To this alarm Napoleon only replied with a smile; but he still walked convulsively; he stopped at every window, and beheld the terrible, the victorious element consuming all the bridges, all the avenues to his fortresses, reducing him within narrower and narrower limits, and confining him at length to the site of the Kremlin alone.

Night was now approaching, and darkness added to

the dangers. The equinoxial gales increased in violence. Prince Eugene, the Prince of Neufchatel, with the King of Naples, urged him by their entreaties, their gestures, and on their knees, to remove from this scene of desolation; but all in vain. At length, all at once, the cry of "The Kremlin is on fire!" passed from mouth to mouth. The Emperor went out to ascertain the danger; the tower of the arsenal was then burning—a Russian soldier of the police was found in it, and confessed himself the incendiary. The gestures of Napoleon expressed disdain and vexation; the wretch was hurried into the first court, where the enraged grenadiers dispatched him with their bayonets. Napoleon now determined to leave the Kremlin, and descended the northern staircase, where the Strelitzes were formerly massacred. His object now was to reach the Imperial palace of Petrowsky, about a league from the city on the road to Petersburgh. At first a sea of fire seemed to have blocked up all the avenues to the gates of the citadel. At length a narrow passage was found, leading to a postern-gate between the rocks to the Moskwa. Their approach now lay through a narrow winding street completely on fire. Into this Napoleon rushed on foot, and without hesitation, through the crackling of the flames, the crash of floors, the fall of burning timbers, and of the red hot iron roofs which tumbled around him. This was similar to walking between two walls of fire. The eyes of his attendants were burned, their throats parched, and their breathing rendered short, dry, and difficult. In this inexpressible distress, the guide stopped in uncertainty, and here their adventurous attempt would probably have terminated, had not some pillagers of the first corps recognized Napoleon amidst the whirling flames, and guided him to a safe quarter, which had been reduced to ashes in the morning. Here also they met the Prince of Eckmuhl, who had desired to be carried back among the flames, to rescue the

Emperor, or to perish with him. He threw himself into his arms with transport. Napoleon received him kindly; but with that composure which, even in danger, he never lost for a moment.

It was still necessary to pass a long convoy of powder which was defiling amidst the fire; this was the last of the dangers; and soon afterwards the Emperor arrived at Petrowsky.

In the battle of Malo Jaroslawetz, eighteen thousand Italians and French crowded together at the bottom of a ravine, defeated fifty thousand Russians posted over their heads, and seconded by all the obstacles that a town could afford built upon the steep declivity of a hill. The army, however, surveyed with sorrow that ground where seven generals and four thousand Italians had been killed or wounded. But what caused the most poignant regret was, that so sanguinary a conflict might have been spared.

When the Emperor heard of this combat he was in the village of Ghorodina, in the habitation of a weaver, an old crazy, filthy wooden hut. It was in this worm-eaten dwelling, and in a dirty dark room, he learned from Marshal Bessieres, that the enemy were making preparations to attack him. This great officer, who had reconnoitred their position, declared that it was "unassailable." "Oh heavens!" exclaimed the Emperor, clasping his hands, "are you sure you are right? Are you not mistaken? Will you answer for that?" Bessieres repeated his assertion, and affirmed, that "three hundred grenadiers there, would be sufficient to keep a whole army in check." Napoleon then crossed his arms, and hung his head, with a look of consternation, and remained as if overwhelmed with dejection. "His army was victorious, and himself conquered. His route was intercepted, his manœuvre thwarted. Kutusoff, an old man, a Scythian, had been beforehand with him! And

he could not accuse his star. Did not the Sun of France seem to have followed him to Russia?"

The next morning, October the 25th, having mounted his horse, and proceeded along the Kalouga road, accompanied by Rapp and some of his principal officers, he narrowly escaped being seized by a body of Cossacks. It is a remarkable fact, that Napoleon's orders for his retreat northward, occurred at the very same time that Kutusoff and his Russians, dismayed by the defeat at Malo Jaroslawetz, were retiring southward.

It now fell to the lot of the Russian General Kutusoff to experience some mortification from the reproaches of Sir Robert Wilson, then employed in Kutusoff's army on the part of the British government. "This active bustling Englishman," Count Segur observes, "whom we had seen in Egypt, in Spain, and every where the enemy of the French and of Napoleon, visited the old Russian chief, to whom his presence was odious, and reproached him with his excessive dilatoriness. He reminded him, that five times in one day it had caused the Russians to lose the victory in the battle of Winkowo, on the 18th of October, when Murat might have been destroyed. He now urged him to promise a decisive engagement on the following day; and on his refusal, asked him if he was determined to open a free passage for Napoleon, and to allow him to escape with his victory? What a cry of indignation would be raised in London, in Petersburgh, and in all Europe! Did he not already hear the murmurs of his own troops?"

Kutusoff, irritated at this, replied, "that he would certainly rather make a bridge of gold for the enemy, than compromise his army, and with it the fate of the whole empire. Was not Napoleon fleeing? Why then stop him, and perhaps force him to conquer? The season was sufficient to destroy him: of all the allies of Russia

they could rely with the most confidence on winter, and he should wait for its assistance. As for the Russian army, it was under his command, and it would obey him in spite of the clamours of Wilson. Alexander would approve of his proceedings. What did he care for England? was it for her that he was fighting? He was a true-born Russian, his fondest wish was to see Russia delivered, and delivered she would be, without risking the chance of another battle; and as for the rest of Europe, it was nothing to him whether it was under the dominion of France or England." Kutusoff accordingly determined to retreat from Malo Jaroslawetz; and this, according to Wilson, was like a route. Cavalry, carriages, and battalions, thronged from all sides to the entrance of the bridge, and remained in confusion several hours. Napoleon needed only to have advanced upon this rabble; but having been wanting in prudence at Moscow, he was now deficient in audacity: two affairs with the Cossacks had disgusted him; having ceased to hope for a complete victory, he now determined upon a hasty retreat.

From that moment, Paris became the sole object of his future views. The grand army having on the 26th of October turned its back upon the Russians, it marched with downcast eyes, as if ashamed and humbled. In the midst of it, gloomy and silent, its commander seemed to be anxiously measuring his line of communication with the fortresses on the Vistula.

Napoleon had not proceeded but a few wersts from Mojaisk on the 28th of October, when the winter began: the army thus, after ten days marching and countermarching, had advanced but three days on its retreat, and was already in want of provisions, many of the carriages, which the horses could no longer draw, having been burned on the 26th. Passing the plain of Kalouga, hundreds, raising their eyes, uttered an exclamation of horror: the ground here was bare and trampled; all the

trees cut down within a few feet from the surface; in other parts fragments of helmets, cuirasses, broken drums, gun-stocks, tatters of uniforms, and standards dyed with blood, presented themselves. On this desolate spot lay thirty thousand half-devoured corses; it was the site of the terrible redoubt, the conquest and grave of Caulaincourt; the field of the great battle. The Emperor passed quickly. No one stopped. Cold, hunger, and the enemy, urged them on. The army merely turned their faces to take a last melancholy look at the grave of so many of their companions in arms, uselessly sacrificed.

The next heart-chilling object was the great abbey of Kolotskoi, in which a vast number of wounded had been lodged; but when they saw the army repass, and that they were about to be left behind, the least infirm crawled to the door, and begged to be taken up with the greatest earnestness. Whilst the Emperor halted to see this carried into execution, he and a number of his attendants warmed themselves at a fire kindled with his forsaken waggons. During this halt, the suttlers of the French army were guilty of an atrocious act, which would have disgraced savages. Several of the wounded which they had been compelled to take up in their carts, were turned out and thrown into the ditches. Only one, a general, lived long enough to be picked up by the next carriages that passed. The horror which this excited, reached the Emperor. Two thousand Russian prisoners marching on before, under a guard of Portuguese and Spaniards, also had their brains blown out near Gjatz, to get rid of them, or were merely left to die in the enclosures where at night they were confined like cattle.

On viewing the rough furrows of the frozen field, in one of the halts of that day, strewed with wrecks both Russian and French, Napoleon attempted, by the energy of his words, to relieve himself from the weight of the overwhelming responsibility of so many disasters. "He

had in fact dreaded this war, and he devoted its author to the execration of the whole world. It was **** whom he accused of this; it was that Russian minister sold to the English, who had fomented it, and the traitor had drawn into it both Alexander and himself."

The retreat of Napoleon was no sooner known, than it put a complete stop to that of the Russians. Miloradowitch, the Russian Murat, now commanded their advanced guard, and to this general, with twenty thousand men under Platoff, the Emperor was now opposed. At Wiasma, on the 3rd of November, Miloradowitch apprehending that his prey was escaping, was applied to by Wilson, who was sure to be present wherever he could be most injurious to France. Kutusoff was summoned; the old marshal was unconcernedly resting himself with his corps within hearing of the action at Wiasma. The ardent Englishman again excited him in vain; but he could not induce him to stir. Transported with anger, he called him traitor, and declared he would instantly complain to the Emperor Alexander; but even this threat had no effect on Kutusoff. The action lasted from seven in the morning till the approach of night. Four thousand French were killed and wounded, and several pieces of cannon were lost. Still the spirits of the soldiers were supported by the example of their leaders, by the hopes of having all their wants supplied at Smolensk, and the aspect of a yet brilliant sun, that again cheered the prospect so gloomy on the few preceding days.

But unfortunately, on the 6th of November the azure heavens disappeared; the army marched enveloped in cold fogs, and such an immense cloud of snow descended, that it seemed as if the sky was falling; and while the troops were contending with the tempest, the flakes driven by the storm lodged in, and filled every hollow. The men, engulphed, found a grave in these snow-pits, and resigned themselves to their fate. The Russian

winter, under this new form, attacked the survivors on all sides: it penetrated through their light clothing and their worn shoes, &c. Their wet clothes froze upon their bodies; an icy envelope encased them, and stiffened all their limbs. A keen and violent wind interrupted respiration, seized their breath at the moment they exhaled it, and converted it into icicles, that hung from their beards around their mouths. Many of these unfortunate creatures still crawled on, till falling, they groaned in vain; the snow soon covered them. The most intrepid, and those least affected, passed on quickly with averted looks; but before them and around them there was nothing but snow; this immense and dreary uniformity resembled a vast winding-sheet which Nature had thrown over the army hastening to the grave. The only objects not enveloped by it, were some gloomy pines, with their gigantic black trunks, which completed the doleful appearance of a general mourning.

From Gjatz to Mikalewsko nothing remarkable occurred in the Imperial column, except the throwing of the spoils of Moscow into the lake of Semlewow; as cannon, Gothic armour, the ornaments of the Kremlin, and the cross of Ivan the Great, were buried in these waters.

Stakowa was Napoleon's next halting-place, on the 3rd and 4th of November. Whilst he was here, General Charpentier sent him a convoy of provisions from Smolensk. Bessieres wanted to take possession of them, but the Emperor had them immediately forwarded to the Prince of the Moskwa; saying, "that those who were fighting must eat before the others." At the same time, he ordered Ney "to defend himself long enough to allow him some stay at Smolensk, where the army should eat, rest, and be re-organized." Between Wiasma and Smolensk Ney fought ten whole days.

At the first bend of the Borysthenes, Ney stopped, and kept back part of his guns at the foot of its icy

slope; he sacrificed them without hesitation, and made that hostile river, which crossed his route, serve him as the means of his defence. The Russians, however, advanced under favour of a wood, and the carriages forsaken by the French, whence they kept up a fire of musquetry on Ney's troops, half of whom having their fingers frozen to their muskets, gave way. But Ney seeing this, rushed in amongst them, snatched one of their muskets, and led them back to the fire, which he was the first to renew. At the same time that he again turned soldier, he did not cease to be a general; he supported himself against a height, and covered himself with a palisadoed house, where Fezenzac, his generals, and his colonels, strenuously seconded him, and the enemy, who expected to pursue, was compelled to retreat. By this action Ney procured for the army a respite of twenty-four hours.

By the 9th of November the Emperor and his half-famished troops had arrived at Smolensk. Napoleon shut himself up in one of the houses in the new square, and never left it till the 14th, to continue his retreat.

Meanwhile the accumulation of dead in the houses, courts, and gardens, infected the air. The dead were killing the living. The civil as well as the military officers were attacked by the unwholesome effluvia: some had become to all appearance idiots, weeping, or fixing their hollow eyes stedfastly on the ground. There were others whose hair had become stiff, erect, and ropy, and who amidst a torrent of blasphemies, a horrid convulsion, or a still more frightful laugh, had dropped down dead. Thus great expeditions are generally crushed by their own weight.

Whilst at Smolensk, an estimate was made of the whole of the remaining corps of the grand army: the old and the young guard had not then more than from nine to ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry; Davoust and the first corps from eight to nine thousand;

Ney and the third corps, five to six thousand; Prince Eugene and the army of Italy five thousand; Poniatowski, eight hundred; Junot and the Westphalians seven hundred; Latour Maubourg and the rest of the cavalry, fifteen hundred, including about one thousand light horse, and five hundred dismounted cavalry. This army had left Moscow about one hundred thousand strong; but in five and thirty days it had been reduced to thirty-six thousand men. The artillery had already lost 350 of their cannon; and yet these feeble remains had always been divided into eight armies, which were encumbered with sixty thousand stragglers, and a long train of baggage. Napoleon, however, proceeded to Krasnoe, with little opposition from the large force that had nearly enveloped him.

The march of Prince Engene from Smolensk to Krasnoe was most sanguinary: this general had insensibly advanced a considerable distance beyond the head of his corps, till within two leagues of Krasnoe, before he perceived that he had got a-head of the main body of his army a full hour's march; that he had about him only fifteen hundred men of all ranks, without order or arms, and that he was summoned to surrender. A Russian flag of truce announced that Napoleon and his guard had been beaten: "You," said he, "are surrounded by twenty thousand Russians, and have no means of safety but accepting honourable conditions, and these Miloradowitch proposes to you." At these words General Guyon cried out with a loud voice, "Return immediately, and tell him who sent you, that if he has twenty thousand men we have eighty thousand." All this happened in the twinkling of an eye: in a moment after, the hills on the left of the road were spouting out lightning and whirlwinds of smoke; showers of shells and grape-shot swept the high road, and threatening columns advancing, showed their bayonets. The Viceroy hesitated a moment, and then returned

back to his divisions; in the mean time General Guilleminot summoned about him the officers, who in this crowd had mingled with the soldiers, and accepting him for their leader, they distributed into platoons all the men who had hitherto formed but one mass.

"Though this organization was made under a smart fire, several superior officers placed themselves proudly in the ranks, and became once more common soldiers. These brave men in this order proceeded on the march to Krasnoe, and they had already got beyond the batteries of Miloradowitch, when the latter, rushing with his columns upon their flanks, hemmed them in so closely, as to compel them to turn about, and seek a position in which they could defend themselves. This small body of eighteen hundred French and Italians kept their enemies at a respectful distance upwards of an hour. Still, as there was no appearance of the Viceroy, a longer resistance was evidently impossible. They were repeatedly summoned to lay down their arms; and in the intervals they heard the cannon rolling at a distance in their front and in their rear.

Thus the whole of the French army, from Smolensk to Moscow, was attacked at once; it was therefore resolved that this corps should endeavour to cut their way through these Russians, and if possible reach Krasnoe. This column then forming into a mass, instantly rushed into the midst of ten thousand hostile muskets and cannon. The enemy, at first seized with astonishment, opened their ranks and allowed this handful of warriors to advance into the middle of them; then, when they comprehended their purpose, either from pity or admiration, the enemy's battalions, which lined both sides of the road, called out to the French to halt. They entreated and conjured them to surrender; but the only answer they received was a more determined marsh, a stern silence, and the point of

the bayonet. The whole of the enemy's fire was then poured upon them at once, at the distance of a few yards, and the half of this heroic column was stretched wounded or lifeless on the ground. The remainder proceeded without further molestation, though few of them saw the Viceroy again, as the Russian cannon had continued thinning them for more than an hour. The Russians suffered the battle to be terminated by the approach of night.

Napoleon had waited for the Viceroy during the whole of the preceding day, and when night came on, his uneasiness for Eugene was at the height. Only one hope remained, that having been driven back to Smolensk, he had there joined Davoust and Ney. Under this anxiety he assembled Marshals Berthier, Bessieres, Mortier, and Lefebvre, who agreed that they would never leave their companions in the midst of the Russian army, but enter Russia once more, either to rescue, or to perish with them. When this resolution was taken, he called his aide-de-camp Rapp, and exclaimed, "that he must set off immediately, and proceed during the darkness to attack that body of infantry with the bayonet; that this was the first time of its exhibiting so much audacity, that he would make it repent it in such a way, that it should never dare approach so near to his head-quarters." Then instantly recalling him, he continued, "But no! let Roguet and his division go alone! As for thee, remain where thou art; I don't wish thee to be killed here; I shall have occasion for thee at Dantzick."

Roguet commenced this nocturnal attack upon the enemy at Cherkowa and Maliewo, with the two wings of the young guard, while the Russians, taken by surprize, were thrown into confusion, and had barely time to throw the greatest part of their arms into a neighbouring lake. This check stopped the march of the Russian army twenty-four hours, and enabled Eugene to rejoin the

Emperor during the following night. He was received with the greatest joy; but Napoleon's uneasiness respecting Davoust and Ney was considerably increased.

On the 17th, before daylight, Napoleon issued his orders, armed himself, and going out on foot at the head of his old guard, began his march, but not towards Poland or France. His words, on taking up his sword on this occasion, were, "I have sufficiently acted the Emperor; it is time that I should become the general." He then turned back into the midst of eighty thousand men, and plunged into the thickest of them, to form a diversion in favour of Davoust and Ney. The conflict that followed was sanguinary, but not decisive; yet as all were likely to perish, Napoleon called Mortier, and squeezing his hand, sorrowfully told him, "that he had not a moment to lose; that the enemy were overwhelming him in all directions, &c." Then with his heart full of Ney's misfortune, and of despair at abandoning him, he withdrew slowly from the field of battle, traversed Krasnoe, where he again halted, and then cleared his way to Liady, four leagues distant, where he again saw Mortier, whom he praised "for fighting gloriously and suffering greatly."

The next day the march recommenced; the impatient stragglers took the lead, and all of them got the start of Napoleon; he was on foot with a stick in his hand, walking with difficulty and repugnance, and halting every quarter of an hour. In the evening he reached Dombrowna, a wooden town like Liady; a novel sight for an army which for three weeks had seen nothing but ruins. The French had then just emerged from Old Russia and her deserts of snow and ashes, and entered into a friendly country, whose language they understood. The weather also had become milder, and they obtained some provisions.

Here the effects of the winter, the enemy, solitude, famine, and bivouacs, were all suspended at once; but it

was too late. Napoleon saw that his army was destroyed; every moment the name of Ney escaped from his lips, with exclamations of grief. He acknowledged that the misery of his poor soldiers cut him to the heart; and yet he could not succour them, without fixing himself in some place; but where was it possible for him to rest, without ammunition, provision, or artillery? He was no longer strong enough to halt; he must reach Minsk as quickly as possible.

At this instant a Polish officer arrived, with the news that Minsk itself had fallen into the hands of the Russians under Tchitchakof. Napoleon at first was mute, but soon after elevating himself, he coolly replied, "Very well! we have now nothing to do but to clear ourselves a passage with our bayonets." In order to reach this new enemy, and to escape from Kutusoff and Witgenstein, it was necessary to cross the Berezina at Borikof. Soon after this resolution had been taken, Napoleon, addressing his old guard whilst stopping in front of each battalion, "Grenadiers!" said he, "we are retreating without being conquered by the enemy; let us not be vanquished by ourselves! Set an example to the army! Several of you have already deserted their eagles, and even thrown away their arms. I have no wish to have recourse to military laws to put a stop to this disorder, but appeal entirely to yourselves. Do justice among yourselves: to your own honour I commit the support of your discipline!"

The other troops he harangued in a similar style. These appeals were received with acclamations; but an hour afterwards, when the march was resumed, they were forgotten; for when the whole were collected, some wretches called out, "The Cossacks!" this was to quicken the march of those who preceded them, and to increase the alarm. This they took advantage of to carry off the provisions, cloaks, &c. of those whom they had thrown off their guard.

Napoleon entered Orcha with six thousand guards, the famished remains of thirty-five thousand! Eugene with eighteen hundred soldiers, the remains of forty-two thousand! Davoust with four thousand, the remains of seventy thousand! This Marshal had, in fact, lost every thing; he was actually without linen, and so emaciated with hunger, that he even seized upon a loaf that was offered him, and greedily devoured it. His face was then covered with rime, and he exclaimed, "that none but men of iron constitutions, could support such trials." According to his custom, he had been halting at all the defiles to the very last, and sending every one to his ranks. He also urged his men to insult, and strip of their booty, such of their comrades as threw away their arms. Napoleon soon after issued a proclamation, "ordering every one to return to their ranks; if they did not, he would strip the officers of their grades, and punish the soldiers with *death;* but of this they were much less afraid than of the life that was offered them.

After much debate as to the route to the Berezina, he decided for Borizof. Every thing, however, was now changed; two hostile armies were cutting off the retreat, and Napoleon declared that he meant to abandon his line on the Minsk, and uniting with the Dukes of Reggio and Belluna, force his way through Witgenstein's army, and regain Wilna, by turning the sources of the Berezina; but before he had completely made up his mind he again observed, "that it was cruel to retreat without fighting, as this would wear the appearance of flight. If he had any magazine, any point of support which would allow him to halt, he would still prove to Europe, that he always knew how to fight and to conquer."

Marshal Ney's retreat from Smolensk to Orcha, was a series of astonishing achievements over almost incredible obstacles. When Napoleon heard that Ney had reappeared, he leaped and shouted for joy: "I have then

saved my eagles! I would have given three hundred millions from my treasury rather than have lost such a man."

While Napoleon was flattering himself that Marshal Oudinot would reach Borizof on the 25th of November an officer arrived, and announced to him that that place had been taken possession of by Tchitchakof on the 21st. The Emperor was then only three marches distant from Borizof: striking the ground with his stick, and darting a furious look to heaven, he exclaimed, "Is it then written above, that we shall commit nothing but faults!" Soon afterwards recollecting that he was then approaching the country of the Cossacks, he stopped short, and exclaimed, "Oh yes! Pultowa! that is like Charles XII.!"

At length all hope of passing between the Russian armies being lost, the Emperor learned on the 24th of November, that the passage of the Berezina could only be attempted near Studzianska. At that spot the river was only fifty-four fathoms wide, and six feet deep: the landing-place on the other side was a marsh, strongly occupied by the Russians; and thus there was no alternative but to cross this river in the teeth of Tchitchakof's army. As a preliminary to this desperate effort, Napoleon had the eagles of all the corps brought to him, and burnt. He formed eighteen hundred cavalry of his guard into two battalions; out of these, only eleven hundred and fifty-four were armed with muskets and carbines. Latour Maubourg had only one hundred and fifty men on horseback, left out of the army of Moscow. The Emperor collected about five hundred officers still mounted, and these he called his *sacred squadron*. Grouchy and Sebastiani had the command of them; and some generals of division served in it as captains.

All useless carriages and waggons being burnt, Napoleon plunged into the gloomy and immense forest of Minsk. The noise of the Russian artillery filled it with

its echo. This was Witgenstein, who came rushing from the north upon the right flank of the French, bringing back with him the winter which had quitted them with Kutusoff. The news of this threatening march quickened their steps. Between forty and fifty thousand men, women, and children, glided along this forest as fast as their weakness and slippery nature of the ground would admit, the frost having again set in. The long night was the cause that numbers lost themselves, and after wandering about without hearing the signal, and separating, the rest became one confused mass. In this state of weakness, loud cries were suddenly heard: it was Victor's corps, that had been driven back by Witgenstein to the right of the Emperor, where it waited for his passing by. Still full of animation, it received him with the customary, but almost forgotten exclamations.

Unacquainted with the disasters which had befallen Napoleon's troops, instead of that grand column which had conquered Moscow, they beheld a train of spectres covered with rags, with female pelisses, pieces of carpet, or dirty cloaks half burnt, and nothing on their feet but rags of all sorts—their consternation was extreme. The lean carcasses of the soldiers, their black faces, hideous bristly beards, their confused march, with their heads bent, and their eyes fixed on the ground like a troop of captives, whilst they defiled before the spectators, excited impressions that time can never efface.

The soldiers of Victor and Oudinot, moved with compassion, detained such of their companions as they recognized in this crowd, and supplied them with every accommodation in their power.

The manner in which General Partonneaux's division, consisting of three thousand five hundred men, was lost, previous to the passage of the Berezina, is thus accounted for: he had at first to march along a slippery road crowded with baggage and runaways, with a violent wind

blowing directly in his face, and in a dark and cold night. During this time he was attacked by the fire of several thousand enemies, who lined the heights upon his flanks; but he still persisted in his march, till he had to contend with troops well posted in his front, whose bullets traversed his columns through and through. At length this unfortunate corps got entangled in a slough, where all its movements were embarrassed by a long file of five or six hundred carriages. Here several hundreds of stragglers, struck with terror, broke through these feeble lines, till, in order to rally, it being necessary to retreat, they were met by Platoff's cavalry.

Half of Partonneaux's division had already perished, and about fifteen hundred soldiers who remained with him, now found themselves surrounded by three armies and a river. This general, nevertheless, deferred his surrender till the next morning; a small number, however, escaped from the enemy. When Napoleon was informed of this disaster, he exclaimed, "How unfortunate it was, when all appeared to be saved as if miraculously, this defection had happened, as if to spoil all." Still this division was the first, and the only one, which laid down its arms.

This success encouraged Witgenstein; and the recapture of Borizof by Platoff had opened the eyes of Tchitchakof. From that moment the three Russian armies of the north, east and south, were united, and in a very short time mutually prepared to attack in conjunction the three bridges of Studzianska on both sides of the river. The French had the nights of the 26th and 27th of November to effect its passage. Twice during the 26th their bridge for the carriages was broken down, and again on the 27th, which retarded their passage for seven hours. On the same day the stragglers that had dispersed in the surrounding woods and villages, presented themselves all at once, in order to cross with the army.

The signal for the departure being made, they rushed in from all parts, and crowded to the bank. Instantly there was seen a deep, broad, and confused mass of men, horses and chariots, choking up the narrow entrance of the bridge. The first of these, pushed forward by those behind them, were driven back by the guards and pontonniers, and then were trodden under foot, or precipitated upon the floating ice; the loud clamour, the buzzing noise, mingled with groans and execrations, were highly appalling. No efforts could save these desperate men, and about two o'clock, when the Emperor presented himself in his turn, it was necessary to employ force to open a passage for him. A corps of grenadiers of the guard and Latour Maubourg, out of pure compassion, declined clearing themselves a way through these poor wretches.

After thousands had perished in this passage of the Berezina, in which all France seemed destined to be taken prisoner, the Russians did nothing but by halves. Kutusoff did not reach the Dnieper at Kopis until the very day that Napoleon approached the Berezina. Witgenstein allowed himself to be kept in check whilst the former prepared for his passage; Tchitchakof was defeated; and of eighty thousand men, Napoleon succeeded in saving sixty thousand. He remained till the last moment on these melancholy banks, near the ruins of Brilowa, at the head of his guards, after one thousand of them had perished by the weather. During the day they stood to arms, drawn up in order of battle; at night they bivouacked in a square, round their leader; there the old grenadiers continued feeding their fires. They sat upon their knapsacks, with their elbows planted on their knees and their hands supporting their head; slumbering in this manner, doubled upon themselves, in order that one limb might warm the other, and that they should feel less of the emptiness of their stomachs. It was remarked, that

the Emperor still gave orders to his Marshals, who had no soldiers to command, to take up positions! One of them made this observation to him, with some degree of asperity, when Napoleon warmly interrupted him with these words: "Why then do you wish to deprive me of my tranquillity?" and as the other was persisting, he shut his mouth at once, by repeating in a very reproachful manner, "I ask you, Sir, why do you wish to deprive me of my tranquillity?"

Around him, during these three mortal days, every bivouac was marked by a heap of dead bodies; those of all ranks, classes and ages; ministers, generals, &c. Among them was remarked an elderly nobleman of those days when light and brilliant graces were the rage. He was to be seen every morning sitting perhaps on the snow-covered trunk of a tree, engaged in the business of his toilette. In the midst of the hurricane he would have his hair elegantly dressed and powdered with the greatest care.

On the 29th of November the Emperor quitted the banks of the Berezina with a confused mass of sixty thousand men. All marched pell-mell, cavalry, infantry and artillery, French and Germans: there was no longer either wing or centre. Upon a narrow and hilly causeway, many were crushed to death, and in crowding together through the defiles; after which there was a general dispersion to every point where shelter or provisions were likely to be found. In this manner he reached Komen, with some prisoners made on the preceding day. These poor wretches, after devouring the dead bodies of their fellows, almost all perished with cold and hunger.

On the 3d of December Napoleon arrived at Malodeczno, the last place where it was possible that the Russians might have got the start of him. Some provisions were here found, with much forage; the day was beautiful, with a bright sun, and the cold was bearable.

Here the couriers so long in arrear, arrived altogether. Up to this time Napoleon seemed to have entertained no idea of quitting his army; but about the middle of the day, he suddenly informed Daru and Duroc, of his determination to set off immediately for Paris.

Daru did not see the necessity of it; that the most dangerous crisis had passed. The Emperor's reply was, " that he no longer felt himself sufficiently strong to leave Prussia between him and France. What necessity was there for his remaining at the head of a routed army? Murat and Eugene would be sufficient to direct, and Ney to cover its retreat. The rumour of his disastrous retreat being still uncertain, he said he should precede the news of it, and anticipate the effect it might have upon Germany, and all the defections to which it might give rise! He only hesitated in the choice of the person he should leave in the command of the army; he wavered between Murat and Eugene. Berthier, the channel to which the army had been so long accustomed, would remain with them, to transmit the imperial orders and rewards; consequently there would be no change in the organization of the army. Berthier, however, wished to get rid of his office, and only accepted of it under pain of Napoleon's displeasure, his exclusion from Paris, and the presence of the Emperor.

The hearts of all the Marshals yearned after France, to be once more in the bosom of their families, and to flee from this horrible climate; but none of them ventured to express the least wish of the kind, being restrained both by duty and honour. Having summoned them all, as they successively entered he took each of them aside, and gained as far as possible their approbation of his plan. On perceiving Davoust, he ran forward to meet him. Davoust replying that he fancied he had incurred his displeasure, the Emperor explained himself mildly, confided to him the road he meant to travel, and took his

advice relative to the details of his plan. His manner was kind and flattering to all these Marshals; afterwards having assembled them at his table, he complimented them for their noble actions during the campaign. As to himself, he confessed his temerity in these words: "If I had been born a Bourbon, it would have been easy for me not to have committed any faults."

When their entertainment was over, he made Prince Eugene read to them his twenty-ninth bulletin; after which, declaring aloud what he had already confided to each of them, he told them that he was about to depart that very night, with Duroc, Caulaincourt, and Lobau, for Paris.

CHAP. III.

Napoleon sets out on his Journey to France.

In this conversation he added, that his presence was indispensable for France, as well as for the remains of his unfortunate army. In conclusion, he said, "I leave the King of Naples to command the army. I hope that you will yield him the same obedience as you would to myself, and that the greatest harmony will prevail amongst you." It was now ten o'clock at night; he then rose, squeezed their hands affectionately, embraced them, and departed.

His officers being drawn up in an avenue, he passed through them, and he and Caulaincourt ascended a carriage: his Mameluke and Wonsowitch, captain of his guard, occupied the box. Duroc and Lobau followed in a sledge. His escort at first consisted only of Poles; afterwards of the Neapolitans of the royal guard, consisting of between six and seven hundred men. On the

very first night, Napoleon narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Russians, who burnt a village through which his escort had to pass.

At Miedniki, when he met the Duke of Bassano, his first observation was, "that he no longer had an army; that for several days he had been marching in the midst of a troop of disbanded men, wandering to and fro in search of subsistence: that they still might be rallied by giving them bread, shoes, horses, and arms; but that the Duke's administration had anticipated nothing, and his orders had not been executed."

Maret replied to this accusation, by showing him a statement of the immense magazines collected at Wilna, when Napoleon exclaimed, "that he gave him fresh life! that he would give him an order to transmit to Murat and Berthier, to halt for eight days in that capital, there to rally the army, and infuse into it sufficient heart and strength to continue the retreat less deplorably." Having passed round Wilna by its suburbs, he crossed Wilsksowski, where he exchanged his carriage for a sledge; he stopped one day at Warsaw, to ask the Poles for a levy of 10,000 Cossacks, telling them he should speedily return at the head of three hundred thousand men. From thence he rapidly crossed Silesia, visited Dresden and its monarch; passed through Hanau and Mentz, and finally arrived at Paris on the 19th of December, two days after the appearance of the twenty-ninth bulletin.

The absence of Napoleon from the grand army now produced more disorganization than ever; colonels, and even generals refused obedience; the cold also increased; when it was observed that the season which had just completed the discouragement of the French, had also benumbed their enemies: prisoners were seen who had escaped several times from their frozen hands. They had at first marched in the middle of their straggling column, without being noticed by it. Some of these French pri-

soners taking advantage of a favourable moment, ventured to attack their escort when in an isolated situation, and strip them of their provisions, their uniforms, and even their arms. Thus disguised, they mingled with their conquerors, and such was the disorganization, the stupid carelessness, and the numbness into which their army had fallen, that these French prisoners marched for a whole month in the midst of them without being recognized. The enormous misery of the French, it is believed, had softened even the Russians; they considered themselves sufficiently revenged, and many of them even behaved generously to their enemies.

In the meanwhile, the hundred and twenty thousand men of Kutusoff's army, had been reduced to thirty-five thousand. Of Witgenstein's fifty thousand, scarcely fifteen thousand remained. Sir Robert Wilson asserted, that of a reinforcement of ten thousand men sent from the interior of Russia, with all the precautions which they know how to take against winter, not more than seventeen hundred arrived at Wilna.

Ney arrived at Kowno, the last town of the Russian empire, on the 13th of December, after marching forty-six days. Instantly, without halting or looking behind them, numbers of the troops plunged into, and dispersed themselves in the forests of Prussian Poland. Some, on their arrival on the allied bank of the Niemen, turned round, casting a last look on that land of sufferings, and shed tears when they found themselves on the same spot from whence their countless eagles five months before had taken their victorious flight. "This was the bank which they had studded with their bayonets! These were the same vallies from which, under the rays of a warm sun, poured forth the three long columns of dragoons and cuirassiers, resembling three rivers of glittering iron and brass." Finally, in the room of those innumerable warriors, of their four hundred thousand comrades who had been

so often their partners in victory, they saw only a thousand infantry and horsemen still under arms, nine cannon, and twenty thousand miserable wretches, covered with rags, with downcast looks, hollow eyes, earthy and livid complexions; long beards matted with frost, labouring and dragging themselves from one point of ice to another; and this was the whole of the grand army! many of these fugitives were recruits who had just joined it.

Two kings, one prince, eight marshals, followed by a few officers, generals dispersed on foot, and without any attendants; finally, a few hundred men of the old guard, still armed, were its remains; they alone represented it.

When Murat reached Gumbinnen, he was greatly surprized to find Ney already there, and that since it had left Kowno, it had been marching without a rear guard. Fortunately the pursuit of the Russians had now slackened; they seemed to hesitate on the Prussian frontier, whether they should enter it as allies or as enemies. Murat availed himself of this event, to halt a few days at Gumbinnen, and to direct the remains of the different corps to the towns on the banks of the Vistula.

Previous to this new dislocation of the army, the King of Naples assembled the commanders of it, when he exclaimed, "That it was no longer possible to serve such a madman as Napoleon; that there was no safety in supporting his cause; that no monarch in Europe could now place any reliance on his word, or in treaties concluded with him. He himself was in despair, for having rejected the proposals of the English; had it not been for that, he would still have been a great monarch, such as the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia."

Davoust here interrupted him, saying the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria were monarchs by the grace of God and the custom of nations; "but as to you, you are only king by the grace of Napoleon, and by the blood of Frenchmen; you cannot remain so but

through Napoleon, and by continuing united to France. You are led away by the blackest ingratitude." He concluded by saying, "he would immediately denounce his treachery to the Emperor." The other marshals remained silent.

Koningsberg was the next halting-place destined to witness the humiliation of the grand army, which now, for the first time during twenty years, re-appeared mutilated, disarmed, and fugitive. The populace crowded upon them to count their wounds, and to form an estimate of their disasters, and they were compelled to feed their greedy looks by the miseries which it was impossible to conceal. Koningsberg, however, was soon unable to contain the numbers that flocked thither, and a sudden change of the weather, the thermometer having fallen twenty degrees in one night, proved most fatal. Lariboisere, general in chief of the artillery, fell a victim. Eblé, the pride of the army, followed him, and almost every day and every hour produced fresh sacrifices; and, to crown all, on the last day of December, 1812, Marshal Macdonald had the mortification to learn that the Prussian army under D'Yorck and Massenbach had deserted him! and thus Macdonald's force was reduced from twenty thousand to nine thousand.

As an apology for the defection of the Prussians, it has been said, "that they only waited an opportunity to break the French alliance, which was forced upon them. Not only did they refuse to betray Macdonald, but they did not even wish to quit him till they had drawn him out of Russia, and placed him in safety." When Macdonald became sensible that he was abandoned, he obstinately remained at Tilsit, at the very mercy of the Prussians, who did not abuse this noble confidence. Certainly, when they arrived on their own frontiers, as they could not aid their conqueror in defending their native soil, they became neutral, and remained so till Macdonald,

disengaged from Russia and the Russians, had his retreat free. This marshal continued it from Koningsberg, by Labiau and Tente. In this interval the inconceivable slowness of Witgenstein's march saved Macdonald, though at Labiau and Tente this marshal, in combating Witgenstein, lost six hundred French, Bavarians, and Poles. Macdonald's corps were here saved by the valour of the Polish Colonel Kameski, Captain Ostrowski, the Bavarian Major Mayer, and the efforts of Bacheln, a Frenchman, and his brigade.

The Prussian army all this time did not consider their own monarch in perfect safety, because Marshal Augereau and some French troops were still at Berlin. It should also be remarked, that the Prussian nation only ventured to rise against the French, in proportion as the Russians came in sight, and by degrees as the feeble remains of the former quitted their territory. A single anecdote is alleged, which showed the dispositions of the people, and how much, notwithstanding the hatred they bore to the French, they were evidently awed under the ascendancy of their former victories.

"When Davoust was recalled to France, he passed through a Prussian town with only two attendants. The Russians were daily expected there; its population were enraged at the sight of these two Frenchmen. Murmurs, mutual excitations, and finally outcries, succeeded each other; the most violent of the populace speedily surrounded the carriage of the marshal, and were already about to unharness the horses, when Davoust made his appearance, rushed upon the most active, dragged him behind his carriage, and made his servants fasten him to it. Intimidated at the bold action, the people stopped short, and quietly and silently opened a passage for the marshal, who passed through the midst of them carrying off his prisoner."

The Austrian corps under Schwartzenberg detached itself from the French almost insensibly. So late as the 10th of December, this Prince was still persuaded that the Russians were beaten, and fleeing before Napoleon, when he was informed at the same moment of the Emperor's departure, and of the destruction of the grand army; but in so vague a manner, that he was for some time in a state of uncertainty. In this embarrassment, he addressed himself to the French ambassador at Warsaw, who in his answer, authorized him "not to sacrifice another man." In consequence of this, this Prince retreated on the 14th of December from Slonim towards Bialystock. An armistice followed, in which Regnier's corps of ten thousand men was not included; but this Schwartzenberg preserved, by covering the whole front with his Austrians. He was covering Warsaw when, on the 22d of January, he was ordered by his government to abandon the Grand Duchy, and to separate his retreat from that of Regnier; but this he performed so slowly, that the hospitals, and a great part of the magazines were evacuated, and he ultimately obtained a more favourable capitulation for the French, and further contrived that Regnier should get the start of the Russians by three days. Regnier was afterwards overtaken at Kalitch; but it was in consequence of halting too long to protect some Polish depôts.

Early in January the insurrection of the people at Koningsberg spread a terrible alarm. The feeble garrison here was encumbered with ten thousand sick and wounded, most of whom were abandoned to the generosity of their enemies. Some had no reason to complain of this; but prisoners who escaped, declared that many of their unfortunate companions were massacred, and thrown out of the windows into the streets; and that an hospital with several hundred sick was set fire to by the inhabitants. On the other side, at Wilna, sixteen thousand French pri-

soners had perished in the convent of St. Basil, principally from neglect: from the 10th to the 23d of December they had only received some biscuits, but no firing, nor even a drop of water; the snow collected in the courts of this building was all they had to quench the burning thirst of the wounded. Such of the dead bodies as could not be kept in the passages, on the staircases, &c. were thrown out of the windows. Happily, the arrival of the Emperor Alexander and his brother put an end to these abominations; however, a most violent epidemic had already arisen from the poisonous exhalations of so many corpses, by which the Russians, though living in plenty, suffered severely.

It should be observed, that Wilna was ignorant of the disasters of the French, when all at once forty thousand famished soldiers filled it with groans and lamentations. At this unexpected sight the inhabitants became alarmed, and shut their doors. The soldiers were every where repulsed; at the magazines, from the most unseasonable formalities, arising from the dissolution of the corps and the mixture of the soldiers. All regular distribution had become impossible; and, strange as it may appear, bread and butchers' meat had been collected sufficient for an hundred thousand men; but not a single commander ventured to step forward and give orders for distributing these provisions, as they were apprehensive of being made responsible for it. Others dreaded the excesses to which the famished soldiers might give themselves up. Thus hundreds of unfortunate men were left to die of hunger at the very doors of these immense magazines, all of which fell into the hands of the enemy on the following day. At length, when by the exertions of Prince Eugene and others, some places of refuge were opened, nothing could be more remarkable than the astonishment which the men displayed, on finding themselves once more in inhabited houses. How delicious

did a loaf of leavened bread appear to them, and how inexpressible the pleasure of eating it seated! They seemed to have returned from the very extremities of the earth, so much had their sufferings torn and cast them from all the habits and enjoyments of social life. Yet scarcely had they begun to taste these sweets, when the cannon of the Russians recommenced thundering over their heads and upon the city.

Marshal Ney, after overcoming numerous difficulties, conducted the remains of the army to Kowno, where they were again attacked by the Russians, where, abandoned by all, he neither deserted himself nor his post. Finally, he was the last of the grand army who quitted Russia, and proceeded to Gumbinnen.

The fatal evacuation of the north of Europe having commenced, already from thence to the south the Russian cries of vengeance replied to those of Spain. They crossed and re-echoed to each in the countries of Germany which still remained under the yoke: these two great fires, lighted up at the two extremities of Europe, were gradually extending towards its centre, where they appeared like the dawn of a new day; they covered sparks which were fanned by hearts burning with patriotic hatred, especially amongst the students of the German universities, most of whom had always been enemies to the French.

The infection had even penetrated to the grand army: after the passage of the Berezina, Napoleon had received information of these alarming symptoms. Communications, it was well known, had been observed to have been going on between the Bavarian, Saxon, and Austrian generals.

In this state of retreat Napoleon, who never consented to any cession, was anxious that Dantzick should be defended; hence it was necessary to throw into it all that could keep the field; they consisted of soldiers from

seventeen different nations; and thus thirty-five thousand men were shut up in this city.

Alexander arrested the march of his troops at Kalitch. Here the violent and continued war which had pursued the French all the way from Moscow, subsided; and until spring, it became only a war of fits, slow and intermitting. The strength of the evil appeared to be exhausted; but it was merely that of the combatants. A still greater struggle was preparing; the issue is well known.

CHAP. IV.

Retrospect of the Reign and the Decline of Napoleon's Glory.

This, it is observed by M. Mignet, commenced with the Emperor's interdiction of the Continent from all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. He thus prepared for himself new difficulties, and increased the hostility which his despotism had excited, together with the exasperation of private interests, and the commercial suffering occasioned by the blockade of the French ports by the British.

At this period Napoleon's power was at its highest point; and he employed all his energies to create maritime resources capable of counteracting those of England, which had then more than a thousand vessels of war of every description. He formed harbours, fortified the coasts, and prepared for a grand struggle upon this new element. But before this period arrived, he wished to assure himself of Spain; at this important epoch the first opposition made by the people against his domination was manifested. This resistance declared itself in three

countries, hitherto the allies of France, viz. in the Ecclesiastical Territories, in Spain, and in Holland. Amongst these, the war with Spain was the most serious. The first, and the most fatal reverse of the French arms, was the surrender of General Dupont at Baylen, as this excited the enthusiasm and the hopes of the Spaniards.

In fact, Napoleon had engaged himself in a tedious and perilous enterprize; in which his whole system of war was at fault. Victory did not consist here in the defeat of an army or the occupation of a capital; but in that of the whole territory, and what is extremely more difficult, the subjection of the mind.

Napoleon, since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, had commenced a career, which could only terminate either in the possession or the hostility of all Europe. Supported by his character and position, he had created against the people, a system of administration of unparalleled efficacy; against Europe, a system of secondary monarchs and grand fiefs, which supported his conquests; finally, against England, the Berlin and Milan Decrees, which suspended its commerce. Nothing arrested him from executing these monstrous but absurd designs. He dispossessed his brother Louis of the kingdom of Holland, and incorporated it with the French empire. He shrunk from no invasion of right, because he would suffer neither hesitation nor opposition from any quarter. It was necessary that all should submit, allies as well as enemies; nevertheless, all those thus induced to join him, only waited for a proper opportunity for resisting him. His marriage with the Archduchess of Austria was a grand error; he placed himself in an awkward position in respect to Austria, which he ought to have crushed after the victory of Wagram, or to have re-established after the marriage. He sought for ancient families to grace his court, and did all in his power to mix up the ancient with the

new nobility. The birth of his son in 1811, by assuring him of a successor, lulled him into a security not less delusive than his marriage.

On the 9th of March, 1812, he set out on his vast expedition to Russia; he established his court several months at Dresden, where the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and all the newly-made sovereigns of Germany came to do him homage, and on the 22d of June war was declared against Russia. His first project in this undertaking was to reduce Russia, by creating the kingdom of Poland, as he had reduced Austria by forming the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wirtemberg; and Prussia, by organizing those of Saxony and Westphalia. With this view he had stipulated with the cabinet of Vienna for the exchange of Gallicia for the Illyrian provinces; but his disastrous retreat from Moscow on the 19th of October, blasted all his boundless views; otherwise he could not have been thrown from his high station by the hand of man; for what general could have triumphed over this incomparable captain? What army could have vanquished the French army? He lost not by defeat but by cold, by famine in the midst of the solitudes and the snows of Russia, his veteran army and the magic of his fortune.

During his absence in Russia the conspiracy of General Mallet broke out in Paris; but was prematurely discovered, and its leaders put to death. Though the bodies of the state still paid unlimited obedience to Napoleon, by granting him a levy of three hundred thousand men, the decline of his influence was manifest.

Before the campaign of 1813, all were weary of his dominion. The priesthood had been secretly conspiring against him ever since his rupture with the Pope. Eight state prisons had been built for the confinement of persons who could not conveniently be brought to trial. Abroad the people groaned under a military yoke; and in fact, as all Europe was ill at ease, every check naturally paved

the way for an universal insurrection. One of the first examples of this kind, was in the great conflict near Leipsic, when the Saxons and Wirtembergers passed over to the enemy on the field of battle. At length, as it has been shewn in the preceding pages of this volume, Napoleon was overwhelmed by the common exhaustion; and without being aware of it, was under the influence of the royalists: this was at the period when a commission, consisting of M. M. Lainé Raynouard, Gallois, Flaugergues, and Maine de Biran, made an extremely hostile report on the plans followed by the government, and demanded the abandonment of the conquests, and the re-establishment of liberty, when Napoleon, irritated by this new and alarming opposition, suddenly dismissed the legislative body.

Upon this, as upon former occasions, every thing now depended on the fate of the war, which, even the winter of 1813 had not suspended. Napoleon set out from Paris on the 25th of January. The allies were invading the empire at all points: the Austrians were advancing into Italy; the English from Spain had passed the Bidassoa. Three armies were hanging on France to the east and north; the grand allied army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under Schwartzenberg, was entering on France by Switzerland; that of Silesia and Blucher, of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was entering by Frankfort; and that of the north, of a hundred thousand men under Bernadotte, had invaded Holland, and penetrated into Belgium. These enemies, as the example had been set them by the French, passed regardless of the fortified places, and marched upon the capital. Deprived of the support of the people, who merely looked on, Napoleon seemed to stand alone against the world with a handful of veteran soldiers, and his genius, which had lost nothing of its audacity and vigour. He was now no longer an oppressor; no longer a conqueror; but defending inch by

inch the soil of his country, his empire, and his renown. He marched into Champaigne against the two grand armies. He dexterously placed himself between Blucher and Schwartzenberg; he flew from one army to another, and beat them both in succession. Blucher was defeated at Champ Aubert, at Montmirail, at Chateau Thierry, and at Vauchamps; and when his army was destroyed, Napoleon returned upon the Seine, overthrew the Austrians at Montereau, and drove them before him. His combinations were so powerful, his activity so great, and his manœuvres so judicious, that, as it was observed in the British parliament about that period, he appeared to be on the point of disorganizing these formidable armies, and by the annihilation of them, to put an end to the coalition. But if he conquered wherever he was present, the enemy gained ground wherever he was absent. The English had entered Bourdeaux, where the standard of the Bourbons was erected; the Austrians occupied Lyons; the army of Belgium was joined to that of Blucher, and appeared upon the rear of Napoleon. Murat in Italy had imitated the conduct of Bernadotte, and joined the coalition. The great officers of the army had lost the zeal and fidelity of the inferior generals, and their indefatigable soldiers Napoleon had to march again upon Blucher; this was on the left of the Marne, where a sudden frost having hardened the mud, Blucher escaped him for the third time, when the Prussians were set fast in the mud and in danger of perishing. The defection of Soissons also opened a passage for them upon the Aisne, at the moment when there was no other chance of escape. At Craonne, the fault of the Duke of Ragusa prevented a decisive battle, by suffering himself to be taken by surprize in the night. Still Napoleon, though badly supported by his generals, and surrounded by the coalition, conceived the bold design of marching to St. Dizier, to close the outlet of the enemy from France; but the con-

federate generals did not fall into this snare, or by any manœuvres in their rear: they advanced upon Paris, which was abandoned to itself. The Empress Maria Louisa, nominated Regent some months before, had left the capital, and gone to Blois. Napoleon was at a distance. There was no longer that desperation and enthusiasm for liberty, which can always stimulate the people to resistance. The pride of the French was deeply wounded by the arrival of the allies before their capital, which was now for the first time threatened with all the horrors and humiliation of a close siege. The following notes, written by a person then present, exhibit some lively and natural traits of the Parisians at that critical period.

January, 1814.—Towards the end of this month the dreams of power, security, and reliance on the omnipotence of their arms, which the French had so long indulged, vanished before their increasing dangers. The Parisians of every class of society laid in, according to their circumstances, stores of flour, rice, vetches, white beans, potatoes, salt, pork, red herrings, &c. Salt beef and biscuit are unknown at Paris.

A paper was stuck at the base of the column which supported the statue of Napoleon, and on it was written, "Passez vite, il va tomber"—Pass quickly, it is going to fall.

M. Talleyrand relinquished his evening parties, to avoid the suspicion of their being made subservient to political purposes.

Many of the opulent inhabitants of Paris employed carpenters, joiners and masons in making hiding-places for their plate, money, and portable articles. But no sooner did the news arrive of the battle of Champ Aubert, and a column of prisoners was exhibited to the versatile Parisians, than fresh confidence was excited, and the universal cry was, "that not one of these insolent invaders would recross the Rhine."

Feb. 5.—The passport office at the Prefecture of Police was thronged with ladies, who fearing the arrival of the enemy, hastened to quit Paris with their children, for Normandy, Touraine, and the western parts of France. Thirteen hundred passports were delivered in one day. Numbers pledged their effects at the Mont de Pieté, as a security in case Paris should be pillaged.

Most of the females in the higher and middling classes employed themselves in unravelling rag, to make lint for the wounded. At Malmaison, the Ex-Empress Josephine and her ladies in the drawing-room employed whole evenings in the same humane purpose. At this time there were nearly 20,000 sick and wounded from the army in Paris.

Feb. 17.—The national guard were under arms at the barrier of Pantin, to receive the prisoners taken at Champ Aubert. At four o'clock a column of about five thousand Russians and Germans was paraded along the Boulevards, preceded by French drums and gens d'armes on horseback, and guarded on each side by national guards. This show was received in a very different manner from what the Government wished or expected. The multitude assembled to see them, evinced the greatest pity, and money and eatables were freely bestowed, even by the poorest persons. In the rue Napoleon, a considerable quantity of bread was thrown from the windows. Mademoiselle Bourgain, the celebrated actress of the *Theatre Français,* had her carriage full of provisions, which she distributed on the Boulevards. Mademoiselle Regnault, of the *Theatre de l'Opera Comique,* did the same. The officers, whose melancholy dignity excited universal admiration, marched at the head of the column, and almost all the men were clothed in long loose brown great coats, with the number of the regiment on their shoulders. The Russians wore boots of Russia leather, the new and powerful odour of which, the people imagined, emanated from the Russians themselves. Several

were wounded, and covered with the blood dried upon them, which shone and appeared black as jet. The Russians were of very dark brown complexions, and their hair was cut quite close to the head. This column took twenty-seven minutes in passing.

March.—The distant roaring of the artillery of the engaged armies, having been heard more than once at Paris, every sound of cannon near the capital excited alarm. To prevent this, it was announced in the newspapers, that the artillery-men of the line and the national guard would practise daily at Vincennes.

March 28.—Before day-break the terrified inhabitants of the country between Meaux and Paris came pouring into this city with their aged parents, the infirm, &c. bringing with them cats, dogs, live-stock, corn, hay, and household goods of every description. The Boulevards were crowded with carts, waggons, &c. thus laden, to which the cattle were tied, and surrounded by women on foot. Many of the poorest of these refugees being compelled to pay the *octroi* at the gates of Paris, were obliged to sell part of their stock at the barriers; thus displaying to the people of Paris, a picture of the effects of war, far different to what they had been accustomed to see.

March 29.—This morning at day-break the disorder which had reigned all night in the Tuilleries, was exposed to the public. The window shutters being opened, the wax-lights in the chandeliers were seen expiring in their sockets. The ladies of the court were running from apartment to apartment; some were weeping, and in a state of distraction; servants also were seen hurrying from place to place in like confusion. At half past ten the Empress Maria Louisa, in a brown cloth riding habit, and the King of Rome, in one coach, surrounded by guards, and followed by several other coaches with attendants, quitted the palace. The spectators preserved the most profound silence.

At the Theatre Feydeau, when the curtain drew up, there were only three persons in the pit, and not more than twenty in the house during the whole evening.

The artillery which the French had abandoned upon Montmartre, was turned upon Paris. A ball dashed into the earth just behind some of the spectators. The boys scrambled for it, but the men ran towards the streets.

At seven in the evening the military evacuation of Paris commenced. The soldiers appeared much dejected; but those who were questioned, though ignorant of the force of the allies, asserted that they had been sold to them. During a whole day, the wounded French dragged themselves into the streets of Paris, and there lay down to die. One, who was lying on the pavement in the rue de la Université, was asked if he wished to be carried any where? All he requested was to be allowed to die quietly, which he did soon after. In the fauxbourg St. Martin a window frame was shattered by a cannon-ball. In the rue St. Nicholas a man was wounded in a house, and died soon after in the hospital.

In the evening of the 31st of March, about thirty wounded Russians laid themselves down under the arcades of the rue Castiglione. General Scott lodged in the house, and an English medical man dining there, dressed their wounds; the Misses Scott made lint, and the pavement was covered with straw; he left them about eleven o'clock: the next morning they were gone; but as not one of them could speak French, it could not be found out how they came there.

The Moniteur of this day was a full sheet; no notice was taken of the war, or the army; but nearly four columns were taken up with an article on the dramatic works of Dennis, and three columns by a dissertation on the existence of Troy!

During the whole of these transactions, Talleyrand, the Prince of Benevento, was at the head of the Royalist

party. The allies were, notwithstanding, engaged under the walls of Paris on the 30th of March; but on the 31st they entered by capitulation. The senate consummated the general defection, by abandoning its master; and under the influence of Talleyrand, they nominated a provisional government, and declared "that Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family; that the French people and army were absolved from their oath of fidelity to him."

In the meanwhile Napoleon, perhaps advised by some about him, abandoned his march to St. Dizier, and proceeded towards Paris at the head of fifty thousand men. Having learned that this city had capitulated, he took up a position at Fontainbleau; there he resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. He sent the Duke of Vicenza, the Prince of Moskwa, and the Duke of Tarentum, as plenipotentiaries to the confederate allies; they were to take with them on their road Marmont, the Duke of Ragusa, who covered Fontainbleau with a division of the army. Though Napoleon with fifty thousand men and his strong position, might have procured better terms than he proposed, all probability of this was done away with by the Duke of Ragusa, who abandoned his post, treated with the enemy, and left Fontainbleau exposed. Napoleon was then compelled to submit to the conditions imposed by his enemies, whose demands increased with their power. At Prague they would have ceded to him the empire within the limits of the Alps and the Rhone; after the invasion of France, they offered him at Chatillon, the possession only of the ancient monarchy; they afterwards refused to treat with him for himself, but only in favour of his son: but lastly, they would hear of no other terms excepting the unconditional abdication of Napoleon himself. On the 11th of April, 1814, he renounced for himself and children, the thrones of France and Italy, and in exchange for his vast sove-

reignty, the limits of which had extended from Cadiz to the Baltic sea, he received the small island of Elba.

Thus fell this man, whose name for fourteen years had filled the world. His enterprising and organizing genius, his restless desires and his energy, his love of glory, and the immense disposable force which the revolution had put into his hands, had made him the greatest character of modern times. What would have rendered the destiny of another man extraordinary, was scarcely observed in his. Sprung from obscurity, elevated to the supreme power from a simple officer of artillery, he had dared to conceive the idea of universal monarchy, and for a short time he realized it. Having obtained an empire by his victories, he then wished to subdue Europe by means of France, and to reduce England by means of Europe; and he established the military system to act against the Continent, and the blockade against England. This design succeeded for several years, and from Lisbon to Moscow he subjected the people and their potentates to his general orders, and the vast sequestration he had prescribed. But by his attack on the liberties of the people, soon after his return from Egypt, on the 18th of Brumaire, he dissatisfied both the opinions and interests of mankind; he excited universal hostility, and the heart of the nation gradually withdrew from him. Thus, after having planted his standard upon the walls of every capital, and having for several years augmented his power, and gained a realm at every battle, a few reverses of fortune united the world against him, and he fell—a proof of the impracticability of despotism in any individual in the present times.

Napoleon, after all, in spite of the disastrous results of his system, has given a prodigious impulse to the Continent. His armies have left behind them the usages, the ideas, and the more advanced civilization of France. European society has been thrown down from its ancient

foundation: the communication between its inhabitants has been rendered more frequent; bridges have been thrown over rivers hitherto deemed impassable; great roads effected in the midst of the Alps; the Appenines and the Pyrenees have approximated their territories, and even South America and its northern boundaries have felt the influence of the new order of things. It is thus that Napoleon, in agitating kingdoms and nations, has contributed to their civilization. Even his spirit of conquest rendered him the renovator of modern Europe, many of the nations of which, sunk in indolence before his coming, have been since roused into life and energy.

Count Segur concludes his history of the Russian campaign with some observations that seem remarkably appropriate to the present period. He thinks that in promoting the civilization of these northern nations, Europe has probably hastened the epoch of their next invasion of the south, "for let no one believe that their pompous cities, their exotic and forced luxury, will be able to keep them stationary, and render them less formidable. The masses, only a few of whom can partake of this luxury and effeminacy, will become more and more envious, and the disposition for the invasion of the South by the North, recommended by Catherine II., will continue. Who can fancy that this great struggle is at an end? It is the war of privation against enjoyment; the eternal war of the poor against the rich. Scarcely had the science of modern warfare penetrated among the Russians, when their armies were seen on the Elbe, and shortly after in Italy. They came to reconnoitre these countries; some day they will come and settle there."

During the last century, either from philanthropy or vanity, Europe was eager to civilize these men of the north, of whom Peter the Great had already made formidable warriors. She acted wisely in so far as she diminished for herself, the danger of falling back into fresh barba-

rism. But since war has become so scientific, that mind predominates in it, a degree of instruction is requisite, which nations that still remain barbarous, can only acquire by civilization. That the invasion of Russia by the French, was of importance to Europe, Count Segur argues, because its object was to wrest Poland from Russia, the result of which would have thrown the danger of a fresh invasion of the men of the north at a greater distance. It would have weakened the torrent, and opposed a new barrier between the northern and southern nations. Under Napoleon, obedient Europe seemed to rise at his call, to drive back Russia into her native limits; it appeared as if the North was in its turn about to be vanquished, even among its own icy regions! And yet this great man, with so many circumstances in his favour, could not subdue nature. After reaching this frightful climate he was suddenly precipitated from the summit he had gained. The North, victorious over the South, in her defensive war, as she had been in her offensive one, now believes herself invulnerable and irresistible."

Some errors, this historian acknowledges, were punished by great calamities. "I have," he says, "related both the one and the other: on that ocean of evils I have erected a melancholy beacon of gloomy and blood-red light, and if my feeble hand has been insufficient for the painful task, at least I have exhibited the floating wrecks, in order that those who come after us may see the danger, and avoid the consequences."

Finis.

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